

THE
HISTORY
OF
APPIAN
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
IN
TWO PARTS.

THE
First Consisting of the
Punick, } Illyrian,
Syrian, } Spanish, and
Parthian, } Hannibalick
Mithridatick, } Wars.

THE
SECOND Containing Five BOOKS
OF THE
Civil Wars
OF
ROME.

Made English by J. D.

The Third Edition.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Abel Roper* at the *Black Boy*, and *Richard Basset* at the *Mitre*, in *Fleet-Street*, and *William Turner* at the *Angel* at *Lincolns-Inn Back-gate*, 1703.



TO HIS
EXCELLENCY
THE
EARL
OF
OSSORY, &c.

May it please your Lordship,



*Could I as truly boast I had perform-
ed your Commands in making Ap-
pian English, as I can that I at-
tempted it by your Command, I
should with much more confidence
(than now I dare) present it to your Lordship: for
the least flattering imagination that I were able to make*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

this excellent Historian speak as well, and prove as pleasing to your Lordship in ours, as he does in any other foreign Language, would be apt to create in me a confidence, pardonable only in those who are successful in their obedience, and whose Performances are equal to their Wishes.

But since the knowledge of my own weakness forbids me to entertain any such thoughts, I come with all humility to lay at your Lordships feet not the effects of my well doing, but of my good will; and though I am sufficiently sensible of my want of power to give height to my desires; yet I rest satisfied in this, that Experience hath taught me, your Lordship can never want goodness to accept of my intentions. And whilst you have so much of that Heaven about you, I can fear little damage from any Earthly Defects of mine.

And whilst your Lordship is pleased to own Appian, and undertake his protection in this Humble Dress of mine, what doubt can I harbour of his finding a happy Reception in the World? You, who have been so great an Example of the main subject he treats of, Military Prowess; You, who have so seasonably pressed your self forward,

both



The Epistle Dedicatory.

both in Naval and Land-Service for the Glory of your King and Country, that no Example of Roman Bravery could ever reach to; You, whom if Appian himself were still alive, he would be proud of the opportunity of exceeding all he has done (in one of his greatest Excellencies) by giving a Character of so illustrious a Worthby.

For I dare leave it to any impartial Reader of this Age to judge, whether any of his Descriptions of those Hero's, whose Actions he writes, comes not short in many points of what justly might be said of your Lordship, or if any there be (sure I am) none but the two great Scipios can pretend to claim any Parallel. You like them have uninteressed fought for your Country, and in this have exceeded them, that when your Glory was already at that height made you the envy of ill men, you still thrust your self into those hazards makes you the Admiration of all that have either Goodness or Honour, which together with your other excellent Qualities deservedly entitles you to that Attribute once given to the Emperour Titus, of being, The Delight of all Humane Kind.

But why should I strive to tell the World what they already know, and what none will dispute with me: 'Tis an Honour

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Honour too great for me, that your Lordship has by laying this Command upon me, given me an occasion to publish the hearty desire I have to acknowledge all your Lordships Favours, and to assume a liberty (few men living but would be proud to share in) of declaring myself,

My Lord,

Your Lordships

Most Humble, most Faithful,

And most Obedient Servant

J. D.

T O T H E
READER.

THough this History be so excellent in it self, both as to its Method and Original Style, that it needs no Preface to recommend it, yet such is the invincible power of Custom, that a loose Sheet must be cast away to usher it among the people; and I cannot be so stubborn to disoblige them in so trivial a matter: and though I know it is no purpose to say any thing of my self, since all I can say will not stop the least censure; yet for others satisfaction I will speak something of my Author, and this Book, as 'tis his.

He was, though Native of *Alexandria*, a Roman Citizen, and for his exquisite parts and Learning so much respected in his time, that he was successively Advocate to two Emperours of *Rome*; an Employment which gave him the opportunity of having at his command the prime Records of the Empire, which it is possible first put him upon composing this History: for by several hints in these Books of his we find the use he made thereof, and especially of the private Memoirs of *Augustus Caesar*, written with his own hand, which he tells us he had seen, and whereby possibly he was enabled so exactly to discourse of those intricate causes of disgust between young *Caesar* and *Anthony*, which he does in his Civil Wars, and which possibly he had been much more large upon in his History of *Egypt*, had not that among others unfortunately been lost.

For he began his History from the Infancy of the Roman-State (his first Book treating of their Affairs under their Kings) and so continued it, not by hudling all their Actions together according to an exact series of time, but by composing a particular Book of every great and renowned War in any Province or Country, without intermingling it with the Affairs of any other Country farther than the necessity of the Story required, till at length he concluded with the Battel of *Actium*,

To the Reader.

Aetium, and Conquest of *Egypt*, which was the last Province reduced under the Roman Power, and with which the whole Empire became entirely settled in peace under the Government of *Cæsar Augustus*.

And certainly all the mighty Actions of so great and glorious a people as those of *Rome*, compiled by so excellent an Author, must needs have been a Work worthy of the World: but whether it were the pleasure of Fate to make us sensible that all things sublunary are subject to decay, or (as the French Translator will have it) a just punishment from Heaven for the Roman Pride, Avarice, and Cruelty, that no entire History of all their prodigious Undertakings should be transmitted to Posterity, this fell under fate of most Roman Histories, and of thirty two Books written by *Appian*, nineteen have been eaten up by devouring time, and thirteen only preserved to our days, viz. the *Punic*, *Syrian*, *Parthian*, *Mitbridatic*, *Illyrian*, *Gallick* (and that too but a fragment) *Spanish* and *Hanniballick* War, with five Books of the Civil Wars, all which are here made English. True it is, that in the Latine Copy with the *Annot. Var.* there are several fragments of other Wars managed by the Roman People, but so utterly imperfect, that the translating of them would have given little or no satisfaction to the Reader.

I have but one thing more to add, that is, notwithstanding our misfortunes in being deprived of so great a part of this noble History, we may take occasion to admire the excellent method and contrivance of *Appian*, his composure being such, that though so many of his Books are lost, yet the want of them renders not those left imperfect (as *Livy*, or other Historians are by so much as is left of them) but by taking the whole Affairs of every Country from the first dealings the Romans had with them, till such time as they were reduced to a Roman Province, he makes every Book independant, and become a perfect History, and withal the Reader not being amused, nor his memory confounded by running from one Action to another, nor the Affairs of one people or Nation to another, according to the series of time is not exposed to the hazard of forgetting what he had before read of a Concern, that breaks off in the middle, to give way to others, as we see in many other Histories, but may go on with all Delight imaginable every thing here treated of, being perfect and entire in it self.

THE

THE PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.

D*Esigning to write a History of the Roman Wars, I judged it convenient to begin it with the Bounds of their Empire. In the first place, the greatest part of those Nations inhabiting the Coasts of the British Ocean pay them obedience; from thence entering into the Mediterranean Sea by the Straits of Gibraltar, which way soever you cast your eyes, all that you behold of Isles or Ports or Lands, is subject to their Dominion. The first people found on the right hand Coast of that Sea are the Mauritanians or Moors, and after them several other Africans, as far as Carthage, and up in the main Land are the Nomades, whom the Latines call Numidians, as they call the Country Numidia. Continuing onwards on the Sea Coast by the Lybians, as far as the * Syrtes on the Coast of Cyrene, and Cyrene it self. Next them succeed the Marmarides, the Hammoniens, and all the people neighbouring upon the * Palus Marien. Next them is found that great City which took its name from its Founder, Alexander, situate upon the Confines of Egypt, and then all Egypt stretching it self up towards the Springs of the Nile, as far as the Oriental Ethiopians, and returning to the Sea at Pelusium, from whence going along the Coast you find Syria, Palestine, and above them a part of Arabia on the Banks of the Red Sea. Next to Palestine lies Phoenicia, above which is the Country of * Coelo Syria, which extends it self as far as Euphrates. A little higher are the Palmyrians, environed with sandy Deserts, which likewise extend themselves as far as Euphrates: Those which give Bounds to the Syrians are the Cilicians and Cappadocians their Neighbours, with that Armenia called the lesser: then follow all those other Nations which submit to the Roman Empire on the * Euxine Sea, of which number the Syrians and Cilicians lie upon the Mediterranean. As for the Armenians and Cappadocians, they are on one side bounded by the Pontick Nations, and on the other side joyn those people living*

* Or Quick-lands.
* This is possibly that which Herodotus calls Palus Tritandes.
* Or the Lower Syria.
* Now called the Black Sea.

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living in the Continent, environed by Armenia Major, where the Romans levy no Tribute, but only have a right of naming their Kings. Now between the Cappadocians and the Cilicians there is a great Peninsula which advances into the Sea, whose right hand Coasts are bounded by the Euxine, Propontick, Hellespont and Aegean Seas, and the left by the Seas of Pamphylia and Egypt, for all these Seas compose this Peninsula, whose Inhabitants towards the Egyptian Sea are the Pamphilians and the Lycians, and after them the Carians, as far as Ionia; and those towards the Euxine Sea, the Propontick and Hellespont are the Galatians, Bythinians, Mysians and Phrygians: and those who inhabit the middle parts are the Lydians and Pisidians: so many different Nations within this Peninsula submitted to the Roman Rule. Moreover, beyond the Strait on the European side they possessed other Provinces on the Euxine Sea, as Mysia and Thrace, so far at least as they lay upon that Sea.

Opposite to Ionia begins the Gulf of the Aegean Sea, next to it is the Sea of Ionia, and then that of Sicily, which is followed by the Tyrrhene Sea which reaches to the Pillars of Hercules. On the Coasts of all these Seas which extend themselves from Ionia to the Ocean, there lie many Provinces of the Roman Empire, as all Greece, Thessaly, Macedonia, the remainder of Thrace, Pannonia and Illyria, and after them Italy, which is washed at the bottom of it by the Ionian Sea, passes along the Tyrrhene, extending it self as far as Gaul, a part of which lies upon the Mediterranean, others are bounded by the Northern Ocean, and some have the Rhine for their Frontier. Next follows all Spain and Celtiberia, which extend themselves along the Coasts of the Northern and Western Ocean to the Pillars of Hercules.

I shall speak of these people more exactly, as the method I have proposed to follow, shall direct me. But now having described the Bounds of this Empire towards the Sea, entering into the Continent we shall find that part of Mauritania, which lies upon the Occidental Ethiopians, and after it many Countries of Africa (almost uninhabited by reason of the excessive heats and multitude of wild Beasts) stretching as far as the Oriental Ethiopia, which are the Frontiers of the Roman Empire in Africa. As for their Dominions in Asia they are bounded by the Euphrates, Mount Caucasus, and Colchus, extending it self to the Euxine Sea, and the remainder of that Sea Coast. In Europe its Bounds are the two great Rivers of the Rhine, and the Danube, of which the Rhine loses it self in the Northern Ocean, and the Danube in the Euxine Sea, not but that the Roman Dominion extends it self over some Germans beyond the Rhine, and over the Getes whom they call Daci, beyond the Danube.

These are the Limits towards the Continent, as we after a very curious search have learn'd. Besides which all the Islands in the Mediterranean, as the Cyclades, Sporades, Echinades, Tyrrhenides, Baleares, and an infinite number of others of different names in the Seas of Africk, Ionia, Egypt Myriae, Sicily, and our Sea, as likewise those which for their excellence the Greeks call great, as Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, Lesbos, Euboea, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica: In short, all their Isles as well great as small, depend upon the Romans. Who moreover having landed their Forces in Britany, which is an Island so great, that it seems another Continent, they have conquered the better half, fighting the remainder as not worth their pains: nor indeed does that part they possess yield them any great advantage.

Though

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Though they have now subdued so many People and Nations, yet were they above five hundred years before they could make themselves Masters of all Italy. Two hundred and fifty years they lived under their Kings, till having expelled them with a solemn Oath, never to admit them again, their Common-wealth was governed by the worthiest Citizens, and by Magistrates which they yearly changed, insomuch, that within two hundred years after the first five hundred it was by continual Victories, and the assistance of Strangers, who from all parts sought their alliance, increased to such a height, that in those times the Romans became Conquerors of a great number of Provinces.

*After which Cæsar having made himself the most powerful of the Age he lived in, was so near usurping the Sovereignty, that he left the Romans only the shadow and name of a Common-wealth, whilst he in effect was become absolute Master of it; insomuch, that from his time even to this all that great Empire has payed obedience to one single person, whom, to avoid the violation of their Oath (according to my opinion) they stiled nothing but * Emperor; and indeed the name it self seems much more genuine, as being likewise common to those who commanded an Army for a time: and yet they are indeed Kings in effect. 'Tis now two hundred years since the first of those Emperours unto our time, during which, a long and constant peace having secured their Dominion, the City is become both beautiful and rich. For the first mightily added to the Provinces, and restrained within bounds of duty those which had a mind to revolt. And in short, very prudently chose rather to content themselves with those rich Countries on the Sea Coast, and with the well ordering of them, than to stretch their Empire ad infinitum, over poor and barbarous Nations from whom they could reap no advantage: I my self have seen at Rome Ambassadors who have come expressly to submit themselves and their Country to the Roman Empire, whom the Emperour would not accept of, because they could bring nothing to his Coffers; for they give Kings to a multitude of Nations, whose Dominions they themselves despise, and are at the expence to defend sundry Provinces, esteeming it a great dishonour to desert those whom they have once taken into their protection.*

* Commander in chief, or General of the Army.

They have always been careful to maintain on their Frontiers mighty Armies, as Guards to this vast Empire, which both by Sea and Land they have with such labour and diligence maintained, as if it had been but some little Province: nor was ever any Dominion of so great extent, and so long duration together. For if we consider Greece since the Reign of Darius, which was the time of its beginning of Glory, until Philip the Son of Amyntas adding to him the Athenians, Lacedemonians and Thebans, there would yet be no comparison: for the Greeks rather made War about the prebeminence of their Cities, than to enlarge their Territory; and the noblest of their Actions was but the Defence of their Liberty against foreign Princes: for when any of them designed to pass into Sicily, in order to any Conquest, they still came off with dishonour; or if at any time in a hostile manner they entered Asia, they were forced to a retreat without doing any memorable Action. In short, the Grecian Prowess, as ambitious as it was, never conquered any thing out of Greece which it any long time enjoyed, being contented with preserving the Liberty of that Country, and the reputation of an invincible valour; but after the time of Philip the Son of Amyntas, and his Son Alexander, their Glory seems to me very much diminished: nor had the Empire, founded by them in Asia any thing to equal that established by the Romans in Europe, considering the weakness and effeminacy of

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the Asiatics, as may be seen in the progress of this History. For the Romans fought but few Battels to subdue all those Provinces they possessed, though they were defended by Macedonians: but Africa and Europe were gained with mighty labour. Besides, those three great Empires of the Assyrians, Medes and Persians did not (put them altogether) continue nine hundred years, as the Roman Power has done, which subsists to this instant, and yet the extent of those three Empires was less by one half than that of the Romans, if we compare the Bounds of one with the other; for the Roman Empire reached from the Western Ocean, as far as Mount Caucasus, the Euphrates, and to the Æthiopians that are above Egypt to Arabia: and in short, even to the Oriental Sea, so that the Ocean were its bounds both Eastward and Westward, whilst all the Mediterranean and those Isles it embraces, and even * (Britain) in the Northern Ocean submitted to its Dominion. Whereas the Medes and Persians in those times when they were most powerful at Sea, never had more than the Gulf of Pamphilia, with the Island of Cyprus, and some small matter on the Coasts of the Ionian Sea, besides the Persian Gulf which is of no great extent. As to the Affairs of the Macedonians before the Reign of Philip the Son of Amyntas, they were but in a bad condition, having no sure Foundation. True it is, that Philip was very happy in all he undertook, but he never waged War out of Greece, or the Neighbouring Provinces. At last under Alexander that Kingdom was raised to a prodigious and an incomparable height of Greatness, as well for its extent, and the number of its people, as for the expeditions felicity of its Victories; yet was it only like a flash of Lightning, if we consider its short continuance. Not but that after it was divided into several * Satrapies, every Province did for a long time afterwards maintain and preserve its primitive splendor. For the Kings of Egypt only kept in pay two hundred thousand Foot-men, forty thousand Horsemen, three hundred Elephants trained to the War, two thousand Chariots armed with Scythes, with Arms in store for three hundred thousand Men; and besides all these Land-Forces, had in constant readiness two thousand Shallops, or small Vessels, fifteen hundred Gallies, with all their Furniture, eight hundred tall Ships rigged, and splendidly fitted with all Naval Provisions, and richly gilded both in Poop and Prow, on which they were wont to go to War, that they might appear with the greater pomp. As for Money, they had continually in the Treasury seven hundred and forty thousand Egyptian Talents of Silver, as appears by the Registers wherein these things are recorded, which are producible to this day, and particularly those left by Alexander's immediate Successor to the Kingdom of Egypt, who of all the Kings was the most exact in his Accounts of his Revenues, most splendid in his Expences, and most magnificent in his Buildings, Most certain it is, there were some other Satrapies not much inferior to this, but they all fell to ruine by the Civil Dissentions of the succeeding Princes, than which no more dangerous Plague can infect a great Estate. But the Roman Empire, because admirable both in its greatness and prosperity, by reason of that long continuance, the product of its Senates prudent deliberations, though the raising of this Estate required an extraordinary vigour, and Spirits capable of undergoing incredible labour and overcoming ten thousand difficulties; for success never made them proud nor presumptuous, till they saw themselves firmly settled: and on the other side, adversity never dismayed them; for not the loss of twenty, nay forty, no, nor fifty thousand Men in one single Battel, nor the hazard of an absolute ruine by Plague, Famine, or Sedition, ever made them abate of their Courage; but at last having baffled all imaginable dangers for seven hundred years together, and triumph'd over all those difficulties daily opposed

* *Eg. 181*,
not known in
the Authors
days, but by the
name of *Brit-
tania*; the name
of *Eg. 181* be-
ing brought in
by the Angles,
a People in Ger-
many, called in
on the Britains
to assist them
in their War
with the Picts,
a People that
then possessed
that part of
the Island call-
ed then *Cair-
dania*, now
Scotland.
* *Licentia-
cies*, or *Vice-
gerencies*.

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posed them, they raised their *Empire* to that height of *Glory and Greatness*; and at present reap the *Fruits* of both their good *Fortune and Prudence*.

Many Authors as well Greek as Latine have wrote of all these things, and indeed the Subject is greater than that of the *Macedonian Affairs*, though they were in their season possibly more considerable. But for my part, after having well considered the *Roman Virtue*, that I might make the more contemplative comparison of it with that of other Nations, I have given freedom to my thoughts to wander from one place to another, from Carthage to Spain, from thence to Sicily or Macedonia, and fancied either an *Embassie*, or a *Commission* to succour the oppressed, and thence like a perfect *Vagabond* (that had nothing else to do) returning either to Carthage or Sicily, I have collected all things necessary to compose this *History*: I informed my self how often the Romans sent *Ambassadors* or *Armies* into Sicily, and of every minute *Action* they performed there, till they reduced it under that obedience it now acknowledges. I enquired into all *Treaties of Peace*, or *Overtures* between one or other that had been transacted between the *Carthaginians* and *Roman People*, what *Wrongs* one had done to the other, and what *Losses* and *Overthrows* each had received till such time as Carthage was demolished, and Africa was made a *Roman Province*; and at last how Carthage being rebuilt, Africa came into the state we now find it: I have followed the same course through all the other *Provinces*, led by a curiosity to understand all that the Romans had done of great and glorious, to know the sloth or industry of every Nation, the *Virtue* and *Fortune* of this victorious People. And in short, all things worthy recording: and imagining it would be no unpleasant thing to the world to know the *Roman History*, in this manner I laid my design to write the particular *Actions* of every *Province* by themselves, omitting what in those times was done elsewhere, and referring it to its proper place and order. I looked upon it likewise as unnecessary to set down throughout the whole the time when every thing passed, judging it sufficient to observe it in *Affairs* of most Importance.

Let me add, that heretofore the Romans had but one name, like other men, in process of time they added another; and it is not long since that some of them took a third, the better to make themselves be known, either by some bodily mark, or some advantageous endowment of mind; so some Greeks likewise to their names added *Surnames*. Wherefore I shall sometime make use of all their Names, especially when I am treating of *Illustrious Personages*, to the intent they may be the better known; but I shall call many, as well of the one as the other, by those names most agreeable to the matter in hand.

For the Order and Method of this *History*, 'tis taken from the time in which these *Wars* were begun and ended (notwithstanding there were divers others interferred, which are omitted to avoid confusion.) Wherefore the several Books shall take their Titles from the matter, as the *Punik*, *Syrian*, *Parthian*, *Mithridatick*, *Iberian*, and *Hannibal's War*, &c.

As to the *Domestick Seditions*, and *Civil Wars*, we shall treat of them according to the time in which the Authors of them lived, as that of *Marius* and *Sylla*; of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*; of *Anthony* and the other *Cæsar*, surnamed *Augustus*, against the *Murderers* of the first *Cæsar*. And lastly, the *War* which the *Conquerours* made one against another, which is the last *Civil War*, and during which, *Egypt* fell into the *Power* of the *Romans*. Thus the
Affairs

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Affairs with strange Nations, shall be divided by each Book, and the Civil Wars by the Chiefs of the Parties.

But who am I that write all these things? Many persons know already, and I my self have declared it, but to declare it yet more publickly. I was born in Alexandria, of an honest Family in my Country: afterwards I lived at Rome where I pleaded Causes before the Tribunal of the Cæſars, till ſuch time as they honoured me with the Quality of one of their Procuratores. He that would know more, may learn it from the Books I have wrote on this Subject.



APPIAN

I

A P P I A N
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Roman Wars
IN
LYBIA,
OR, THE
PUNICK WAR.

PART I

The Argument of this Book.

I. **T**he Foundation of the City of Carthage. II. A brief Recital of the Roman Wars against the Carthaginians. III. The first Punick War where Attilius was defeated by Xantippus. IV. War of the Carthaginians against all the People of Lybia. V. The cause of the second Punick War. VI. Scipio obtains Commission for this War, makes preparation
B and

and advances into Sicily. VII. The Carthaginians prepare for defence. VIII. The occasion of Masaniſſa's discontent againſt Syphax, and the Carthaginians. IX. Scipio lands in Africa. X. Maſaniſſa lays an ambuſh for Hanno. XI. Scipio beſieges, and takes Locha. XII. Five thouſand Africans defeated by Scipio. XIII. Scipio beſieges Utica, where Syphax to gain time propoſes Conditions of Peace. XIV. Aſdrubal and Syphax deſign to ſurprize Scipio. XV. Scipio calls a Council, where he reſolves to prevent his Enemies. XVI. Scipio aſſaults Aſdrubal's Camp by Night, takes it, pillages it, and kills 30000 Men. XVII. Aſdrubal upon his deſert is condemned to death by the Carthaginians; but yet rallies his forces. XVIII. A Sea-Fight between the Romans and Carthaginians. XIX. Battel between Syphax and Maſaniſſa, where Syphax is defeated, and taken Priſoner. XX. Sophoniſba, Syphax's Wife, ſends her excuſes to Maſaniſſa, who receives her, and then poisons her, to avoid the delivering her up to Scipio. XXI. Hanno ſuborns People to ſet fire on Scipio's Camp, they are diſcovered, and put to death. XXII. Scipio waſting the Country, the Carthaginians conſult about the re-calling of Hannibal, yet ſend their Ambaſſadors to Rome, to treat of Peace, which is concluded between the two Eſtates. XXIII. Hannibal returned to Africa, prepares for War, and the Carthaginians break the Peace by pillaging the Roman Ships. XXIV. Hannibal undertakes the Charge of the Army, is hardly put to it by Scipio, whereupon he ſues for Peace, which is granted him; but the People will not conſent. XXV. Hannibal conſers with Scipio, who forces him at length to give Battel. XXVI. The two Generals draw up their Armies in Battalia, and make their Orations to their Souldiers. XXVII. The Battel between Hannibal and Scipio, where Hannibal is defeated. XXVIII. Scipio approaches Carthage, the Citizens ſue for Peace, which is granted on Conditions the Senate ratifies it. XXIX. The People oppoſe the Peace, yet ſend deputies to Rome, where at an Aſſembly of the Senate, the Peace is ratified. Scipio's Triumph. XXXI. Difference betwixt Maſaniſſa and the Carthaginians, in which the Romans concern themſelves. XXXII. The great Battel between Maſaniſſa, and the Carthaginians, with the ſiege of their Camp by that King, who makes them paſs under the Toke. XXXIII. The Romans laying hold on the occaſion, it is decreed in the Senate to make War upon Carthage, and that that City be rased. XXXIV. The Conſuls advance into Sicily, whither the Carthaginians bring them three hundred of their children for Hoſtages. XXXV. From Sicily they paſs to Utica, where the Carthaginians yield up their Arms. XXXVI. The Conſuls declare to the Deputies, the Senates reſolution, touching the demolishing of Carthage. XXXVII. Hanno's Oration to the Conſuls to move them to compaſſion. XXXVIII. Cenſorinus Answer. XXXIX. The Carthaginians hearing the News, in deſperation prepare for War. XL. Deſcription of the City of Carthage. XLI. The beginning of the ſiege. XLII. A noble Act of Scipio's, yet but Tribune. XLIII. Death of Maſaniſſa, whoſe Goods are divided among his Children by Scipio, the Executor of his Will. XLIV. Scipio draws Phameas to the Roman Party, they go both to Rome, and are magnificently received. XLV. Calpurnius Piſo, and L. Mancinus, come to command the Army, who ſpend the Summer without doing any thing. XLVI. The Carthaginians take heart and contemn the Romans. XLVII. Scipio choſen Conſul, he comes to Utica, where he finds Mancinus, and the Army in great danger, from which he diſengages them. XLVIII. He re-eſtabliſhes Diſcipline in the Army. XLIX. He takes the place of Megara. L. He ſeizes on the Neck of the Peninſula, where he fortifies himſelf, and by



by that means brings a Famine into the City. LI. He blocks up the Port of Carthage with a dam, and the Carthaginians open another passage on the other side, at which they issue out with a great number of Ships. LII. A Sea-fight with almost equal loss. LIII. Scipio siezes on the great Plat-form, or Bulwark before the Walls. LIV. He takes and pillages the Camp before Nephre, and makes himself Master of all the Plain-country of Lybia. LV. He takes the City, and those in the Citadel submit, save only the Run-aways with Asdrubals Wife. LVI. He sends the News to Rome, and after having given all necessary Orders in Africa, returns to Rome, which he enters in triumph.

THe Phenicians built *Carthage* in *Africa*, fifty years before the sack of *Troy*. It was Founded by *Xorus*, and *Carchedon*, or as the Romans, and indeed the Carthaginians themselves, will have it, by a Tyrian Lady called *Dido*, who (her Husband being privily murdered by *Pygmalion* Tyrant of *Tyre*, which was revealed to her in a Dream) conveyed aboard all the Treasure she could, and shipping her self with some Tyrians that fled from the Tyranny, came to *Lybia*, to that place where now *Carthage* stands; and upon the people of that Countries refusal to receive them, they demanded for their Habitation only so much Land as they could compass with an Oxe-hide. This proposition seemed ridiculous to the Africans, and they thought it a shame to refuse Strangers a thing of so small consequence; besides they could not imagine how any Habitation could be built in so small a patch of ground, and therefore that they might have the pleasure to discover the Phenicians subtilty, they granted their request. Whereupon the Tyrians taking an Oxe-hide, cut it round about, and made so fine a Thong, that they therewith encompassed the place where they afterwards built the Citadel of *Carthage*, which from thence was called * *Byrsa*. Soon after by little and little extending their limits, and becoming stronger then their Neighbours, as they were much more cunning, they caused Ships to be built to traffick on the Sea after the manner of the Phenicians, by which means they built a City adjoyning to their Citadel. Their power thus encreasing, they became Masters of *Lybia*, and the circumadjacent Sea; and at last making War upon *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and all the Islands of that Sea, and even in *Spain* it self, they sent thither Colonies, till at length from so small a beginning, they formed an Estate comparable in Power to that of the Greeks, and in Riches to that of the Persians.

* *Byrsa* in Greek signifies a Hide.

But about seven hundred years after the Foundation of *Carthage*, the Romans won *Sicily* from the Carthaginians, and after that *Sardinia*, and at length in the second Punick War, *Spain* it self. After which these Nations being in continual War, the Carthaginians under the command of *Hannibal* wasted *Italy* for sixteen years together, till such time as the Romans commanded by *Cornelius Scipio* the Elder, deprived them of their power, taking from them their Ships, and Elephants, and forcing them to pay Tribute; whereupon a second Peace was concluded between these two People. This lasted fifty years, after which began the third and last Punick War, in which the young *Scipio* being General of the Romans, *Carthage* was utterly ruined, and strict prohibition made of Rebuilding it. How-

ver, the Romans founded another Town in a place near adjacent, which they made choice of for the greater conveniency of keeping the Africans in subjection. Now because in our History of *Sicily*, we have already set down all the memorable acts of the Carthaginians there, and in that of *Spain*, what passed in that Country, as likewise in that of *Hannibal*, all the actions of that Captain in *Italy*, we have resolved in this Book to write only what was done in *Lybia*, after the beginning of that War which succeeded that of *Sicily*.

III

When therefore the War of *Sicily* was ended, the Romans armed three hundred and fifty Ships, with which they made a descent into *Lybia*; where after having reduced some Cities under their obedience, they left *Attilius Regulus* to command the Army. This General gained the Romans two hundred Cities more, which surrendered to him, being weary of the Government of *Carthage*; and pressing forward his Conquests, he spoiled their Territories, even to their very Gates. After all these losses, which the Carthaginians believed happened to them only for want of good Generals, they demanded one from the Lacedemonians, who sent to them *Xantippus*. *Attilius* was now encamped near the Fens of *Lybia*, from whence upon Intelligence of this Captain's arrival, he advanced towards the Enemy; but having taken his march along the Edge of the Marishes, and in the greatest heats of Summer, his Souldiers were grievously incommoded by the weight of their Arms, by thirst, heat, labour, and the darts thrown on them, from the Mountains; yet though they marched in this condition all the day, coming towards the Evening to a River, which now only separated the two Armies; he forthwith made his Men pass over, believing it would strike a terrour into *Xantippus* his Army. The Lacedemonian on the other side, judging it would be no hard matter to overcome people harassed in that manner, besides that he had the night to favour him, presently drew up his Army in order and advanced to charge *Attilius*. In which he was not deceived, for of thirty thousand Men that composed the Roman Army, a few only saved themselves in the City of *Aspides*, all the rest were slain or taken Prisoners, and the General himself fell into the Enemies hand. Yet this advantage obstructed not the Carthaginians, tyred with the War, from sending Ambassadors to *Rome* to demand Peace, and *Attilius* himself went upon Parol, to return himself a Prisoner if he obtained it not. And yet this Captain when he came to confer with the prime Men of *Rome*, was so far from inclining them to Peace, that he perswaded them to continue the War; and without doing ought else returned to *Carthage*, resolved to suffer the utmost of their torments, and indeed the Carthaginians shut him up in a Cask driven full of sharp Nails, where he ended his Life most miserably. However, this good success was the cause of *Xantippus* his death, for the Carthaginians fearing lest all the honour of the Victory would be attributed to the Lacedemonians, feigned a gratification of their General, making him magnificent Presents, and sending him back in Gallies of their own, but with orders to the Commanders of them, that as soon as they came into the open Sea, they should throw *Xantippus* and the Lacedemonians over-board; so unhappy a recompence did this valiant Man receive for so brave an Action. And this is all that was done considerable in the first Punick Wars till such time as the Carthaginians quitted to the Romans all their Rights in *Sicily*; Now we have in our Sicilian History set down in what manner this Treaty was made, therefore shall say no more here.

here. It will be sufficient to understand that by this means Peace was concluded between the People of *Rome* and *Carthage*.

Afterwards the Africans who were subject to the Carthaginians and assisted them against *Sicily*, and the *Celtes* who served under their pay in that War, complaining that the promises made them had not been performed, declared War against them, which obliged those of *Carthage* to demand aid from the Romans as their friends, from whom notwithstanding they could obtain no more, save a permission to levy Souldiers in *Italy* at their own Charge: for and indeed by the Articles of the Treaty they could not require so much as that favour; how be it the Romans sent deputies into *Africa* to determine the difference, and make Peace between these people. But the Africans would by no means hearken to it, offering rather to submit themselves to their government if they desired it, which however they would not accept: this was the reason that made the Carthaginians fit out so powerful a Fleet to revenge themselves on these Revolters, that the Sea being no longer left open to the Lybians; by which they might fetch in Provisions, and the land being left untill'd by reason of the Wars, they were reduced to such great scarcity, as enforced them to return under the Carthaginians obedience.

IV.

This mighty Fleet not only pillaged the Lybians but even all they met with, and the Romans themselves, whom they threw over-board after they had rifled them, that it might not come to be known at *Rome*, and indeed it was a long time ere these crimes were discovered, and when they were, the Carthaginians seemed very averse to the giving satisfaction, till such time that War being by the Romans declared against them they quitted *Sardinia* in reparation of this injury. And this Article was added to the first treaty of Peace. Sometime after the Carthaginians sent an Army into *Spain* to reduce it under their obedience, and because they assailed those People separately, they had already well advanced their Conquests: When the Saguntines had recourse to the Romans for aid: Hereupon the Carthaginians made a second Treaty, by which they were bound not to Act any Hostilities beyond the River *Iberus*, but this Treaty was soon broken, for *Hannibal* past that River, and leaving the Forces in *Spain* under the Command of other Captains came thundring into *Italy* with a Mighty Army. The Romans had at this time in *Spain*, *Publius Scipio* and his brother *Cnus Cornelius*, who after having gained sundry Victories, were slain by the Enemy. Those who succeeded them had no better success, until *Scipio* the Son of that *Publius* who was kill'd in *Spain* being commanded thither with an Army, all the world looked upon him as a man sent by the Order of Heaven, and guided by a Divine Spirit, so great and glorious were his Actions. At last having gain'd much Honour and Renown, he delivered up the Army into their hands whom the Senate had appointed to succeed him.

V.

Being returned to *Rome* he demanded Commission to pass into *Africa* with an Army, promising himself both to oblige *Hannibal* to quit *Italy*, and to force reason from the Carthaginians in their own Country. Many who had the highest charges in the Commonwealth disliked the project, alleging there was little appearance of doing any good by sending an Army into *Africa*, and quitting *Italy*, already by the Wars reduced almost to extremity, whilst *Hannibal* raged with Fire and Sword, and *Hanno*

VI.

was

was coming to fall on them with great multitudes of Ligurians and Celtes. But the opposite party argued that it might well be believed that the Carthaginians who attempted not the Conquest of *Italy*, but because they feared nothing at Home, would soon recal *Hannibal* when they saw War at their own Doors, this opinion prevailed, but upon condition that *Scipio* should make no levies in *Italy* so long as *Hannibal* was in Arms, but if any Volunteers presented themselves he might make use of them as likewise of the Army of *Sicily*; they likewise permitted him to take for his passage ten of their Gallies ready fitted, with all those that he could find in *Sicily*, yet without furnishing him with any Money, but what himself could raise among his private friends, so mean opinion had they of this enterprise which afterwards proved of such mighty importance. But *Scipio* who seem'd carried to *Carthage* by some Divine Power, transported himself into *Sicily* with only about seven thousand Horse and Foot, out of all which he chose three hundred of the most strong and comely youth for a guard to his Person; he would not arrive there in *Italy*, but as soon as he arrived in *Sicily* he commanded a like number of the richest of the Island to appear at a certain place with the fairest Arms and best Horses they could procure; And as soon as they were come gave them leave to put other Persons in their places, which being accepted by the Sicilians he presented to them his three hundred young men commanding them, to give them their Arms and their Horses, which they willingly consented to, thus, instead of three hundred Sicilians, *Scipio* mounted and armed his three hundred Italians, who could not but give him thanks for such a favor and indeed did afterwards serve him Excellently well in many occasions.

VII.

* *Tuscany*.

As soon as the Carthaginians understood these things they gave Commission to *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco* to assemble Elephants and sent to *Mago* who was then raising Forces in *Liguria*, six thousand Foot, eight hundred Horse and seven Elephants with Orders forthwith to enter * *Hebruvia* with all the force he could make, hoping to oblige *Scipio* to quit his design on *Lybia*. *Mago* was not over quick, in the Execution of these Orders, whether it were that he could not joyn with *Hannibal*, who was far distant, or that he foresaw a troublesome event of the Enterprise. *Asdrubal* upon his return from the Chase of the Elephants, levies upon the Lands of the Carthaginians and Lybians, six thousand Foot and eight hundred Horse, he buys likewise five thousand slaves for the Gallies, and the Numidians furnished him with two thousand Horse, besides some Foreign Mercenary Troops, so that having assembled an Army composed of sundry Nations, he brought them about two hundred Furlongs from the City and there exercised and trained them.

VIII.

There were at present in *Numidia* divers Kings whose Estates were separate, among whom *Syphax* held the first degree. *Massanissa* Son to the King of the Massesulians a Warlike People, was likewise very considerable, and was withal so comely of person and active of mind that *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco* one of the principal men of *Carthage* desired him for his son in law though he were a *Numidian*. As soon as the Marriage was agreed upon, that young Prince went to make War in *Spain*; but *Syphax* who was in love with the Lady, mad that she was engaged to another, with an Army invades the Carthaginians Lands, and promises *Scipio* (who

(who came out of *Spain* to confer with him) that if he would assault *Carthage* he would joyn Arms with him ; which was the reason that the Carthaginians, who knew well of what importance *Syphax* would be to them in this War, gave him *Masanissa's* Miltress in Marriage without either his or *Asdrubals* own knowledg ; for they were both together in *Spain*. That young Prince receiving advice of the affront done him, so much resented it, that to revenge himself he entered into a secret alliance with *Scipio*, which yet could not be kept so private but it came to *Asdrubals* knowledge, who though he were much troubled at the injury done to this Lover and his Miltress, yet he believed he was bound to prefer the publick good to his private resentment, and therefore to make away *Masanissa*. To which end, when this Prince was upon return from *Spain* to take possession of his Fathers Kingdom, lately dead, he gave him some Horse to accompany him, with Orders to destroy him, in what manner soever it were; but the King suspecting their design, withdrew himself privily out of their hands, and went to seise upon his Fathers Kingdom, which after he had got possession of, he drew together a flying wing of people accustomed to fight by night as well as by day and to charge and retreat in a marvelous manner: for so they make war in *Numidia*, where the men easily endure hunger, live on herbs instead of bread, and drink only water, and where the Horses never eat Oats but feed only on Straw and Grass, and drink but seldom. *Masanissa's* Army was composed of twenty thousand men of this temper, with whom he made strange incursions, spoiling the Neighboring Provinces out of design to keep his men in Exercise. These preparations made both the Carthaginians and *Syphax*, who had been complices in the affront put upon the young Prince, believe they were made only to serve against them, wherefore they resolved to prevent him, making account that after they had defeated him, they would go meet the Romans. They had a far greater Army then he, & carried along with them great quantities of Baggage and Waggon, loaden not only with things necessary but voluptuous, on the contrary *Masanissa* was in all labor an Example to his Souldiers ; Among all his Cavalry there was no loads either of Provision or Baggage, so that having nothing to hinder them, sometimes they made a retreat, sometimes they charged the Enemy, and then again retired into places strong by Situation. If sometimes he perceived himself pressed too hard upon, he gave order to his people to save themselves as they best could, and in the mean time kept himself concealed only with a few, till such time as all returning by day or by night, they were again assembled at the place by him appointed for their Rendezvous. Nay sometimes it hapned, that he hid himself only with two horsemen in a Cave, about which the enemy lay encamped, and that without being discovered. And it was indeed his principal care that the enemy should not know the place of his retreat, that they might never be able to assail him, but alwaies be forced to stand upon their own defence, As for provision he gave himself not much trouble, still furnishing himself by nightly surprises and whether it were Village, Town or City, he plundered all, dividing the Prey among his Companions. For which reason many Numidians flocked to him, not for pay, for he had none established, but for booty which was more worth then pay.

Whilst, *Masanissa* thus made war against the Carthaginians, *Scipio* had perfected his preparations in *Sicily*, so that having sacrificed to *Jupiter* and *Neptune*, he set sayl for *Affrica* with two and fifty long Ships, four hundred

hundred Ships of burthen, and a great number of Barks and Shallops: his forces were composed of Sixteen thousand foot and Six hundred horse, and with them he brought great store of Arms and Engines of War. *Syphax* and the Carthaginians having advice of his coming resolved to make a dissembled peace with *Masanissa*, and to patch up things with him until such time as they had defeated *Scipio*. But well he knew their design, and that he might pay them in their own Coyn, (having first sent advice to *Scipio*) he comes to find out *Asdrubal* with his whole body of horse as if he had been indeed reconciled. It was near unto *Utica* that *Asdrubal*, *Syphax* and *Masanissa* were incamped separately, and *Scipio* having been driven by the winds on that Coast, was likewise encamped near unto *Asdrubal*, who had twenty thousand foot, seven thousand horse, and twenty seven Elephants. Whether *Syphax* were afraid, or that he had a mind to betray all parties, he feigned that his Neighbors had invaded his Kingdom, and under pretence to go and defend it, left the others.

X. *Scipio* in the mean while having reduced some Cities under his obedience, sent daily out some of his people to skirmish, that he might draw *Asdrubal* to a battel, which yet he despaired to do, when *Masanissa* by night comes secretly to his Camp, where after some Civilities passed on either side, he advises him to place the next morning five thousand men in Ambush, about thirty furlongs from *Utica*, near the tower of *Agathocles*, formerly Tyrant of *Syracusa*; And about break of day he perswades *Asdrubal*, to send *Hanno* who commanded the horse, to take a view of the Roman forces and throw himself into *Utica*, lest the enemy lying so near, those inhabitants should revolt, offering himself to follow and second him, if *Asdrubal* thought it convenient. *Hanno* hereupon took the field with a thousand chosen Carthaginian horse, and some Lybians, *Masanissa* with his Numidians followed: But when they were on the right hand of the Tower, *Hanno* with a few of his people having already taken the way towards *Utica*, a part of those who lay in Ambush appeared, which gave opportunity to *Masanissa* to advise him, whom *Hanno* had left to command the Carthaginian horse to charge, as if the Enemy had been but an inconsiderable number, and he himself followed under pretence of seconding him. The Africans hereupon advancing, the rest of the Ambush appeared, and now were these unfortunate people enclosed on all sides, and as well by the Romans as by *Masanissa* himself cut all in pieces, save only four hundred which were taken Prisoners. After this defeat he posts after *Hanno* and coming up him as if he had been his friend, arrests him and carries him prisoner into *Scipio's* Camp, and afterwards exchanged him for his Mother who was in *Asdrubal's* hands.

XI. After that *Scipio* and *Masanissa* were joyned together, they pilaged the whole Country, and delivered from bondage those Romans which they found in Fetters, destined to toyl and slavery, and who had been sent thither by *Hannibal* from *Spain*, *Sicily* and even from *Italy* itself. Afterwards they laid Siege before a great City called *Locha*, where they found great difficulties; yet at length it hapned that as they were bringing the Ladders to the Walls, resolved to take it by Storm, the inhabitants by a Herauld demanded that they might have permission to march out of the Town, with their Arms and Baggage; whereupon *Scipio* caused the Retreat to be sounded. But the Souldiers angered at the miseries they had undergone in the siege, would not obey, but scaled the walls, killing

ling all they met with and sparing neither sex nor age ; The General sent away without ransom all that were saved, and as a punishment of their disobedience, he took away all the plunder from the Souldiers, and caused those Officers, were the cause of it, to cast Lots for their lives, in the sight of the whole Army, of whom three only he condemned to death, to whom fortune was not favorable.

Being returned again to wast the Country, *Asdrubal* laid a plot XII. to surprize him, and to effect it, gave Order to *Mago* who Commanded his horse, to charge him in the Front, whilst he another way fell in upon the Rear. The Romans finding themselves thus engaged in the midst of their Enemies, divided their Army, likewise into two parts, and *Scipio* and *Masaniſſa* commanding each their body, cut in pieces five thousand Africans, took eighteen hundred Prisoners and pursued the rest so close, that many of them tumbled headlong down the steep Rocks.

Some days after *Scipio* besieged *Utica* by Sea and by Land, and XIII. having joyned two Gallies together, built Towers upon them, from whence he cast into the City Darts and Stones. Thus he did some damage to the inhabitants ; but he received likewise by the loss of some ships. Mean while in the Siege by land they raised great platforms near the walls on which they planted batteries and with great * hooks strove to pull down the rampire. The inhabitants on the other side undermined the besiegers works by passages under ground, tumbling them down as fast as they raised them ; they twined aside the hooks with Ropes, so that they could take no effect : they opposed to the Rams great Timbers or Booms which received the blow without endamaging the walls, and when the wind blew towards the Engines they darted out fire-brands to burn them. Infomuch that *Scipio* out of hopes to take the City by this way of fighting, resolved to carry it by assault, when *Syphax* having intelligence of his design advances his Army, and encamps near *Asdrubal*. He declares himself a friend to both parties ; But it was only to gain so much time, till those other Ships then building for the Carthaginians were in a readiness, and the Souldiers raised in *Gaul* and *Liguria* arrived. He would likewise have become a Mediator between the two Estates and proposed a Treaty, the Conditions of which were, that the Carthaginian Army should return out of *Italy*, and the Romans depart out of *Lybia* and for the rest that *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and the other Isles that had belonged to the Carthaginians, together with *Spain*, should remain entire to the people of *Rome* making his protestation that if either of the parties refused to consent to these propositions he would joyn with the other ; In the mean time he used his utmost endeavours to gain *Masaniſſa*, promising to secure to him the Kingdom of the *Masseiliens*, and to give him in Marriage which of his three daughters he desired. His agent that came to *Masaniſſa* with these offers brought store of money along with him, to the end that if he could obtain nothing from him he might corrupt some of his Domesticks to Murder him, and accordingly not being able to gain him, before his return, he gave Money to one of that Princes followers, who promised him to execute the treason ; but when he had received the sum he discovered it to his Master who punished the suborner. Whereupon *Syphax* seeing all his Artifices fail declared himself openly for the Carthaginians, and having by means of a Traytor taken a City in the plain Country called *Troion*, where the Romans had great

* The Greek calls them, scyths, and indeed they did call these sort of hooks, scyths which they made use of in the same manner as they did the Rams, only the Rams beat the Walls inwards, and the Scyths pull'd them outwards, and for the word rampier the Greek says, the hides and other coverings, there is a like description in the seventh Book of Cæsar's Commentaries in the Siege of Bourges.

stores of Ammunition and Provision, he put to the Sword all the Garrison who refused to yield to him.

XIV. A great recruit of Numidians being come and the Gaules and Ligurian Souldiers arrived with those ships the Carthaginians had fitted out, they resolved to fight. Syphax returned to the siege of Utica. Asdrubal encamped near to Scipio, and the Carthaginian fleet came to Anchor directly against the other, to the end they might fall on all at a time, and so that the Romans being much fewer in number and separate the one from the other, might not be able to sustain the power of their enemies. Masanissa having advice of this design from some Numidians, went and communicated it to Scipio, who without any delay (judging that if his Army were thus divided they would not be strong enough to stand the shock) the same night assembled the Council, and when he saw they lost time without resolving any thing, he thus spoke to his Captains.

XV. *Certainly Gentlemen, there is a necessity in this occasion both of great Courage and Diligence, and we must resolve to fight like desperate men. We must strive how to prevent our enemies, and behold now the advantage we shall gain by it. This unexpected assault will strike a terror into them, and since we are the fewer in number, by charging them with all our forces joyned together, we shall not have to deal with all our enemies, but only with those we shall first attempt, since their Camps are separate one from the other: thus we shall be equal in number and surpass them in good fortune and bravery. If God give us victory over the first we will scorn the other. If therefore you approve my opinion I will tell you in a few words which of three Armies we shall first assault, in what manner we are to act, and when to begin. As soon as they had all given their approbation of this advice. It is time, said he, to put in Execution our design as soon as we have made an end of this conference. Whilst it is night and dark, the fight will seem more dreadful to our enemies, and we shall find them less prepared; besides the obscurity will hinder them from being able to succour one another, and in this manner we shall prevent this design they have of assailing us to morrow. Now as they are three Armies, that at Sea is distant, and it is not possible to assault ships by night; Asdrubal and Syphax are not encamped far from each other, Asdrubal is the Principal Chief, and Syphax barbarous, effeminate and fearful as he is, will never undertake anything in the dark; Wherefore let us make an attempt upon Asdrubal with all our Forces, and place Masanissa in Ambush against Syphax, if by chance and contrary to our belief he should come to assist the other. Let us march with our foot directly to Asdrubal's Camp and storm it courageously on all sides, till we have forced his trenches. As for the Horse since they are not fit for this night service, We will place them on the Avenues of the enemies Camp, that if by misfortune we be repulsed they may support and favour our Retreat, and if we gain the advantage they may pursue and destroy the flyers. Having finished this discourse he gave order to his Captains forthwith to draw their Souldiers to Arms, whilst he sacrificed to Courage and Fear, that none might in the night be terrified, but on the Contrary the whole Army bear themselves courageously in the Enterprize.*

XVI. About the third watch the Trumpets sounded a dead march and all the Army advanced towards Asdrubal's Camp without making the least noise till such time as the Horse had seized the Avenues, and the foot were upon the Ditch. Then was there raised among them a terrible noise of
confused

confused voices mixed with Trumpets, the more to affright the enemy, and therewith falling on, they beat back the guards, fill'd up the trench, pull'd down the Palisadoes, and some of the boldest pressing forwards began to set fire on the Tents. The Africans full of confusion take their Arms between sleep and waking, and endeavor to draw into a battel, but the tumult was so great they could not hear the voices of them that Commanded, and their General himself knew not the cause of the Alarm. The Romans thronged in among these people whom they found in disorder and ill Armed, setting all before them on fire, and putting all they met with to the Sword; Their shouts, the sight of them, and their fierceness, threw terror into these miserable people, and the night and the uncertainty of the danger increased it, so that believing all their Camp was absolutely taken, fearing to be involved in the general ruine they thronged in crouds towards the plain, where they thought they might be in more security, and every one taking his own way they fell into the hands of the horsemen, who made a most dreadful slaughter, *Syphax* heard this great noise in the night and saw the flames, but stirred not out of his Camp, only sent some Troops of Horse to assist *Asdrubal* who falling into *Masaniissa's* Ambush were all cut off; When at break of day *Syphax* understood that *Asdrubal* was fled, that all his Army were either slain, taken, or ran away, that his Camp with all his munition of war was in the Romans possession, he deserted all, retiring farther up into the Continent, out of fear lest *Scipio* returning from the Chase of *Asdrubal* should turn his Arms against him, leaving his Camp and all it's furniture as a prey to *Masaniissa*. Thus at one stroke in less then a night the Romans took two Camps and routed two Armies beyond comparison greater than theirs. The vanquishers lost about one hundred Souldiers, and the vanquished about thirty thousand, besides two thousand four hundred that were taken Prisoners, and six hundred Horse that came to submit themselves to *Scipio* upon his return from the Victory, as for the Elephants they were all either wounded or killed, *Scipio* having gained in this battel great quantity of Arms, Gold, Silver, Ivory and Horses, as well Numidian as others, and beholding the Carthaginian forces ruined by this great victory, distributed part of the booty among his Souldiers, sent whatever was most precious to *Rome*, and began to Exercise his Army in Labor and Travel, expecting *Hannibal*, who was ere long to return from *Italy*, as was likewise *Hanno* from *Liguria*.

Asdrubal General of the Carthaginians having been wounded in this nights battel, saved himself with five hundred Horse at *Anda*, where he rallied some Mercenaries, and some fled Numidians, and gave liberty to all slaves that would bears Arms, and at length understanding that his Citizens had condemned him to death for his ill Conduct in this War, and that they had made *Hanno* the Son of *Bomilcar* his Successor, he took a resolution to keep himself with this Army, which consisted of three thousand Horse and eight thousand Foot, besides a great Number of Criminals that resorted to him, with which he marched through all places where he had any hopes to get provisions, inuring them to hardship, having prepared himself to perish if he could not overcome, which was a long time unknown as well to the Romans as Carthaginians.

XVII.

Mean while *Scipio* marched at the head of his Army to the very Walls of *Carthage*, where he presented battel to the Citizens, but they

XVIII.

would not accept it. But *Amilcar* their Admiral went with one hundred Ships to the Port where *Scipio's* Fleet lay, believing that before *Scipio* could return he should easily defeat twenty Roman Gallies with his hundred Ships. But *Scipio* having intelligence of his Design sent his Orders before to block up the Ports mouth with Ships of burthen, which they ranged before it at Anchor, in such manner that there were passages left for the Roman Gallies to Sally out when they saw an advantage, and yet these great Ships were fastned together by the Yard-arms, and served as a wall against the enemies. The work was not quite finished at his arrival, but he soon brought it to perfection. The Carthaginian Ships then coming to assault the Romans were beaten off by flights of Arrows and Stones, as well from those in the Ships as on shore, and from the walls of the Port, in so much that most of them being battered and the Souldiers quite tyred they retired in the Evening without doing any thing. As they made their retreat the Roman Gallies sallied by the passages which we spoke of before and when they found they could execute nothing, they retreated into the Port by the same passages. At length they brought to *Scipio* one of the enemies ships, but not a man in her. After these encounters, it being now winter, each party retired to their Garrisons.

XIX. The Romans caused provision to be brought for themselves by Sea, but those of *Utica* and *Carthage* being in great necessity plundered those which brought them, till a recruit of shipping being come to *Scipio* he opposed the enemy in such manner that they not daring longer to cruise as they were wont, those Cities were miserably afflicted with famine. During this same winter *Syphax* not being far distant, *Masanissa* desired of *Scipio* a third part of the Roman Army, which being arrived under the Command of *Lelius* and joyned with that Kings Forces, they together pursued *Syphax*, who still retreated before them, till such time as coming to the Banks of a certain River he was forced to fight. The Numidians according to their Custom cast at first charge showers of Darts at each other, whilst the Romans covering themselves with their shields still advanced forward. *Syphax* seeing *Masanissa* in the heat of the Battel, transported with rage makes directly towards him, and *Masanissa* joyfully runs to meet him: After they had generously fought as well on one side as the other, at length *Syphax* party was routed, and as he was passing the river to save himself his horse wounded by some accidental stroke, reared and came backward with his Master into the water. Whereupon *Masanissa* pressing in, took him and one of his sons prisoners, both which he sent to *Scipio*. There were in this fight about two thousand men slain, on *Syphax* his party; the Romans lost seventy five, and *Masanissa* three hundred, there were likewise four thousand of *Syphax* men taken prisoners, of which two thousand five hundred were Massesuliens that had deserted *Masanissa* to take part with *Syphax*, these *Masanissa* demanded of *Lelius*, and having obtained his request caused them to be all cut in pieces.

XX. After this they entred into the Territories of the Massesuliens, and of *Syphax*, to re-establish *Masanissa* in his Kingdom by receiving those who submitted, and forcing those to obey who refused. The inhabitants of *Cirta* sent deputies unto them with Orders to offer them the Royal Palace, and in particular there came others to *Masanissa* from *Sophonisba* wife of the Prisoner King, to excuse her of that Marriage to which she had

had been forced. He easily accepted of her Excuses, but when he returned back to *Scipio*, left her still at *Cirtha*, foreseeing what would happen. When *Syphax* was brought to *Scipio*, he was ask't by him what evil Genius had perverted his spirit, to the violation of his faith, and despising of those Gods that were witnesses, by deceiving the Romans in taking up arms against them, and following the part of the Carthaginians their common enemy, after having intreated him as a friend to come into *Africa*. To which he answered, *It was Sophonisba the daughter of Asdrubal, with whom, says he, to my ruine I fell in love, she is passionately affected to her Country, and there's no man can withstand what she desires, though I was your friend, her Charms made me the friend of her Country, and from that happiness in which I lived, has precipitated me into this misery, since therefore I am now at your dispose, and being lost to Sophonisba, ought to fix my self to your interests; I give you advice to be careful lest that woman draw Masanissa from you, for there is no hopes she should ever favor the Romans such a lover she is of her Country.* These things he said either because they were indeed true, or out of jealousy to prejudice *Masanissa*. After this *Scipio* having an esteem of *Syphax* prudence, and because he knew the Country, called him to the Council of War and asked his advice, as *Cyrus* had formerly done with *Cræsus* King of *Lydia*. *Zelus* being come and assuring him of what had been before told him concerning *Sophonisba*, *Scipio* required *Masanissa* to deliver her into his hands, which he seeming averse to do, declaring what had passed between him and that woman, *Scipio* urged it with more rigor, telling him he should not think to withhold by force any part of that spoil which belonged to the people of *Rome*, that he ought first to present her, and afterwards request her back if he thought convenient. Whereupon he departed with some Romans to deliver *Sophonisba* into their hands, but first he posted to her himself alone, and giving her a cup of poison, told her there was but this choice, either to drink that, or be carried Captive to *Rome*, and without saying word more remounted his horse and returned: She having shewed the Cup to her Nurse and intreated her not to mourn her death since thus she died gloriously, presently drunk up the poison. The Romans being come *Masanissa* exposed the body to their view, and after having given it a funeral worthy a Queen, he returned to wait on *Scipio*, who highly praised him, and to comfort him for the loss of an evil woman, crowned him for the Victory gained over *Syphax*, and made him most Magnificent presents. As for *Syphax* he being carried to *Rome*, some were of opinion they ought to pardon a man, had served them so well in *Spain*, others judged that he ought to be punished the rather, for having revolted from his friends, but whilst these things were in debate he died of a distemper occasioned by grief.

When *Asdrubal* had well exercised his Army, he sent a Messenger to *Hanno* General of the Carthaginians Army to entreat him to accept him as a Companion in that charge, and withal to tell him that there were some Spaniards in *Scipio's* Army, who might be corrupted by money and promises to set on fire the *Roman* Camp, and there he would not fail to be ready at the time appointed, if the General thought it convenient: *Hanno* having received this advice, though he designed to deceive *Asdrubal*, yet resolved to make use of it, and to that end sent one of his people into *Scipio's* Camp with good quantity of Silver; This man shelters himself there as a Runaway and not being suspected by any one, corrupted many, and after they had let a day for putting their design in execution, he returns

to

XXI.

to *Hanno*, who presently sends him to *Asdrubal*, but as *Scipio* sacrificed the *Auspices* having advertised him to beware of fire, he gave order to one of his Domesticks to take care to see the fires put out in all places, where such an accident might be feared. He continued for some days the same sacrifices, and still the entrails threatned him with the same misfortune, which troubled him much and made him resolve to discamp, but the plot was in this manner discovered. A Certain Roman Knight had a Spanish slave who suspecting his companions had some mischievous design, feign'd himself of the party, and by that means having gain'd knowledge of the whole enterprize, discovered it to his Master, his Master brought him to *Scipio*, who causing the guilty wretches to be siezed on, put them all to death, and made their bodies be throw'n out of the Camp. *Hanno* who was not far off having news of it, came not to the place appointed. *Asdrubal* who knew nothing of it, came, but seeing there so many dead bodies, suspecting what had happened, retired. *Hanno* took hence an occasion to criminate him, and to beget an ill opinion of him in the minds of the Souldiery, giving out that he was come expressly to surrender himself to *Scipio*, but that he refusing to accept him he was re-treated, and by this Calumny much increased the hatred the Carthaginians bore him.

XXII. About the same time *Amilcar* made an assault upon the Roman Fleet, took a Galley and six ships of burthen; but *Hanno* having made an attempt upon those that besieged *Utica* was repulsed and forced to a swift retreat. *Scipio* however tyred with the length of that siege rais'd it without more ado, and caus'd his Engins to be carried before *Hypone*, where finding no better success he burnt them as useles, and took the field drawing thereby some Countries to his party, and pillaging others. Insomuch that the Carthaginians astonish'd at so many losses and disasters, chose *Hannibal* General, and sent away ships for him, that he might make all the haste he could for *Africa*, and in the mean time they sent deputies to *Scipio* to treat of peace, hoping either to obtain it, or at least gain time enough for *Hannibal's* return. *Scipio* grants them truce, and having caus'd sufficient victuals to be provided for his Army, gives them leave to send Ambassadors to *Rome* to treat the peace with the Senate and people of *Rome*. When they came thither they were received as enemies, for they lodged them without the City, and when they had audience, no other proposition was made to them but to crave pardon. One part of the Senators declaim'd against the perfidiousness of the Carthaginians, the breach of so many treaties, the mischiefs *Hannibal* had done to the people of *Rome* and their allies as well in *Italy* as *Spain*. But others remonstrated that the Romans had more need of peace then the Carthaginians, seeing *Italy* was almost ruined by so many Wars, besides there was much reason to fear so many Fleets & Armies being ready to pour upon *Scipio* at one instant, *Hannibal* going out of *Italy*; *Mago* out of *Liguria*, and *Hanno* being already at *Carthage*. Upon all which the Senate not coming to any agreement: sent the two opinions to *Scipio* to examine, with full Authority to act whatever he thought most advantageous for the good of the Commonwealth: he concluded a peace of which the Articles were, That the Carthaginians should recal *Mago* out of *Liguria*, that for the future they should entertain no foreign Souldiers under their pay, That they should have no more then thirty long ships, That they should not extend their Dominions farther then the place called the *Punick* ditch. That they should

should deliver up all Captives and Runaways, and that within a limited time they should bring sixteen hundred Talents into the publick Treasure. To *Masanissa* likewise they granted by this Treaty, that he should enjoy not only the Country of the *Massefuliens*, but likewise all he had Conquered of *Syphax* his Dominions. These Articles being agreed upon, Deputies from *Carthage* went to *Rome*, to swear before the Consuls to keep them inviolable, and Commissioners went from *Rome* to *Carthage* to receive the Oath of the *Carthaginian* Magistrates. This peace thus sworn, the people of *Rome* gave *Masanissa* as an acknowledgment of his fidelity, and the services he had done them, a Crown of Gold, a Cup of Gold, a Chariot of Ivory, a Cloak of Purple, a Robe after the Roman Fashion, a Horse trapped with Gold, and a compleat Suit of Armor.

In the mean time *Hannibal* sets sail for *Carthage*, much against his own inclination: for he had no confidence in the people of *Carthage*, whom he knew distrustful of their Magistrates, and headlong in their Counsels, and believing the peace not yet concluded, or that if it were it would not last long, he lands at *Adrumetum*. As soon as he was on shore he sends all about to seek for Corn, gives Order to buy horses, Allies himself with the Prince of the *Arcades* who are a Nation of *Namidia*. He causes to be shot to death with Arrows, four thousand Horsemen that had formerly served *Syphax*, afterwards *Masanissa*, and now at last came to offer themselves to him, because he had a suspicion of them, but their Horses he divided among his own people. Another Prince named *Mesetulus* came likewise to joyn with him with *Vermina* one of the Sons of *Syphax*, who yet held a great part of his fathers Kingdom; Moreover he siezed on some of the Cities belonging to *Masanissa* partly by surrender, and partly by force, and *Narce* he took by surprize in this manner: being in want of provisions he lent to them as to his friends till having found an opportunity he caused a great many of his people to enter Armed only with Daggers under their Coats, with Orders not to offer any affront to the Merchants till they heard the noise of the Trumpet, but then to kill all they met, and make themselves Masters of the Gates, thus was this City taken; On the other side, though the peace was so lately made, *Scipio* yet upon the place, and the *Carthaginians* Deputies not gone from *Rome*, yet some ships laden with provision for the Romans (having by storm been driven into the Port of *Carthage*) the Common People pillaged them and put the Mariners in Irons, notwithstanding all the threats of the Senate against this seditious rabble, and all the prohibition made against violating a Peace they had so lately sworn. They cryed out to excuse themselves, that the treaty was not just, and that they were more apprehensive of famine then of any danger could arrive by the breach of the peace. Though *Scipio* were much offended at this action; yet he would not revive the war, having once made peace: only he sent to demand satisfaction by the way of Justice as of friends that had forgot their duty, but the people would needs have arrested those who came on the behalf of the Romans, till such time as their deputies were returned from *Rome*. But *Hanno* the Great and *Asdrubal* Surnamed the Great rescued them out of the hands of the people, and sent them back on two Gallies which they fitted out, of which some gave notice to *Asdrubal* Admiral of the Fleet, who then rode at Anchor near the Promontory of *Apollo*, perswading him to watch the passage of those Gallies, and set upon them, which he so violently performed that two of the Roman deputies were slain with arrows, and the others almost over-

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overpressed with showers of Darts, with much difficulty saved themselves in the Port where their ships lay, and had they not nimbly leapt from one of the Gallies which was already grappled with by the enemy, they had without doubt been taken prisoners. When news of this came to Rome, the Deputies of Carthage, who were still in that City to compleat the treaty, were Commanded by the Senate to depart immediately out of Italy as enemies of the Republick, whereupon they took ship to return to Carthage, but were driven by storm to the place where Scipio lay encamped. his Admiral took them, and sent to him to know what should be done with them, *Nothing*, said he, *of what the Carthaginians have done*, and so without any more ado they were sent home. The Ancients of Carthage (that is to say a body of the most prudent and honest men) hearing of this Excellent goodnels of Scipio's and comparing the injury they had done to the Romans with the favor they had received, began to declaim against the rashness of their fellow Citizens, and to Counsel them they would yet observe the treaty, which might still be done if they ask'd Scipio pardon for their fault, and submitted to pay a fine, but the people already animated against the Senate by reason of the miseries of the war which they imputed to the ill Conduct of that Noble body, and set on likewise by some seditious spirits suffered themselves to be transported with vain hopes, and caused Hannibal to advance with his Army.

XXIV. That Captain considering the importance of this war perswaded the Carthaginians to call *Asdrubal* with those forces he had to their assistance. Whereupon *Asdrubal* was by the Senate absolved of those crimes he stood charged with, having first consigned over his Army to *Hannibal*. Yet he durst not publickly show himself in the City for fear of the people, but kept concealed in the house of one of his friends. Mean while Scipio caused his Fleet to lie before Carthage that he might hinder all provision coming by Sea, and the in-land could furnish no great quantity, by reason that during the war they could not till the ground. About the same time happened a fight near *Zama* between *Hannibal* and Scipio's horse, in which the Romans had the advantage. After which happened several skirmishes for some days together, but of little consequence, till such time as Scipio understanding that *Hannibal* wanted provisions, and that he expected a supply, caused a Tribune called *Thermus* to march in the Night to intercept them, who having taken an advantagious post, upon an eminence near unto a strait, they must of necessity pass, slew four thousand Africans, took as many Prisoners and brought the Conway to Scipio. In so much that *Hannibal* beholding himself reduced to an extream necessity, and considering what he should do in such a conjuncture, resolved to send messengers to *Masanissa* to represent to him that he had been bred in Carthage, and had there passed a considerable part of his life, entreating him to labor a peace between Scipio and him by beseeching him to believe that if any thing of ill had happened, the fault was to be imputed to the people, or to some particular men more foolish then the people, *Masanissa* remembering that he had indeed been bred and brought up in that City whose Majesty he still revered, and where he likewise had a great many particular friends, besought Scipio with so good a grace that he consented the Treaty should be renewed, on condition that the people of Carthage would restore to the Romans the ship, men, and provisions, they had taken, or pay for what could not be restored at the price, whereas Scipio should value them, and for a fine depolite one thousand talents. These Conditions being

ing agreed on, a Truce was granted till such time as the Articles should be carried to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* saved himself beyond his own hopes. When the Senate of *Carthage* saw this agreement they approved it, and intreated the people to give their consent by representing to them the long train of miseries would else ensue, and the deep necessities they were in of men, money, and provisions. But the Populacy (as it is the Custom of the Vulgar) believed that the Chiefs in making this peace labored only their private interest, that being fortified with the friendship of the Romans they might become more powerful in the Country. That *Hannibal* had now done the same thing *Asdrubal* did before, who having first by night betrayed his Army would afterwards have surrendered himself to *Scipio*, having for that end approached his Camp, and lay now concealed in the City. These discourses raised a Tumult among the people with terrible cries and Exclamations, and many of them leaving the assembly ran presently to find out *Asdrubal*, who a little before was retired into the Sepulchre of his Father, having first poisoned himself. But they drew him thence dead as he was, cut off his head, and setting it on a Pike carried it through the City. Thus was *Asdrubal* first banished without having deserved it, afterwards *Hanno* accused him falsely, and at last his own Citizens forced him to become his own Murderer, and when he was dead exposed his body to a thousand indignities.

After having treated *Asdrubal* in this manner they forthwith sent to *Hannibal* to break the truce and make war with *Scipio*, ordering him to give him battel as soon as he could, because of the scarcity they were in. As soon as the truce was broke, *Scipio* presently took a great City called *Partha*, and that done went and encamped near *Hannibal*, who immediately discamped: He had three several times sent spies into the Roman Camp, who being discovered and taken, *Scipio* would not put them to death, according to the Law's of war, but made them be carried through the whole Camp, that they might view his Stores, his Engines of War, and his Army imbattelled, and so without doing them any injury sent them back to *Hannibal* to give him an account of what they had seen. The Carthaginians surprized at this manner of proceeding, demanded a conference, which being granted, he told *Scipio*; *That the people of Carthage could not perform that treaty because of the too great sum of money demanded of them, but if he would please to remit any thing of that demand, and that the people of Rome would content themselves with Sicily, Spain, and the Islands they now held, the peace would become both firm and lasting.* To which *Scipio* answered, *That Hannibal would be fully recompensed for having by flight quitted Italy, if those propositions were agreed to, adding not a word more, but the forbidding him to send any further Messages.* So after some threats on one part and the other, each retired to his Camp. There was not far distant a City called *Cilla*, near which was a rising ground, very proper to encamp in, *Hannibal* having designed to lodge himself there, sends his vanguard before to possess it, whilst he followed with the rest of the Army. But finding *Scipio* had first sieged it, he was forced to pass away all that night in the midst of a dry plain, sorely pestered to sink wells, where after all the Army had wrought hard, and thrown up mountains of sand, their mighty pains was recompensed with the finding but of one well, and that of troubled water, of which the Souldiers drank greedily, without eating, or any other conveniency. There were likewise many of them stood in Arms all night.

Scipio, who knew all this well enough, was not wanting to assail them next morning harraſſed as they were with marching, thirſt and want of ſleep. It grieved *Hannibal* to the heart to ſee himſelf forced to fight thus unreaſonably, yet he ſaw plainly that if he ſtaid there, he ſhould be intolerably ſtrained for want of water, and if he drew off, his retreat would increaſe the enemies courage, who would certainly fall on in his rear, for theſe reaſons therefore he reſolved to fight, and preſently drew into Battalia fifty thouſand men and fourſcore Elephants.

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Thoſe mighty creatures he diſpoſed in Equal diſtances in the Front of the battel, to ſtrike fear into the Romans. Then he compoſed his vanguard of Gauls and Ligurians, and among them intermixed his bowmen and ſlingers, who were Moors and people of the Iſles *Baleares*. In his main body he placed the Carthaginians and Africans, and in his rear thoſe Italians that had followed his fortune, in whom he had great confidence becauſe they dreaded to be overcome. His Cavalry made his two Wings. As for *Scipio* he had three and twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe as well Italians as Romans; beſides *Masaniffa* had a ſtout body of Numidian horſe, and another Prince of that Country, called *Dochmus*, had fix hundred auxiliary horſe. He divided his Army into three battalia's, Vanguard, Main-body and Rear-guard, as *Hannibal* had done his, ſave only he kept his battalia's at a more open Order, that the horſe upon occaſion might have paſſage between. In the front of every battalia he placed men with ſtaves the moſt part Armed
 * *Or a Yard.* with Iron at the ends, and about two * Cubits long, that they might better repulſe the Elephants by ſtriking them at hand with theſe ſort of Truncheons, giving Order to the foot to avoid the ſhock of theſe great beaſts by opening to the right and left, when they made at them, and to purſue them inceſſantly when they were paſt with darts and arrows, or hamstringing them with their Swords, if they could get ſo near them. Having thus ordered his foot, he diſpoſed the Numidian Cavairy on his two wings, becauſe the Numidian horſes are accuſtomed to the ſmell and ſight of Elephants; wherefore fearful leſt the Italian horſes ſhould be frightened, he placed them in the Rear-guard that they might charge between the bodies, and ſupport the infantry whilſt they fought againſt the Elephants, and to every horſeman he gave a light Armed Souldier, and great quantity of darts, wherewith to chaſe away thoſe Monſters if they came upon them. His Cavalry being thus diſpoſed, he gave the Command of the right wing to *Lelins*, of the left to *Octavius*, and himſelf took Charge of the main battel. *Hannibal* did the ſame, and as if theſe two great Captains had acted by the ſame Spirit, they each kept near their perſons a ſtrong body of horſe, ready to move on all ſides to the relief of thoſe, ſtood in need. *Hannibal's* party conſiſted of four thouſand horſe. *Scipio's* only of two thouſand, beſides thoſe three hundred Italians to whom he had given Arms in *Sicily*. Both Armies thus drawn up for battel, each General went through the Ranks to encourage his people. "*Scipio* publicly invoked the Gods who having been witneſſes of their Treaties, had been affronted by the Carthaginians as often as they had violated them, exhorting his Souldiers not ſo much to conſider the Number of their enemies as their own proper Vertue, which had already made them Victorious over the ſame enemies in the ſame province, re-monſtrating to them that though their having always overcome, ſhould not clear all their doubts of the ſucceſs of this battel; Yet the Africans
 "having

“having been always beaten would make them despair. Thus did *Scipio* hearten up his men encouraging them not to think of the smallness of their Number. *Hannibal* on the other side desired his “to remember those brave acts they had done, and the noble victories they had “gained not only against the Numidians, but throughout all *Italy*, setting “forth at the same time the inconsiderable number of their enemies, and “exhorting them so to act that the greater number might not be beaten “by the less, nor the natural inhabitants of the Country shamefully forced to yield to strangers. In short both Generals set forth with the most pressing arguments they could invent, the consequences of that battle: “*Hannibal* told his men that they now disputed whether *Carthage* and “with it all *Africa* should command, or be for ever hereafter enslaved. And *Scipio* let the *Roman* Souldiers know “that if they suffered themselves to be vanquished they had no place of retreat, but if they gained “the victory the advantages reaped by it would be increase of the “*Roman* Empire, the end of their labors, the so much desired leave of “returning into their Country, and with all immortal glory.

These Orations ended, the Carthaginian Trumpets sounded a charge, and the Roman soon did the like. The battle was begun by the Elephants which came furiously on, being sharply pricked forward by those mounted on them; Those which assailed the wings were stopt by the Numidian horse with showers of Darts, and being wounded turned against their own party, so that their governors no longer able to rule them were forced to draw them out of the battle, both wings had alike advantage, but those which charged on the main body put the Romans hard to it, who were not accustomed to this manner of fight, and could not easily by reason of the weight of their arms move either to shun or assail them, till such time as *Scipio* caused the Rear guard of Italian horse, and the Souldiers lightly armed to advance to the relief of his foot. And because the horse were fearful of those beasts, he commanded his horsemen to alight, and with their darts charge the Elephants, who had caused a great disorder, and to oblige them by his own Example, himself alighted first and wounded an Elephant that came towards him, which so heartned the Romans, that discharging their darts on all sides they so wounded those creatures that they forced them to retreat like the others. These beasts thus driven out of the battle they had nothing now to encounter but men and horses. The right wing Commanded by *Zelins* had put to flight the Numidians that opposed them, after that *Masanissa* had wounded their Prince *Macinta*, but *Hannibal* coming speedily to their assistance renewed the fight. In the left wing where *Octavius* had to do with Gauls and Ligurians, they fought with equal fortune. *Scipio* sent thither the Tribune *Zherinus* with some chosen troops; but *Hannibal* having reinforced his left wing speeds away to the relief of the Gauls and Ligurians, taking with him all his Carthaginians and Africans, which *Scipio* perceiving was forced to do the like, and made his main battle advance. And now these two mighty Captains fighting in person, the Souldiers encouraged by the sight of them did acts incredible. All feared to yield, all fought with a wonderful alacrity, exhorting, exciting and encouraging one another. At length victory having long hung in equal Ballance, the Generals moved with compassion to see their Souldiers out of breath, fiercely charged each other, the sooner to put an end to the battle; at the same instant both discharged their darts, *Scipio's* stuck in *Hannibal's* buckler, and *Hannibal's* hurt *Scipio's* horse, who feeling him-

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self wounded overthrew his Master to the ground. But *Scipio* nimbly remounting on another, discharges a second dart at *Hannibal*, which took no better effect then the former, save only it wounded a horseman that sat near his Captain. Mean while *Masanissa* having notice comes in, and the Roman Souldiers seeing their General perform not only the part of a Captain but of a Private Souldier, fighting for them, gave so home a Charge that they put the enemy to flight. As they followed the pursuit, *Hannibal* gained the front of his own men, endeavouring all he could to stop them and lead them back to fight, but in vain. At last since from them he could obtain nothing, he has recourse to those Italians he had brought with him, who yet kept firm in their Post, and makes them advance towards the enemy, hoping whilst the Romans were eager in pursuit of the flyers he might the easier put them in disorder, but they perceiving his design stopt as if a retreat had been sounded and drew up into order. The horse had now left them and their darts were spent, so they were forced to close with the enemy and come to Swords point. And now was a terrible slaughter nothing to be heard but the groans of dying men and the shouts of those that slew them, till such time as the enemy were totally routed, the victory no longer doubted of, and *Hannibal*, had betaken himself to flight. As he fled he perceived some Numidian horse still in a body, to them he goes and begs them not to forsake him, and as soon as they had given him their word turns upon his pursuers with great hopes of defeating them. They were by chance Massesuliens, so that *Masanissa* and *Hannibal* came to fight hand to hand. In this Combat *Hannibal* received a blow on his buckler, and at the same instant slew his enemies horse. *Masanissa* getting up and seeking for *Hannibal*. on foot slew with a dart a horseman that encountered him, and received in his buckler, which was of Elephants skin, several darts, one of which he snatches out and throws at *Hannibal*, but by misfortune another horseman received the stroke and lost his life, and as he strove to pull out another he was wounded in the arm, and forced for a while to retire out of the fight. *Scipio* hearing of this rencounter was in fear for *Masanissa*, but as he was going to relieve him, he found that having bound up his wound he was returning to the fight mounted on a fresh horse, so the battel being renewed, they fought courageously on either side, when *Hannibal* perceiving on a little hill, a squadron of Spaniards and Gauls, spurred towards them to bring them into his assistance, which gave occasion to the others unacquainted with the reason of his departure, and believing he fled, to become quite heartless, and betake themselves to a disorderly flight, not after *Hannibal*, but every one where fortune led him. The Romans seeing the Enemy thus dispersed thought themselves assured of the victory, and began without any order to follow the chase; for they knew not *Hannibal's* design, who presently returning to the Charge at the head of those Spaniards and Gauls, *Scipio* was forced to recall his men again from the pursuit, and speedily put them in order to receive the Enemy, whom they had no great difficulty to overcome, being a far greater number then those descended from the hill. *Hannibal* seeing this last push had no better success then the former, and that all was absolutely lost, fled likewise, pursued by many, and among others by *Masanissa*, who notwithstanding the pain & inconveniency of his wound followed him close at the heels, out of the passionate desire he had to take him prisoner and present him to *Scipio*, but by the favor of the night which came on he escaped his hands, and at last accompanied only with twenty horse, which were all could follow him, gained as far as a City called *Tunis*, where

where he met several horsemen as well Brutians as Spaniards who had there saved themselves after the defeat, but knowing the Spaniards to be rash and Barbarous, and the Brutians to be Italians of the same Country with *Scipio*, he was fearful lest to obtain pardon for the fault, they had committed in bearing arms against their Country, they should deliver him up to his enemy, and so departed secretly by night, accompanied only with one horseman in whom he had confidence, so that having rode in two days and two nights almost three thousand furlongs he arrived at *Adrumetum* which is a Sea-town where finding some troops he had left as guards to his stores of Corn, and drawing together forces from the circumadjacent places, and rallying all those had escaped from the battel, he began again to make preparation of Arms and Engines of War. But *Scipio* having gained this noble victory, burnt with his own hands, according to the Custom of the Roman Generals, those spoils of the enemy that were of small moment, sending the choicest and most precious to *Rome*, ten talents of Gold, two thousand five hundred talents of Silver, many moveables of Ivory, whole Ships loading of Prisoners, the most part Gentlemen, with *Zelus* to carry the new's. The remainder he sold, distributing the mony among the Souldiers, giving Military rewards to such as had served him well, particularly a Crown to *Masanissa*; and now being become absolute Master of the field he made himself Master of the Cities. Such was the success of this battel fought in *Africa* between *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, who never before had dealings with each other. The Romans lost two thousand five hundred men, *Masanissa* somewhat more, there died of the enemies five and twenty thousand, besides eight thousand eight hundred taken prisoners, three hundred Spaniards that yielded to *Scipio*, and eight hundred Numidians to *Masanissa*.

- Now before the News of this Victory was brought either to *Rome* or *Carthage*, the Carthaginians had writ to *Mago*, who was then raising forces in *Gaul* with Orders to make an irruption into *Italy* if it were possible, or else to come over into *Africa* with such power as he might have raised, but these Letters being intercepted and brought to *Rome*, were the occasion of the Senates sending recruits of foot and horse, with Ships and Mony to *Scipio*, who after this defeat made *Octavius* March with his Army towards *Carthage*, whither he designed to follow with his Fleet. But when the Carthaginians understood that *Hannibal* was defeated, they sent their Deputies to meet *Scipio*, the chief of which were *Hanno* the great, and *Asdrubal* surnamed the Goat, they went in a passage Boat, on the Prow of which they planted a *Caduceus*, and at their arrival stretched forth their hands joyned towards the Conqueror, like people imploring mercy. *Scipio* ordered them to meet him at the Camp, where being seated in the Tribunal he caused them to be brought to his presence, whither being come they cast themselves on their knees weeping, till being raised up by the Ushers, and having permission to speak, *Asdrubal* began in this manner.

“Most certain it is Sirs, that neither *Hanno* whom you see here, nor
“my self, nor any person of wisdom in all *Carthage*, are guilty of those
“crimes wherewith you charge us, for when our unhappy Citizens oppressed by famine injured those sent from you, we opposed our selves,
“and sent them back to you. Nor ought the people of *Carthage*, in general to be accused, who sent their deputies, and of whom the most part
“signed the Articles with joy, but as the Populacy suffer themselves
“to be easily seduced to their own ruine, whatever is pleasing to the multitude

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“rude is usually preferred before that which is most profitable. We our
“selves have had experience of it, for what ever propositions we have
“made, some private calumniators, who never had the boldness to discover
“their thoughts in our presence, have hindered us from being believed.
“Wherefore Sirs, Judge not of our affairs, by what is practised in *Rome*,
“for your discipline in your Counsels is extreamly different from ours,
“and if by chance our crime seem to some greater then the calamity that
“constrained it, let him consider that hunger is a pinching necessity, and
“that that was the principal cause of our misfortunes: for had we not
“been pressed by it, it is not to be believed that the same people who had
“but newly demanded peace, offered so much mony, parted with the
“greatest part of their Dominion, sworn to observe the Articles of Peace,
“and sent to that purpose deputies to your Senate, should be violently hur-
“ried on to offend you, without expecting the return of those they had
“sent. But we must attribute this accident to the anger of some God, and
“to the tempest which cast your provisions into our Port; in a time when
“almost all *Carthage* was ready to perish with hunger, hunger that per-
“nicious counsellor against anothers goods, especially in the breasts of peo-
“ple wanting all things, ’twould be certainly a piece of injustice to punish
“with severity what this miserable multitude have done. Yet if you will
“impute this fault rather to our malice then our misery, we confess it, we
“crave pardon for it. Were we innocent, we would endeavor to justifie
“our selves, but being criminals we supplicate for grace, hoping that you
“who are in the top of prosperity will the easier grant it, if you consider
“that humane affairs are subject to strange reverses, and that those who
“were yesterday in a condition to do injuries, are to day under a ne-
“cessity of imploring mercy. You may behold, Sirs, a fresh example in
“the unhappy City of *Carthage*, she that for seven hundred years toge-
“has been the greatest and most powerful City of all *Africa*, powerful in
“Ships, in Silver, in Elephants, in Foot, in Horse, She whose Dominion
“extended over the Lybians, and over many Cities and Isles by Sea and
“Land, in short She that has so long been the Rival of your Empire, Now
“no more places her hope in her Ports, nor in her Ships, nor in her
“Horse, nor in her Elephants, nor in her Provinces, which she has quit-
“ted to you, but she expects her safety from your mercy, You that she
“has heretofore so ill treated. You will do an Action worthy of your
“selves, if considering the deplorable Estate to which we are reduced,
“you will receive a moderation in the midst of your prosperity, and ha-
“ving regard as well to your own accustomed generosity, as to the
“ancient felicity of *Carthage*, you will in our misery make such a use of
“the favors of fortune, as may not displease the immortal Gods, but that
“by your clemency you will acquire a glorious name, that can never die
“whilst there is memory among men. Nor need you hereafter more
“fear the perfidiousness of *Carthage*, the chastisement they receive for
“their past faults will be an eternal warning to them: and as the good
“Counsel they had given them, but despised, had kept them in bounds
“of duty, so now they have been faulty, repentance joyned with the pu-
“nishment inflicted on them, will prevent their falling again, and whilst
“you inveigh against the cruelty and injustice of the Carthaginians, you
“should be careful lest you fall into the same crimes, for as poverty of-
“ten occasions men to sin, those who are in prosperity have opportunity
“to exercise their humanity and goodness, thus it is of concern both to
“the honor, and the advantage of your Commonwealth, rather to pre-
“serve

“serve so great a City, than to destroy it; but you may act as you please:
 “for our parts we have but two things to oppose in our defence, the An-
 “cient Dignity of the Carthaginian Empire, and that Noble Moderation
 “you have used to the rest of the World, which joyned with your Valour,
 “hath raised you to so high a Sovereignty: And for what concerns the
 “conditions of the Treaty, we only desire Peace; for Terms we have none
 “to propose, leaving them wholly to your Discretion.

Asdrubal finish'd his Oration with tears: upon which *Scipio* causing the
 Deputies to retire, held a Council about this important Affair with the
 principal Officers of the Army; and after a long deliberation, caused the
 Carthaginians to return, to whom he spake in this manner:

“You are not worthy of pardon, after having so often violated your
 “Faith, and having, as a complement of all, so evilly treated our Deputies:
 “A truth so manifest, that by your own confession, there is no punishment
 “whatsoever, which you deserve not, for the expiation of your crimes:
 “but it is needless to reproach you with faults your selves confess. And
 “now you have recourse to prayers: you, that had you gain'd the Victory,
 “would have rooted out even the Roman Name. We have not treated
 “you at the like rate, but sent back your Agents from our City, at the same
 “time you had injured ours, and violated the Treaty: and those very A-
 “gents being by the Sea cast into our Camp, and War already declared, I
 “sent back to you without offering them the least wrong. Therefore in
 “the condition your affairs are reduced to, you cannot believe we will or-
 “der you any thing advantageous. I will therefore tell you my thoughts,
 “if the Senate approve them, if they think it convenient, we will yet
 “grant you peace, on condition you surrender into the hands of the peo-
 “ple of *Rome* all your Ships of War, save only ten, and all your Elephants:
 “That you restore all you have taken from us, or the value of what can-
 “not be found; in the estimation of which, if any difference arise, I will
 “be Judge: That you likewise deliver up all the Captives and Fugitives,
 “and all those Italian Souldiers, who followed *Hannibal* into *Africa*, which
 “must be performed within a month after the day of publication of the
 “Peace: That within two months you cause *Mago* to return out of *Li-*
 “*guria*: That you withdraw all Garrisons out of such Cities as are beyond
 “the Punick Ditch, and send them back their Hostages: That besides all
 “this you pay us yearly for fifty years, two hundred and fifty Euboick Ta-
 “lents: That for the future you entertain no Soldiers into your pay, either
 “out of *Gaul* or *Liguria*: That you make not any war upon *Masanissa*,
 “or any of our Allies, nor permit any Carthaginian to bear Arms against
 “them; then shall your City and Territory remain free to you within the
 “Punick Ditch, limited by the same bounds you possessed when I entred
 “*Africa*, provided you put a just value on the friendship of the people of
 “*Rome*; and if occasion requires, assist them with your Forces by Sea and
 “Land. If the Senate of *Rome* approve these propositions, the Roman Ar-
 “my shall depart out of *Lybia*, within fifty days after the ratification; to
 “perfect which, if you will send Deputies to *Rome*, I will in the mean time
 “grant you Truce, and you shall deliver me in Hostage one hundred and
 “fifty of such of your Children as I shall chuse, and pay me a thousand
 “Talents for the Armies entertainment; besides such Provisions as you
 “shall furnish. As for the Hostages I will return them so soon as the Peace
 “is ratified.

The Deputies carried back this answer to *Carthage*, where after many
 deliberations,

deliberations, the principal Men of the City advised the accepting of these Conditions, lest whilst they made a difficulty of quitting part of what they possessed, they should run in danger of loosing all: But the multitude, who ordinarily consider more what is taken from them, than what is left them, opposing it, thinking it mighty strange that the Elders of *Carthage* should in a publick famine, chuse rather to send Provisions to the Roman Soldiers, than to their own Citizens; and in effect, they went to seek out every particular Senator, threatening them all to plunder and fire their Houses. At last it was agreed on to send for *Hannibal* into the Council, who having gathered together six thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, was retired into the City of *Marthame*. He comes, and though the most moderate men were fearful lest that warlike Men should absolutely pervert the people; yet by a grave Discourse he made, he perswaded to Peace; but the Populacy incensed, and insolent railed no less at him than they had done at others, and continued their threatnings, till such time as all the Nobility despairing of the affairs of the City, left it; one part returning to *Masaniissa*, and the other to the Roman Army. Now the remainder of the people having intelligence that *Hannibal* had stored up great quantities of Corn in a certain place —

“ — That is unjust, and looks like a malicious emulation, and it seems
There wants here a leaf in the Original, so that this which follows seems part of an Oration made by a Roman Senator in open Senate, while Peace was debated. “ in effect, *Scipio* himself doubted of it; when opening his thoughts to us, he adds, That he would grant peace to the Carthaginians, even though we should refuse it: And indeed, there is reason to believe, that being upon the place he should see clearer, and have a more exact knowledge of affairs than we possibly can. In short, if we slight his advice, we affront that great Captain, who out of his passionate love to his Country, always counselled the carrying of the War into *Africa*; and when he could not obtain an Army from us, raised one at his own expence, and has succeeded more happily than we could hope: So that it strangely amazes me, to see you now so obstinate, and with such violence to press forward this War to extremity, which in the beginning you undertook with so much coldness and negligence. If any of the opposers of Peace grant all this, and shall only found their advice upon a fear, lest the Carthaginians should now again, as they have done formerly, violate the Treaty in question. I answer, that there is more reason to believe, that having had experience of the miseries their infidelity has involved them in, and being perswaded, as they are, that all these misfortunes have fallen upon them, only for having violated the Religion of their Oaths, they will for the future keep sacred that Faith they shall swear to. And to me it appears an evident contradiction to say, that the Carthaginians are contemptible, because they have no more power, and at the same time to fear that they are in a capacity of revolting. Besides, it is much easier for us to hinder the growth of power, than totally to ruine them; for if we press them to extremities, we shall have to deal with people, whom despair will make capable of any thing: but if you grant them Peace, the fear of falling into the like danger, will preserve them within the bounds of Duty: but besides all this, they will have persecutors enough, though we concern not our selves; for not any of their Neighbours, but remembering the Pride and Tyranny of their Empire, will maintain against them an irreconcilable War: after all this, we have *Masaniissa* (who has been our most faithful friend in all adventures) still upon the place, who will continually cast an eye on their actions, and be always ready to oppose whatever they dare attempt. But if any one not considering
 “ all

“all these reasons, has regard only to the glorious success of *Scipio's*
 “Arms, and promises himself the like in the continuance of this War:
 “let him remember the inconstancy of Fortune, and that no man living can
 “assure himself to have it at all times favourable. But granting we take the
 “City of *Carthage*, what shall we do with it? shall we utterly ruine and
 “raze it, because they took some of our Corn and Shipping, which they are
 “ready to pay for with interest? Certainly we shall not, lest we incur
 “the indignation of Gods and Men. Shall we give it to *Masaniissa*? No,
 “for though he be our friend, we must not raise him above measure:
 “Much better may we make use of those contracts he shall have with the
 “Carthaginians, to the advantage of the Commonwealth. Perhaps we
 “might draw some Treasure thence, but the Armies that must be main-
 “tained will waste it: for who can doubt but there must be great Forces
 “kept up for the guard of a Country encompassed with so many barba-
 “rous Nations. We may likewise send thither a Colony of Italians; but
 “upon terms to hold eternal War with the people of *Numidia*, or if those
 “we send shall in process of time make themselves Masters of all these
 “Nations, it may happen that having conquered so great a Country,
 “without comparison more excellent than ours, their power may render
 “them not only suspected, but even terrible to our selves. And this in my
 “opinion, was *Scipio's* judgement, when he advised us to grant the
 “Carthaginians the effect of their demands. Let us not therefore, Gentle-
 “men, refuse them, as well because we now behold them our humble sup-
 “plyants, as because our General desires it.

To this *Cornelius Lentulus*, kinsman to *Cneus*, now Consul, who hoped
 to succeed *Scipio* in this War, answered in this manner:

“Gentlemen, it is ordinary in War to consider only advantage; where-
 “fore since we all agree, that this City may yet be able to do mischief,
 “we ought to take heed of that Infidelity is accompanied with Power:
 “And we cannot assure our selves against its Perfidy. I am of opinion
 “we ought, before all other things, to deprive it utterly of the means to
 “do hurt: We can never have a more favourable opportunity, and since
 “they are weak and poor, we should commit a great error to stay till
 “they have recovered Force and Riches; not that I would argue we ought
 “not likewise have regard to that which is just. But who can accuse the
 “Roman people of injustice, or think they use with too much severity the
 “Victory they have gained over the Carthaginians, a people who in pro-
 “sperity are unjust and violent to all the World, who in adversity submit and
 “humble themselves; and as soon as they have obtained Peace and Pardon,
 “violate that Peace they have sworn to? They have no respect for Oaths,
 “they believe not that there are Gods; yet he that spoke before me says,
 “we ought to spare them to avoid the indignation of Men and Gods: For
 “my part I believe those very Gods have reduced *Carthage* to this very state,
 “to punish the impieties of people, who besides the violation of so many
 “Treaties of Peace made in *Sicily*, *Spain*, *Italy* and *Africa*, have by a
 “thousand wrongs provoked the whole World. I will give some foreign
 “Examples before I speak of those concern us. *Saguntum*, one of the
 “fairest Cities of all *Spain*, was entered into Alliance with us, nay more-
 “over, was a friend to the people of *Rome*, and yet without any occasion
 “of complaint given they took it, sack'd it, and put all to the Sword, with-
 “out sparing Sex or Age. The City of *Nucera*, which depended upon us,
 “surrendered to them upon composition, after they had sworn that the Inha-
 “bitants should be permitted to pass freely, with two Suits of Apparel each;

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“yet

“yet, to the prejudice of their Oath, they shut up the Senators of that un-
 “happy City in Stoves, where they smothered them to death, and slew
 “all the people with Darts, as they passed out. After having engaged their
 “Faith to the Senators of *Acerra*, they threw them into Wells, and buried
 “them alive under the Earth they cast down upon them. They deceived
 “*M. Cornelius* our Consul, whom by force of Oaths they prevailed with to
 “go see their General, who feigned himself sick; and from *Sicily*, where
 “they were, carried him prisoner into *Africa*, with two and twenty of our
 “Ships. They likewise cruelly put to death our General *Regulus*, who that
 “he might not violate his Oath, returned to *Carthage*. In short, *Hannibal*
 “has committed so many cruelties, during the War, by Surprise and by
 “Treachery, both against us and against his own Allies, plundering their
 “Cities, and putting to death those engaged in his Service, that it is not
 “possible to express it; let me only say in a few words, that he has sack’d
 “four hundred of our Cities; that he hath made Bridges over Rivers of
 “the Bodies of Roman Prisoners, and filled Ditches with them as with
 “Fagots, whereon to pass his men over: Sometimes he has trampled them
 “under the feet of his Elephants; otherwhiles exposed them as a specta-
 “cle, making them like Gladiators fight Brother against Brother, and Son
 “against Father. They sent us but very lately, Deputies of theirs to
 “conclude a Peace, which they swore to; and yet before they were gone
 “from our City, rob’d our Ships, and put our Mariners in Irons. These
 “are the works of their cruelty; now what commiseration or kindness
 “is there due to those, who have never used moderation or clemency
 “to any person, and who would (as *Scipio* told them) have abolished the
 “very Roman Name, had they overcome us. Perhaps this time they will
 “keep their Faith, but what Faith, what Treaties, what Oaths have they not
 “violated? What Peace or what Favour have they not repaid with Inju-
 “ry? Some may say we are not to imitate them. Pray, wherein do we
 “imitate them? We break not the Peace, since it is not yet agreed on:
 “but you say, we ought not to imitate their cruelty. Would you then
 “have these famous Inhumans for your Friends and Allies? It would be
 “somewhat to the purpose, if, as they are vanquished, they would submit
 “to discretion, as many others have done before them; then we would
 “consult of it. And whatever we should leave them, the obligation would
 “be on their part, nor could the favours they received, pass for an accom-
 “modation. And surely there is great difference ’twixt these two: For as
 “long as we make Treaties with them, they will violate them as before,
 “making it an occasion of Rupture, that the Conditions seem to them un-
 “just. For pretences will not be wanting, when they have a mind to break:
 “But when they are submitted to discretion, that we have disarmed them,
 “and reduced their bodies under our obedience, they will learn that they
 “have nothing properly their own, and humbling themselves, will be con-
 “tent with those things we shall leave them, as if they had never apper-
 “tained to them. If *Scipio* be of another judgement, you may examine
 “these two different opinions, and chuse the best; but if he be resolved
 “to make Peace with the Carthaginians without you, there is no necessi-
 “ty of writing to him. For my part knowing well you are the Judges of
 “our Council, I have given mine as I believed it most advantageous for the
 “Commonwealth.

After *Lentulus* had argued in this manner, the Senate put it to Voices,
 where *Scipio* carried it by several Votes. Thus was a third Peace conclud-
 ed between *Rome* and *Carthage*, of which *Scipio* was the principal cause,
 whether

whether for the reasons aforementioned, or because he thought it sufficient that the people of *Rome* had weakned *Carthage* to such a degree. For there have been who affirmed, that to preserve the ancient discipline among the Romans, he would have that City left yet in some condition, least having nothing to fear, too great prosperity should make them insolent. If this were *Scipio's* thought he did not declare it, but *Cato* sometime after said the same thing in open Senate in a grave discourse he made to the Fathers then incensed against the Rhodians.

Peace being concluded, *Scipio* caused all the African Army to repass into *Italy*, and entred the City in Triumph, but with greater Pomp then ever any Captain had done. The manner of which I shall describe, being the same used now adays. All the whole people were crowned, the Trumpets marched before with the Chariots loaden with the Spoils of the enemy, after which were born the figures of the Cities taken, and Pictures wherein were delineated, all the glorious acts done in that War, then followed all the Silver as well coyned as in Ingots, and other precious things, and then followed those Crowns had been given to the General by the Cities, by the Allies, or by his own Army; After all this followed white Oxen, then Elephants, and after them the Captive Carthaginian and Numidian Captains. Before the General marched the Ushers in Purple Robes with a Chore of Musick, and Satyrs girt after the Tuscan manner, having on their heads crowns of Gold, who advanced in order singing and dancing. These Satyrs they called Ludions, by reason as I imagine that the Tuscans wore formerly the Lydian habit; In the midst of all these people was a certain man clad in a long purple Robe, adorned with Bracelets and Chains of Gold, who with ridiculous postures derided the enemies. After followed in train certain men with perfumes, and next appeared the General mounted on a Chariot richly carved, he had on his head a Crown of Gold set about with Precious Stones, his vesture was a purple robe, and in one hand he bore an Ivory Scepter, and in the other a branch of Laurel, which at *Rome* is the mark of victory. There were in the same Chariot with him divers Children and Maidens, and on Horses that drew it were mounted young men of his relations. All about it marched the guards, the Secretaries and Esquires, who were followed by the Soldiery, marching in order with abundance of Laurels, and those who had done any eminent Service, wearing the military Recompenses they had received. They have all free liberty in these occasions either to praise their Captains; pass their jests upon them, or if they please to condemn their actions, for a Triumph is a thing of absolute freedom, and men are priviledged to say any thing. In this manner *Scipio* ascended the Capitol, and the Pomp over, magnificently treated his Friends in the Temple according to custom.

Such was the end of the second Punick War, which began in *Spain*, and was finished in *Africa* by a Treaty concluded about that time, when the Greeks account the hundred forty fourth Olympiad.

Sometime after *Masanissa* (sworn Enemy to the Carthaginians) having sieged a part of their Territory, presuming as much on the Friendship of the Romans, as any right he pretended to it, they sent deputies to *Rome* to supplicate the Senate to put a stop to the Enterprizes of that Prince: Commissioners were sent to determine the difference, but with Orders to advance that Kings interests as high as they could possibly.

Thus *Masanissa* was maintained in the possession of what he had taken, and made likewise a peace with the Carthaginians which lasted about fifty years. During which, *Carthage* enjoying a solid peace, and being much improved in men and riches by reason of the fruitfulness of the soil, and commodiousness of the Harbors: The minds of men, as is usual, were transported with prosperity, and the City was divided into three Factions the Roman, the Popular, and the Royal. Each of which had for head the most considerable men of the Nobility both for dignity and virtue. *Hanno* the Great stood for the interest of the Romans: *Hannibal* *Opfar* sided with *Masanissa*: And *Amilcar* called the Samnite, and with him *Carthalon* were heads of the Popular Faction. These last seeing the Romans engaged in a War in *Celtiberia*, and *Masanissa* hard put to it to defend himself against other Spaniards, obliged *Carthalon*, who then in quality of Lieutenant General was going his Circuit, to fall at unawares upon *Masanissa's* Camp, then pitched in that Country, about which they had been at difference; which he did, and having taken and slain some of the Kings Troops raised the Country of *Lybia* against the Numidians. There followed some other skirmishes between the two parties, till such time as the Romans once more sent Commissioners to make Peace, with Orders like the former to do secretly all they could in favor of the King. Who made use of this cunning to confirm *Masanissa* in the possession of what he had before sieged upon. They gave no sentence, nor took so much as any cognizance of the difference, for fear lest *Masanissa* should seem to have lost his cause, they only placed themselves between the two Camps, parted them, and gave order to both sides to lay down Arms. Some time after *Masanissa* renewed the War upon a pretence he had to a Country called *Zysca*, where there were large Champions, and fifty good Towns. The Carthaginians had again recourse to the Senate, and people of *Rome*; they promised to send Deputies upon the place to determine this affair, but the Deputation was delay'd till such time as probable conjectures might be made that *Masanissa* had the advantage. Then Commissioners were dispatched, and among others *Cato*, who being arrived upon the places contended for, required the parties to give them full power to judge the difference as Arbitrators. To which *Masanissa* who found himself the stronger, and confided in the Romans, easily agreed, but the Carthaginians made a difficulty of it, and not without reason, for they remembered well that in former sentences they had not done them justice, and alleged that the accommodations made by the authority of *Scipio* needed no correctors, provided they were observed by one Party and the other. Whereupon the Commissioners who would not be Judges but by consent of parties, returned without doing any thing. But observing in their journey how excellently the Land was cultivated, and that the Country abounded in all things, they were astonished, especially to see *Carthage* it self so soon recovered of those losses so lately sustained by *Scipio's* Victory; Insomuch that being returned to the City they declared it a fault in the people of *Rome*, not to have a more watchful eye upon *Carthage*, they had so anciently been jealous of, and which upon a sudden was so easily restored to such power. *Cato* himself said the Liberty of the people of *Rome* could never be secured whilst *Carthage* subsisted. Which being proposed in the Senate, it was resolved to make War upon the Carthaginians, but that the design should be kept secret till opportunity presented. 'Tis said that *Cato* hereafter ceased not in open Senate to declare the Necessity of demolishing *Carthage*, but *Scipio Nasica* quite contrary argued

argued that it was to be left in a condition, that the ancient Discipline, which began to decay, might be maintained in vigor by the fear they would still stand in of that City.

Mean while in *Carthage* the Popular Faction suppressed the Royal, condemning to banishment about fifty of the Principal, and making the people swear never to admit their return, nor so much as suffer it to be spoke of. The Exiles made their retreat to *Masaniissa* to oblige him to a War; He was before sufficiently inclined to it; wherefore he sent *Gulussa* and *Micipsa* two of his sons to *Carthage*, to sollicit the return of those who had for his sake been banished. But when they presented themselves at the Gates. *Carthalon* forbid their entrance, for fear lest the tears of the Exiles kindred should work upon the people, and besides *Amilcar* the Samnite laid an ambush for *Gulussa* upon his return which slew some of his attendants and put him to flight. This gave occasion to *Masaniissa* to besiege the City of *Horoscopa*, with the taking of which he had a mighty desire to begin the rupture. To it's relief went the Carthaginians with twenty five thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse of the City, under the command of *Asdrubal* then General of their forces, to whom joyned *Assafis* and *Subi*, two of *Masaniissa*'s Major Generals who deserting the two young Princes, went over to the Carthaginian party with six thousand horse. *Asdrubal* with this additional force goes and encamps near the King, and had often and successful skirmishes. But *Masaniissa* acting with the cunning of a Great Captain retired by little and little, as if he had given ground, till such time as he had drawn him into a great barren plain encompassed on all sides with Mountains, and deficient in all necessaries to subsist on; Here facing the enemy he encamped in the midst of the Plain, while *Asdrubal* sieled on the Eminencies, whereby he thought he had the greater advantage. On the morrow the battel was designed, when young *Scipio* who afterwards took *Carthage*, and who at present was only Lieutenant to *Lucullus*, who made War in *Celtiberia*, came to seek out *Masaniissa* to demand some Elephants. The King who was desirous that day to take some repose that he might go the fresher to the battel sent some horse to meet him, and gave orders to some of his sons to receive him. Day being come he drew up his Army in battel being now fourscore and eight years old, yet a strong and vigorous Souldier, who according to the custom of the Country mounted on horse back, without saddle or other covering equally acting in the duty of General and Soldier, for the Numidians are lustiest of all the people of *Africa*, and live longer then any others, which is perhaps occasioned because the Winter is not so sharp in this Country, nor the heats so violent as in *India* and *Ethiopia*, and for the same reasons are their Cattel stronger and greater. The men lie all abroad and harden themselves by continual labor, they drink little Wine, feed very sparingly and with much sobriety. *Masaniissa* having drawn up his Army in Order, *Asdrubal* did the like, for to him there were joyned many people of the Country. *Scipio* being on the top of a Hill, as on a Theatre, saw all this Battel, and was after heard to say, that though he had been in an infinite number of fights, there was never any in which he took so much delight, for he had never seen any other, wherein either his person was in security, or that there were a hundred and ten thousand Combatants: Or to express it more gloriously, he said that before him were never found but two Spectators in

a like occasion, which were in the time of the Trojan Wars, *Jupiter* on the top of Mount *Ida*, and *Neptune* on *Samothracia*. They fought from Morning till Night with great slaughter of men on both sides; however the advantage seem'd *Masanissa's*: Whom *Scipio* came to meet, as he returned to his Camp, congratulating the happy success of his Arms; and for his part, he received *Scipio* as the Son of his Friend, with all possible demonstrations of kindness. The Carthaginians having notice of his coming, requested him to make peace between *Masanissa* and them, which he having yielded to, brought them to a Conference; the Articles of the Treaty were, that the Carthaginians should release to the King all the Country that lies about the Empories, and should promise him two hundred Talents ready money, and eight hundred more payable at a certain term: But when *Masanissa*, besides all this, demanded the fugitives, they would not hear him speak of it; so they parted without doing any thing, and *Scipio* returned into *Spain* with the Elephants. *Masanissa* seeing his Enemies Camp seated on an Eminence, or round Hill, besieged them in such a manner, that no Provisions could be brought to them, nor was the bringing all, there was none to be had, and he himself procured them with much difficulty, and what he had was fetch'd from afar off, and in very small quantities. *Asdrubal* at first thought that with the Forces he had, he could disengage himself when he pleased, and open himself a passage through the midst of his Enemies. But because his Stores were better furnish'd than theirs, he hoped *Masanissa* might be reduced to a necessity of demanding Peace; and besides, he was the less concerned, because he had heard that Deputies were coming from *Rome* to end their differences. This was true, but these Deputies had Orders to determine the Affairs, if *Masanissa* was overcharged, but to heighten his courage, if they found him the stronger, which Orders they punctually executed. Mean while the Famine entred *Asdrubal's* Camp in such manner, that the Soldiers weaken'd with Hunger, were not able to repulse the Enemy; first they kill'd the Beasts of carriage, after that their Horses for service; and at last were reduced to such extreme necessity, that they boiled the very Reins of the Bridles for a sustenance. There surpris'd them likewise an infinite number of Diseases, increased by their bad Food, by the idleness of the Soldiers, and the season of the year, for there was a great number of men inclosed within a small compass of ground, during the greatest heats of Summer, which were excessive in *Africa*: And because through the want of Wood, even to dress their Food, they had been forced to burn their very Bucklers: Now not having the means to carry their dead Bodies out of the Camp, because of the strict Guard *Masanissa* kept, and destitute of Fuel to burn them, the Plague daily increased with the stink of the dead Carcases, in the midst of which they were forced to abide. Hunger had already consumed the greatest part, when the rest hopeless of safety were forced to deliver up the Fugitives to *Masanissa*, to oblige themselves to pay him yearly five thousand Talents of Silver for fifty years, and to cause those they had banished to return, notwithstanding their Oath to the contrary. It was likewise agreed, that the Soldiers which remained should march out only with one Coat, and pass under the Yoke: Which being executed, *Gulussa* remembering how a little before he had been affronted, sent the Numidian Horse after the Carthaginians, who not able to make resistance, disarmed, as they were, and not having strength enough to fly; of fifty eight thousand men very few recovered *Carthage*, of which number was *Asdrubal*, with some of the Nobility. This is what passed in
the

the War, between *Masanissa* and the Carthagians, which was soon after followed by the third and last Punick War.

The people of *Carthage* weakned by the losses they had sustained in this War, stood yet in fear of *Masanissa*, who was nigh with a great Army; and besides doubted not but the Romans, who had testified their disaffection to them upon all occasions, would lay hold of this, under pretence that the Carthaginians had made War upon *Masanissa*, the Friend and Ally of the Roman people. And indeed their conjecture was not false; for as soon as it was known at *Rome* what had passed, the Senate commanded all the people of *Italy* to levy great numbers of Soldiers; not declaring for what service they designed them; but only giving Orders they should be in a readiness upon the first Command. Wherefore the Carthaginians to repair their fault, did by publick Edict declare *Asdrubal* their General against *Masanissa*, criminal, together with *Cartholon* his Lieutenant, and all those of their Faction, laying to their charge the cause of this War. They likewise sent them Deputies to *Rome* to complain of *Masanissa*, but more of their own Citizens already condemned, for that they had rashly, and with too much passion taken Arms against that King, and by that means put the City into hazard of falling afresh into evil terms with the people of *Rome*. Upon which a certain Senator asked them, why they had not, in the beginning of the War, condemned all those were the cause of it, without attending the ill success of the enterprize; adding that the Carthaginians had a long time designed a War against the people of *Rome*, and went only seeking an opportunity, wherefore the Senate could not receive this excuse. The Deputies surprized with this answer, demanded in return what then they should do to expiate their crime, since they had adjudged them guilty: to which was replied in a word, *Content the people of Rome*. It was brought into debate in the Senate of *Carthage*, what this Contentment could be, they desired of them, some thinking that the Romans would have some sums added to those ordained by *Scipio*, others that they must absolutely quit to *Masanissa* the possession of those Lands in difference. In this uncertainty they sent once more to beseech the Senate to prescribe them more expressly the means of contenting them; to which answer was given, *the Carthaginians knew them well enough*; and with this they were sent back: which begat a strange trouble, and general terrour throughout all *Carthage*. And to add to it, at the same time, the City of *Utica*, then the most considerable of all *Africa*, next to *Carthage*, having large and commodious Havens to receive a forreign Fleet, and not above sixty furlongs distant from that City, and so by consequence very proper to make the seat of the War against the Carthaginians; there having ever been a secret animosity between the two Cities: *Utica* taking this opportunity of the deplorable Estate, to which *Carthage* was now reduced, sends Deputies to *Rome* to yield up themselves and their City to the Roman people. The Senate, who had long before had an inclination to this War, and were now prepared for it, having at their devotion so strong and so commodious a City, discovered their intentions, and assembling in the Capitol, where it is usual to debate Affairs of consequence, decreed a War with *Carthage*; and at the same time gave it in Order to the Consuls, with private Orders, never to give it over till *Carthage* were destroy'd.

M. Manlius had the command of the Army by Land, and *L. Marcins Censorinus* XXXIV.

Censorinus of the Fleet by Sea. After offering up the usual Sacrifices, they pass into *Sicily*, that from thence they might set forward to *Utica*, carried
 * *Galley*s of by fifty * *Quinqueremes*, and a hundred Boats followed by many others,
 five ranks to as well flat bottom'd Vessels, as great Barques and Ships of Burthen: Their
 a bank. Army consisted of fourscore thousand Foot, and about four thousand chosen Horse. For both the Citizens and Allies manifested an equal alacrity to go upon this glorious expedition, the success of which was no way doubtful; nay, some were found that would engage in it, whether the Consuls would or no. Thus was War made and declared against *Carthage* at the same time, and he that carried them the Decree of the Senate, declared likewise that there was an Army at Sea ready to invade them. This news cast the whole City, not only into fear, but despair. They had lately lost all their Youth, they had neither Fleet, nor Allies, nor Soldiers in readiness, no provision in the City to sustain a Siege; in short, no manner of preparations, as ordinarily happen to people surprized, with an unexpected War, and which has not been declared. Besides, it was not possible for them to oppose the Romans and *Masaniissa* together; wherefore they sent other Deputies to *Rome*, with full authority to accommodate the Affair at any rate whatsoever. The Senate made them answer, That, provided the Army were yet in *Sicily*, if within a month the Carthaginians would deliver up in Hostage three hundred Children of their best Families, and perform what they should ordain, the City of *Carthage* should remain free in the enjoyment of their Rights, and of the Territory they possessed in *Africa*. This Decree of the Senate they publicly gave to the Deputies to carry to the Consuls, whom privately they advertised not to recede from those orders they had received in the City. The Carthaginians were doubtful, that though they did deliver up their Hostages, they should not obtain assured Peace. However, in the extremity wherein they beheld themselves, they placed all their hopes in obedience; and that they might work upon the Consuls, by a ready execution of their commands, they carried their Children into *Sicily*, before the time had been prescribed them. It's true, that their Parents and Friends parted not from them without abundance of tears; especially the Mothers, who echoing fearful shrieks and cries, could hardly be pulled from the embraces of their Children, and when they were, hung upon the Ships, clasped hold upon the Anchors, and cut the Tackle to hinder the Seamen from putting forth; many tore their hair, and beat their breasts, as if they had been at a Funeral, for they perceived that in appearance indeed they gave Hostages, but in reality and effect, they yielded up their City, since their Children were taken away, and no assured promise made them. And indeed many of these Women shedding tears made this dire prediction, that the giving Hostages was but in vain. Thus were these Youth taken away from *Carthage*, to be delivered up in *Sicily*, where they were received by the Consuls, who sent them to *Rome*, and told the Carthaginians, they should know at *Utica*, what more was to be done, to deliver themselves from this War.

XXXIV. When the Romans were passed over, the Army encamped in the same place, *Scipio* had before encamped in, and the Fleet rode in the Ports depending on *Utica*. The Carthaginian Deputies came to attend the Consuls, who seated in the Tribunal, encompassed by all the Officers of the Army, had caused to be drawn off on both sides the way that the Carthaginians were to pass, all their Forces magnificently armed, with Colours flying,

flying, that the Carthaginians might judge of their vast numbers by what they saw. Then a Trumpet having commanded silence, by the Consuls order a Herald went to give notice to the Deputies, that they were ready to give them audience. They were led through the midst of all the Army, and when they drew near, stooped at the Rails, placed like a Bar before the Tribunal, from whence the Consuls commanded them to make their Proposals. They began then in a deplorable manner to recount the ancient Treaties had been between the two people, the antiquity of Carthage, the multitudes of people in it, the power they had had, and the former great extent of their Dominions; adding that they spoke not this out of vanity (for it was no time to be vain, when they were miserable) but to the end, that the Example of a change so great and so sudden, might oblige the Romans to treat them with humanity and moderation, of which they could not give any more illustrious evidence, than by having commiseration of the afflicted, besides those who exercise their power well in other mens misfortunes, may hope the like from their Conquerours, if they should fall into the same disgrace. It would be piety in you (said the Chief of the Deputies) to consider the miserable condition of our affairs, and unless we have indeed met with Enemies pitiless and inexorable, you should in all reason rest satisfied with our calamities; we have lost all the Dominion we had both by Sea and Land, we have delivered up our Ships to you, and have not sought to build others; we have forborn hunting of Elephants; we have both formerly, and at present, delivered you good Hostages. We have paid you the Tribute we ought you at the time limited, we that use to receive from others. Certainly, Sirs, your Predecessors, after having vanquished us, contented themselves with thus much, they received us into their alliance and friendship, on these conditions, which we have solemnly sworn to maintain on one part and the other. They faithfully kept the Peace they granted, after long Wars; and you, against whom we never took up Arms, what is it you complain of? what part of the Treaty has not been observed, that you so suddenly decreed this War, and bring it to our doors before you declare it? Have we not paid you your Tribute? have we any Ships? have we any Elephants? Do we not seem worthy of your compassion, after the so late loss of fifty thousand men by famine? You will say we made War upon Masanissa: 'Tis true, but 'twas not till he had usurped our Lands, which we for a long time suffered with patience, till he setting no bounds to his avarice, committed a thousand cruelties in the Country about the Empories, where he was brought up and educated; and not content with that, he has attempted to snatch from us what we had remaining, and at last has gone so far, as to trouble the peace we had with you: But because we feared to displease you, that we might remove all pretence of making this War, we have by publick Edict declared even our own Defenders Criminal; we have sent Deputies to Rome to make our excuses, and now again afresh sent other Deputies with full Authority to renew the Peace, on what conditions soever you should think fit: What need was there then of this Fleet, or this Army against people, who though innocent, submit themselves to whatsoever you shall ordain? You may easily judge we make not these offers to deceive you, and that you cannot impose upon us any penalty, we will not undergo, whilst we have surrendered up as Hostages to you, the most considerable of our Children, as you desired, without staying out the months time you gave us for the sending them: Besides, the Decree of the Senate declares, that provided we delivered those Hostages, Carthage should remain free in the enjoyment of what we possess.

After the Deputy had thus spoken, Censorinus broke silence, and answered him in these terms. 'Tis needless to repeat to you the occasion of this War,

your Deputies have already heard it from the Senate themselves. But as to what you falsely object to us 'twill be easie to reply; for it is decreed by the Ordinance you speak of, and we told it you before in Sicily, when we received your Hostages, that at Utica should be proposed to you the farther intentions of the Senate. We cannot but praise you that you have sent your Hostages so readily and such chosen ones. But if you so passionately desire Peace, what need have you of Arms. Wherefore bring all you have as well belonging to the publick, as private persons, all your Darts, Crossbows and other Arms, and deliver them into our hands. The Deputies answered that they were willing to obey in this too, but then they could not tell how to hinder *Asdrubal's* entry into the City, whom they had condemned to death, and who was now at the head of twenty thousand men which he had new raised. However when the Consuls had replied that the Senate and people of Rome would take that into their care, they promised to surrender their Arms, and *Scipio Nasica*, and *Cn. Cornelius Hispalus* were sent to receive them. They had Arms for two hundred thousand men, an infinite Number of pikes and darts, two thousand as well crossbows as other engines, for the lancing of javelins and casting of great stones. And it was a wonderful thing to see the carriages loaden with them conducted by the enemies themselves, who were followed by the Deputies, Senators, Officers, Priests and Nobility, hoping to move the Consuls either out of respect to their dignity or out of compassion to their misfortune.

When they were come before the Tribunal, each man habited according to their degree, they all stood attentive, and *Censorinus* who was more eloquent than his colleague once more breaking silence spoke to them in this manner. *Certainly we have good reason to applaud that ready obedience you have manifested in delivering your Hostages, and surrendering up your Arms; but it is fruitless to make long discourses where necessity presses. Hearken with patience to the remaining Orders of the Senate; withdraw your selves from the City of Carthage and transfer your habitation into whatever place you please of your Dominion, provided it be fourscore furlongs from the Sea, for we are resolved to rase it.* The Consuls words were interrupted by the outcrys of the Carthaginians, who began to lift up their hands to heaven, calling the gods to witness of the treaties violated, railing, reviling and reproaching the Romans. Some desired death, others became furious, some provoked the Romans against the Deputies, others cast themselves on the ground, beating the pavement with their hands and face, and others in a rage tore not only their cloaths but their very flesh, but after this first agitation was past over, you might behold them overwhelmed with sorrow, standing still without speaking a word, as if they had been dead. The Romans were astonished at the spectacle, and the Consuls could not take it ill that this consternation, caused by an unexpected command, had raised such storms in the breasts of the Carthaginians, till their heat of anger was over, for they considered that mighty calamities do on the sudden create a boldness in the heart of men, who cannot upon surprise digest the troublesome necessity of obeying, and becoming hereafter servants: but when after a long silence they grew more lively sensible of their misery, they forbore any farther revilings, and only set themselves to lament their unfortunate condition, calling by name, their Children, their Wives and their Country, as if they had heard their lamentations. The Priests likewise invoked the Gods as if they had been present, reproaching them with being the cause of their death. In short the mourning was so great, and the groans so confused, of those who deplored the publick and
private

private misfortune, and so worthy of compassion, that they drew tears from the eyes of their enemies. The Consuls themselves moved with pity, out of a consideration of the instability of humane things, expected with sad countenances the end of their deplorings, when after abundance of tears and groans, the Calm in some sort returning into their souls, they fell again into a profound silence, and considering that their City was disarmed and defenceless, that they had not one Ship, one Warlike Engine, one Dart, or one Sword left, that they had not within their walls men of war sufficient, having lately lost fifty thousand men, and that it was not possible for them to raise Soldiers elsewhere, having neither friends nor allies, besides that the shortness of the time would not permit it. That their Children, their Friends, and their Country were in the enemies power, their City besieged by Sea and Land, and that from the other side *Masanissa* their ancient enemy was ready to fall upon them, they put a stop to the Tumult, and extravagance, as of all things most useless in this occasion, and had a fresh recourse to prayers. Then *Hanno* surnamed *Gilla* the most considerable of all the Carthaginians there present, having first obtained permission to speak, began in this manner.

“Sirs, If I may be admitted to add any thing to the Remonstrances XXXVL
 “we have made you, I must tell you, that we pretend not to act in this
 “occasion, as if we pleaded our cause before you in quality of Judges;
 “such proceeding is utterly unseasonable in our present condition; but I
 “hope to make it appear by pertinent reasons, that we are not unworthy
 “your mercy. We who have formerly been Lords of *Africa*, both by
 “Sea and Land, and for a long time disputed Extent of Empire with you,
 “at last yielded all to *Scipio*, when we delivered up all our Ships and our
 “Elephants, we have likewise payd you the tributes imposed on us at
 “the terms prescribed. We beg you therefore, by those gods, witnesses
 “to the treaty, to pardon us, and not to violate the Oath of *Scipio*, who
 “swore that from thence forward the people of *Carthage* should be friend
 “and allie to the people of *Rome*. We have not swerved from any thing
 “of that accommodation. We have neither ships, nor Elephants, you
 “can demand no tribute of us, nay we have served you against three
 “Kings, and be not offended if we put you in mind of it, when you de-
 “manded our Arms, since ordinarily miseries make men speak more then
 “they ought; but now though the Religion of the Treaty should be suf-
 “ficient argument to perswade you, we have only recourse to our Pray-
 “ers, and indeed we have nothing else left, having already yielded up to
 “you all that was in our power. This is all I can say to you touching the
 “first Treaty of Peace which was ratified by the Oath of *Scipio* your Con-
 “sul, but for what concerns our present Estate, you Sirs, are your selves
 “witnesses of what we have done. You demanded Hostages, we have
 “given you all the choicest of our youth. You desired our Arms, we
 “have surrendred them all, which the inhabitants of a City taken never
 “willingly did. We assured our selves upon the honesty of the Romans
 “and upon their word, for the Senate gave us their letters, which we
 “delivered unto you, and when you demanded Hostages from us, you pro-
 “mised that *Carthage* should (giving them) be at liberty to live accord-
 “ing to its Laws. And if having done what the letters of the Senate
 “have ordered us, nay more than what they commanded, it would cer-
 “tainly appear very evil if after having promised liberty to our City,
 “upon

“ upon delivery of Hostages, you should ordain it's destruction, after having
“ received them, for if you demolish it, how can you leave it free as you pro-
“ mised. This is all we have to say touching the Treaties, as well old as new,
“ and if this move you not, we will only have recourse to prayers and tears,
“ the sole refuge of the miserable, and for which we have ample occasion in
“ the innumerable calamities that overwhelm us. We beseech you therefore
“ for an ancient City, built by the command of the Gods. For the support of
“ that immense glory it had acquired. For the preservation of that name
“ it has born throughout the whole world, for its Temples, for its Gods,
“ which are not capable of any crime. Chastise not them by a privation
“ of those solemn sacrifices and continual adorations paid them by this
“ City. Rob not the dead, who never offended you, of their Sepulchres,
“ and those funeral Honors daily celebrated on their tombs. And if you
“ have any pity for us, since you say 'tis out of compassion you permit us
“ to chuse another habitation, spare our Altars, spare our household gods,
“ spare our high places, spare the goddess's guardian of *Carthage*. In short
“ spare so many things that are both pleasant and precious in the eyes of
“ the whole earth; for what can you fear from us? You have our ships,
“ you have our arms, and all those great beasts which attracted on us
“ the envy of such a world of people. You may say perhaps that it is
“ comfort enough for us, that you suffer us to build another City. But it
“ is impossible for men accustomed to get their livelyhood from the Sea, of
“ whom we have an infinite number, to live or subsist in the Inland, yet how-
“ ever you will have this to be a favor, but pray be pleased that instead
“ of it we offer you another condition which will fully satisfy us and (in
“ our opinion) bring you more glory. Let the City that has not sinn'd
“ stand, and put to death all the Carthaginians rather than command them
“ to change habitation. Thus all the world will believe you animated
“ against men, and not against Temples, Gods, Sepulchres and innocent
“ walls. You have been accustomed to prefer glory and pitty before all
“ things, and to make your moderation shine in the midst of your prosp-
“ rity, which hitherto you have practis'd towards all you have subdued,
“ suffer your selves then to be moved by the prayers of *Jupiter*, and those
“ gods which yet preside ore *Carthage*, and for their sake cease to hate us
“ and our children, out of a remembrance of our past offences. Take
“ heed lest we prove the first for whom you loose that high esteem in
“ which you live, and fully not your reputation by the cruelty of this
“ action, so horrible to speak of, much more to act, and of which never
“ yet was heard an Example. The Greeks made many Wars upon the
“ Barbarians, and you your selves have bore Arms against many other
“ Nations; yet neither of you ever raz'd a City that yielded without fight,
“ that had delivered up all they held most dear, their Children and their
“ Arms, and are moreover ready to submit to whatever other punishment
“ should be imposed, We therefore implore you by those gods, witnesses
“ to our treaties, by the fortune of mankind, by those inward stings, they
“ who are in prosperity ought to feel and fear, not to brand your success
“ with so shameful a tyranny, nor extend our miseries to the utmost ex-
“ tremities. Or if for your parts you are resolved, yet give us leave to
“ send once more to *Rome*, to present our request to the Senate. 'Tis
“ but a short time we ask you, yet during which our torment and trou-
“ ble will increase through the incertainty of the event. You are in ample
“ power to do with us what you please either at present or afterwards but
“ pray remember to act nothing contrary to Piety and Mercy.

To

To all this *Censorinus* replied, " There needs no farther repetition of the XXXVIII.
" Orders of the Senate, they have ordained, and it must be done, did we
" treat you like Enemies, we should only command, and then force you
" to it; but because the interest of our Commonwealth, and possible the
" advantage of your own requires it; I am content to make you apprehend
" the reasons, and to persuade rather than constrain you. As often as
" the sight of the Sea puts you in remembrance of your ancient Dominion,
" and past Greatness, it provokes your Arms, and begets you a thousand
" calamities. 'Twas this Sea gave the first occasion of your Assaults on
" *Sicily*, which since you have lost. 'Twas this Sea which made you in-
" vade *Spain*, out of which you were soon after chased. 'Twas this Sea
" gave you the opportunity of robbing our Merchants, contrary to your
" faith given in our Leagues, and then to throw them over-board, the bet-
" ter to conceal your crimes, till being surprised in it, you quitted *Sardinia*
" for reparation of that injury. Thus you lost *Sardinia* by means of that
" Sea which by its nature inclines all the world to covetousness, by reason
" of the vast profit it brings in, in a little time. By it formerly the Athe-
" nians, skilful in Maritime Affairs, grew suddenly and mightily great;
" and by it were not long after as suddenly ruined; for the Sea is a kind of
" Merchandise by which riches flow in full springs, and suddenly ebbs as
" fast. You know well that those people I am speaking of, having extend-
" ed their Dominion over all the Ionian Sea, and even unto *Sicily*, set no
" bounds to their avarice till they had lost all, till they were forced to sur-
" render their Havens and their Ships into their Enemies hands, to receive
" a Garrison into their City, and demolish with their own hands their lofty
" Walls, so that they became almost a Plain, which for a long time proved
" the means of their preservation. And surely, Gentlemen of *Carthage*,
" there is more stability in a Country Life, and more assurance in Labour
" and Tillage; and though the profits are not so great as those reaped by
" the Sea, yet are they much more certain: and to tell you my thoughts,
" I am clearly of opinion, that a Maritime City is rather a Ship, than firm
" Land, so much is it tossed with variety of affairs, and subject to infinite
" Revolutions, whilst the Inland yields Fruits, may be gathered without
" danger; for this reason was it, that anciently Kings chose their Seats
" within Land, and that was it raised the Medes, Persians, Assyrians and
" many others to such a height of power; but to what purpose give I you
" the examples of Kings, let us speak of what concerns you. Cast your eyes
" throughout all *Lybia*, and chuse your selves a place where you may have
" Neighbours that you like, but whence you may no more see this object
" that at present tempts you. Thus you will rase out of your minds
" the memory of past miseries; and indeed how can you look upon the
" Sea, where now you have no Shipping without being tormented with
" the remembrance of those mighty Fleets which daily returned to your
" Ports loaden with booty or with the thoughts of the former
" Magnificence of your Ports, your *Arsenals* and your Havens. And
" when within your City you behold the Lodgings of the Soldiers unfur-
" nished, your Stables without Horses, and your Stalls without Elephants:
" what can all this move you to, but grief, and desire to recover, if it
" were possible, the same power. 'Tis ordinary among men, that the me-
" mory of past felicity creates a hope of its return; and on the contrary,
" there is no better remedy against calamity than oblivion, which can ne-
" ver be attained to, but by distancing our selves from objects may keep it
" fresh

“ fresh in our minds. An evident proof of this you may have in your
“ selves, who after having sundry times obtained pardon for your faults,
“ could never keep to constant Peace, nor continue long without violation
“ of your Treaties. Wherefore if you have still thoughts of Dominion,
“ and that preserving your animosities against us, you wait only a favou-
“ rable opportunity to shake off the yoke, you do well in endeavouring
“ still to maintain your City, your Ports, your Honours, and those lofty
“ Walls which seem only built for War: and we on our side should com-
“ mit a great crime to pardon people that will not pardon us, even
“ then when fortune has submitted them to our power. But if in truth,
“ and not in word only you yield the Dominion to us, and that content-
“ ing your selves with what you possess in *Lybia*, you will make a sincere
“ peace with us, deal faithfully, and prove it by the effects, retire your
“ selves into *Africa*, and willingly yield up to us that Empire of the Sea,
“ which by right of War belongs to us. In vain, to move us to compassion,
“ do you deplore your Temples, your Gods, your publick Places, and
“ your Sepulchres; for we will not touch your Sepulchres, and you shall
“ have liberty when you please to come and sacrifice, but all the rest must
“ be demolished; for you sacrifice not to Havens, nor pay Funeral Ho-
“ nours to Walls; for your Hearths, your Altars, and publick Places, you
“ may build them elsewhere, and soon establish your selves a Residence
“ in the same manner as when you left *Tyre* you came into *Africa*, and
“ gained this Seat which now you call the Seat of your Ancestors. To tell
“ you all in a word, you may easily conceive what we now do is not out
“ of malice, but for our own security, and to maintain publick concord:
“ if you remember that *Alba* which was no Enemy City, inhabited not
“ by Foes, but Friends that loved us, was transferred into our City for
“ the publick good, which succeeded to both peoples satisfaction. But we
“ have, say you, multitudes of miserable people who gain their living by
“ the Sea; this hath likewise been thought on, so far, that it will be easie
“ for you still to trade by Sea, and to import and export your Commodi-
“ ties without very great trouble; for we have not ordained your retreat
“ from the Sea above fourscore Furlongs; and we our selves are di-
“ stant at least a hundred. We permit you to chuse such a place as shall
“ best like you, and live with all freedom in your new Habitations: and
“ this is what we meant when we told you that the City of *Carthage* should
“ remain free, if they obeyed us in this occasion; for speaking of the
“ City, we believed not to be understood to have spoken of its Foundations,
“ or its Walls, but its Citizens. Here *Censorinus* stopped, but seeing the
“ Carthaginians were likewise silent, he added, that *What he had said, was*
“ *only to persuade and comfort them: And now, said he, the Orders of the Se-*
“ *nate must be put in execution, and that out of hand, wherefore withdraw your*
“ *selves; for as yet we consider you as Deputies.* Upon hearing these words,
“ the Ushers made them go forth; but they foreseeing the disorder this news
“ would bring to *Carthage*, desired once more audience, and being again ad-
“ mitted, spake again in this manner. *We see well, that we must obey, since*
“ *you will not permit us to send to Rome; nor have we any hopes of ever return-*
“ *ing again to you; for our Citizens, before we shall have done speaking, will tear*
“ *us in pieces; wherefore we beg you not for our concern (we have already set up*
“ *our Rest) but for the interest of Carthage, to oblige them by terror to support*
“ *the Calamity they groan under, that to that end you would cause your Fleet to*
“ *approach the City, whilst we are on the way thither, to the intent, that they at*
“ *once understanding your design, and seeing the danger whereupon they are*
“ *threatened,*

threatened, falling upon them, may suffer, if possible, the execution of your Command. Fudge you to what the injustice of our fortune has reduced us, when we are constrained to demand your Forces against our selves.

Having uttered these words, they departed, and *Censorinus* went to plant himself within view of *Carthage* with twenty Gallies, whilst one part of the Deputies took a quite different way from the City, and the rest went thitherward quite overwhelmed with sorrow and grief.

The Carthaginians stood upon their Walls to discover their return at a XXXIX. distance; and some tore their hairs out of impatience to see them coming, others ran out to meet them to hear the news; but when they beheld them quite cast down with sadness, they smote their Breasts, demanding how things had passed; some in the general; others when they met a Friend or any one they knew, stopped them and enquired: but when they received no answer, they gave themselves over to tears, judging all was lost, those who from the Walls perceived it, wept likewise for company, without knowing wherefore, but out of an inward presage of some great misfortune. The Deputies being come to the Gate, the people thronged so thick, that they were ready to stifle one another, and ready they were to have torn in pieces the Deputies, had they not told them that before they could answer them they must have conference with the Senate. Hereupon some gave place, and others made way for them, that they might the sooner know the truth. After they were entered the Palace, and the multitude were retired, the Senate took their Seats, and the people stood all about the Senate-House. And now the Deputies having told them the command they had received from the Consuls, there was raised a confused cry in the Assembly, which the people that were without answered by a dreadful noise. But when the Deputies continued their discourse, and declared the reasons they had used to move the Romans, they again kept a profound silence, out of the desire every man had to know the event, which made the people quiet too; but when they understood that they were not suffered so much as to send to *Rome*, they burst forth into hideous groans and outcries; and the people forcing their Guards, entered confusedly into the Palace where now there was nothing but rage and fury. All the Rabble, like so many *Bacchantes*, possessed with different sorts of madness, fell some upon the Senators who had advised the giving of Hostages, tearing them in pieces, as if they had been the first cause of their surprise; others treated in the same manner those who had counselled the delivery of their Arms: some threw Stones at the Deputies, as the bringers of ill news; others ran like Furies up and down the Streets, and finding some *Italians*, who by chance had staid in the City, not dreaming of this unexpected misfortune, treated them with a thousand sorts of Indignities, telling them they would have revenge for the Hostages sent to *Rome*, and for the Arms taken from them. All the City was filled with tears and rage, with fear and threatenings; some running through the Streets called out to their Friends, others ran to the Temples, blaspheming the Gods that had not power to defend their own Altars, some running to the Arsenals, wept for grief, to see them empty, others running to the Havens with tears, bemoaned their Ships delivered to faithless men, others again called their Elephants by name, as if they had still been with them, accusing and blaming both themselves and their Predecessors, and arguing that they ought never to have yielded up neither Elephants, nor Ships, nor Arms, nor consented to pay Tribute; for that it had been much more honourable to have died for
their

their Country with their Arms in their hands. But nothing more enflamed the anger of the people, than the Mothers of the Hostages, whom they might behold like Furies in a Tragedy, flie upon all they met with, reproaching them that they had robbed them of their Children, and demanding satisfaction. In conclusion, some more reserved than the rest, after having barricadoed up the Gates, gathered Stones, and carried them upon the Walls, to serve against the Enemy, instead of other Arms.

XL.

The same day it was concluded in the Senate, that they should stand upon their Defence, and Proclamation was made for the general freedom of Slaves. They likewise nominated Generals, of which one was *Asdrubal*, whom they had condemned to death, and who had already twenty thousand Men in Arms, and to him they presently dispatched a Deputy to entreat him, that now in his Countries extremity he would not remember the offence he had received, which was only occasioned by the fear they had of the Romans. Him they appointed to keep the Field; and for the City they chose another *Asdrubal*, Grand-child to *Masanissa*, by one of his Daughters. This done, they dispatched once more to the Consuls, to demand only thirty days time, during which, their Deputies should go to *Rome*, which being refused, they took a resolution to suffer all extremities, rather than abandon their City. And now might be seen an universal change in mens minds; the Temples likewise, and the Palace, and other spacious places were changed into publick Shops, wherein men and women laboured night and day without respite, unless so much time as necessity and nature required for food and sleep; so that every day they made one hundred Bucklers, three hundred Swords, a thousand Arrows for the Cross-bow; five hundred Darts and Javelins, and as many Cross-bows as they could; and when they wanted strings to bend them with, the Women cut off their Hair to make Cords of. Whilst the Carthaginians prepared for War with so much care and diligence, the Consuls were not so pressing, whether it troubled them to resolve upon doing a thing so extraordinary, or that they thought they could, when ever they pleased, with ease take by force a disarmed City. Besides they imagined that necessity would soon take them off their courage, it being ordinary, that those who in the extremity of Affairs are at first furiously opposite, after having more closely considered the matter, grow fearful of displeasing those who have the power of destroying them, which happened in effect in *Carthage*, where a certain man perceiving his Fellow-Citizens already growing sensible of fear, came into the Assembly under another pretence, and told them, that of many evils the least was to be chosen, when they had not wherewithal to defend themselves. Mean while *Masanissa* was not well satisfied, that he having brought down the Power and Glory of the Carthaginians, the Romans should come and snatch the Victory out of his hands, and had crossed the Sea without first communicating their design to him, which they had used to do in former Wars. However, when the Consuls, to sound his intentions, demanded his assistance, he replied, he would not be wanting, as soon as he knew they stood in need of it, and indeed sometime after he sent one to the Consuls, to know if they had any thing for him to do, but they not enduring his Pride, and mistrusting him as a person grown angry, made answer, that when they stood in need of him, they would send him word, and yet were they at present in some straits for Provisions, which were only brought them from *Adrumetum*, *Leptis*, *Saxa*, *Utica* and *Chella*; for *Asdrubal* held all the rest of *Lybia*, from whence he sent what he could to *Carthage*.

Some days being passed, the two Consuls drew their Army near the City,
resolved

resolved to besiege it. It was situate in the great Golf of *Africa*, encompassed by the Sea, in form of a Peninsula, the Neck of which dividing it from the Continent, was about five and twenty Furlongs broad. Towards the West there stretched out a long Point of Land, about half a Furlong wide, which advancing into the Sea, divided it from the Marish, and was inclosed on all sides with Rocks, and with a single Wall. Towards the South and the Continent, where stood the Cittadel called *Byrsa*, it was inclosed with a triple Wall of thirty Cubits high, not accounting the height of the Parapets and Towers, which flanked it round in equal distances, of about two * Acres one from another. Their Foundations were about thirty Foot deep, and they were four Stories high, the Walls reaching only to the second, but they were vaulted, and that so vastly, that underground there were Stalls for three hundred Elephants, with all things necessary for their sustenance, and above Stables for four thousand Horse, and Lotts for their Provender: besides there were Lodgings for twenty thousand Footmen, and four thousand Horsemen; in short, all their ordinary preparations for War were lodged in their Walls only. There was but one place of the City, where the Walls were low and weak. This was a neglected Angle, which began at the Point of Land, we spoke of before, and reached to the Ports, for they had two Ports disposed in such manner, that a Ship might easily go from one to the other; and yet there was but one entrance through a passage of about sixty six Foot wide, secured with Chains; the first was for Merchants, where were many, and divers sorts of Quarters for the Mariners; the other, which was the inner Port, was for the Men of War, in the midst of which stood an Island encompassed about, as well as the Port, with vast Keys, in which there were Places or Docks to put under covert two hundred and twenty Ships, and above Store-houses, where they wrought and made all things necessary for the Shipping; the Fronts of each place were upheld by two Pillars of Marble of Ionick workmanship, so that the whole round, as well of the Port as the Island, represented on both sides two magnificent Gallies. Within this Island stood the Admirals Palace, from whence the Trumpet gave the Signal of his Orders; from whence he published his Ordinances, and from whence he overlooked all things. The Island stood directly opposite to the mouth of the Port, extending it self a good way forward, so that from thence the Admiral could discern what passed at Sea a great distance off, but those at Sea could not perceive what passed within; nay, when the Merchants were entred into their Port, they could not see the Men of War, for their Port was separate from the inward Port by a double Wall; and for them there was an entrance from their Port by a Gate into the City, without passing into the other. Such was at this time the face of *Carthage*.

Or about 80 fathoms according to the Greek Acre:

The Consuls having each taken their quarter, began their assaults, *Munilius* to the Landside, with design to fill up the Ditch, and possess himself of the Rampire within it, that so he might afterwards attempt the high Walls; and *Censorinus* from the Sea causing Ladders to be planted both on the Shore, and in his Ships against that ill fortified Angle, which had been always neglected: they both despised their Enemy, believing him disarmed: but when they found new made Arms, and Men fully resolved to defend themselves, they were surpris'd as at a Prodigy and retreated, acknowledging that from the very first they committed an error, in believing they should carry the City without fighting. They made a second assault, which succeeding no better than the first, increas'd the courage of

* It is to be imagined, he means, but a part laboured at a time, and when weary, were relieved by others.

* Colonel of 1000 men.

the Carthaginians ; and now the Consuls fearing *Asdrubal*, who lay encamped on the edge of the Marish, lodged their Forces apart ; *Censorinus*, with his Naval Army in the Marish, against the Walls of the City, and *Manlius* on the neck of the *Peninsula*, towards the Continent. Being thus posted, *Censorinus* passed the Marish, to go in search of Materials for the building of Engines, where he lost five hundred Workmen : and great quantity of Arms having been encountred by *Amilcar*, surnamed *Phameas*, Colonel of the Carthaginian Horse : yet forbore he not the bringing of Materials, with which having caused to be made Ladders, and other Engines, he with them returned to the assault, but in vain. *Manlius* after some slight attempts, and beating down part of the first Wall, despairing of success, gave over the Enterprize : but *Censorinus* having filled up a part of the Marish near to the point of the Land to gain more room, raised two Rams of an extraordinary size, of which one was driven forward by six thousand * Foot, encouraged by the Orders and Presence of their Captains; and the other by the Gally-slaves, whose labour was over-seen by those who had the command of the Gallies. This begat subject of Emulation, so that the Commanders, as well as the others striving, who should out-do each other, a great part of the Wall was soon overthrown, and the City might plainly be seen into. The Carthaginians on their side did not sleep, but apply'd themselves to repair by night, what breaches the Rams had made by day ; but because the night was not sufficient for so great a labour, fearful lest the Romans should easily beat down again what they had repaired, whilst it was yet moist and unsettled ; they resolved upon a Sally, and some with Swords, and others with Torches in their Hands, so vigorously assaulted the Engines, that though they burnt them not quite, yet they rendred them useless, and retreated into the City in order. Day appearing, the Romans entertained a conceit of entring *Carthage*, by the breach which the Inhabitants could not quite repair, and they saw within a spacious place very proper to fight in. The Carthaginians expected them, having placed in the Front all their Armed men, others with Stones and Clubs in the Rear, and all about in the neighbouring Houses, those who were any way capable of defending them. The Romans enraged that disarmed men thus despised them, entred in throngs into *Carthage* : but *Scipio*, to whom the taking of this City gave afterwards the surname of *Africanus*, being yet but * Tribune, took special care not to enter, contenting himself with drawing up his Regiment by Companies in Battel, near the Walls of the City ; from whence, as much as in him lay, he hindered others from passing in, and sustained those whom the Carthaginians beat back, by favouring their retreat ; and this was it, gave him his first reputation, and made him gain the Character, in all Letters that were wrote to *Rome*, of being wiser than the Consuls : At length *Censorinus* his Army becoming sorely afflicted with sickness, by reason of being posted among dead and stinking waters, and that the height of the Buildings hindered them from breathing the Sea Air, he resolved to put to Sea ; but the Carthaginians having observed, that the wind blew directly to the Roman Fleet, filled with Tow and dried Vine-twigs, a quantity of small Barques within their Port, that the Enemy might know nothing of it ; and having plaistred them over with Pitch and Brimstone, brought them out in sight of the Romans, and there hoisting sail, set fire to them ; so that the wind, and the violence of the flames drove them into the midst of the Fleet, which were almost all burn'd.

After

After this, *Censorinus* being gone to *Rome* to be present at the Assembly, then to meet for Election of Magistrates; his departure gave such boldness to the Carthaginians, as to make an attempt upon *Manlius* his Camp. To this end they sallied by night, some armed, and others who had no Arms carrying Bridges, and stormed the Ditch in that place next the Town, and were already pulling out the Palisades, when the Alarm being run through the whole Camp, by reason of the obscurity of the night, *Scipio* with his Horse marched out of the farther Gate, and going the round of the Camp without the Line, terrified the Carthaginians, and made them retreat again into their City; all the World gave *Scipio* the glory of having saved the Army in this nocturnal terrour by his Conduct; and *Manlius* determined to keep better Guards, and to fortifie himself, to which effect he caused a Wall to be built in the place, where there was but a Palisade, and built a Fort on the Sea, to receive those Ships that brought him Provisions. That done, he took the Field with ten thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, besides Hewers of Wood and Forragers, to gather in Harvest throughout all the level Country. Those who were employed in this Service, were commanded by Tribunes, who relieved one another according to their turns, which gave occasion to *Phameas*, who commanded the African Horse to signalize himself; this young man diligent and handy, and who had with him small but swift Horses, which lived on Herbs when they had nothing else; and could endure hunger and thirst, if there were occasion, concealed himself among the Woods, or in the Valleys; and when he perceived the Enemy stood not upon their Guard, sallied from his Covert, and came thundring upon them like an Eagle; and after having charged the Romans, retreated into a place of security. But when *Scipio* commanded, he never appeared; for *Scipio* continually kept his Foot in order, and his Horse in a fighting posture; and when any Corn was to be cut, he never suffered the Reapers to go to work, till he had first gone the round of the Field they were to cut down, both with Horse and Foot in their Arms, himself guarding the out-skirts with some Squadrons; and if any of the labourers stragled from the others, or went out of the Circle, he punished them severely, wherefore *Phameas* never durst attempt him; and *Scipio* still continuing his vigilance, his glory increased from day to day; insomuch, that the other Tribunes, who envied him, raised a report that there was an old Alliance between *Scipio*, and the Family of *Phameas*. It happened also that some Africans retiring themselves to some Towers or Castles, of which there are great number in that Country: the other Tribunes, after having granted them Pass-ports, forbore not to lay Ambushes for them in the way, and rob them: But *Scipio* on the contrary, convey'd them to the very House; insomuch, that hereupon none afterwards would enter into a Treaty, but in his presence; so much the good opinion of his Virtue and Honesty was increased, not only in the thoughts of the Romans, but of the Enemies themselves. *Manlius* being returned to the Camp, after having gathered in Harvest, the Carthaginians by night assaulted the Fort on the Sea with great violence, and besides to strike terrour into the Romans, the whole Multitude coming out of the City made a horrible noise. The Consul ignorant of the cause of this Tumult, kept within his Trenches: but *Scipio* having caused two Squadrons of Horse to mount, each with his Torch in his hand posted in, forbidding his people to engage, because of the night, and only giving them order to run to and fro, so that they might make the Enemy believe they were a greater force than

they were, and likewise strike an apprehension into them, that they were advancing to charge them, this succeeded; for the Carthaginians afraid of being charged on both sides, retreated into their City; and this was a farther addition to the brave exploits already performed by *Scipio*, it being now in every Mouth, he alone was worthy to have *Paulus* for his Father, and to be enrolled in the Family of the *Scipio*'s, into which he had been adopted. Some time after *Manlius* going to *Nucca* with design to assault *Asdrubal*, the enterprize displeased *Scipio*, the more because he saw that in his March he was to pass through narrow ways among the Rocks, the tops of which were possessed by the Enemy. However he would go, but being come within three furlongs of that General, on the Banks of a River, which he must pass to fall on: *Scipio* did what he could to oblige the Consul to a retreat, telling him another time, and other means, were requisite to reach *Asdrubal*. Those who envied him were not wanting to oppose his proposition, and to say, that it favoured more of cowardise than prudence to turn tail, after having seen the Enemy, and that it was to give them an opportunity to come and charge them in the Rear. He then proposed another advice; to wit, that at least they should throw up Trenches on that side the River, that if they were repulsed, they might have a retreat; but they laughed at this, and one of them said, he would lay down his Sword, if he must obey the orders of *Scipio*, and not those of *Manlius*. Hereupon the Consul, who was not very expert in War, past the River; and was no sooner on the other side, but he engaged *Asdrubal*, where there happened a great slaughter on both sides; but because *Asdrubal* had his Camp near, he retreated thither, from whence as from a place of security, he observed in what manner he might defeat the Romans, who already repenting themselves of their enterprize, regained the River in good order, yet could they not very commodiously repass it, because there were but few Fords, and those very dangerous, so that they were forced to file off. Now *Asdrubal* taking his time, charged them with great fury, slaying an infinite of those who sought rather to fly than defend themselves, of which number were three of the Tribunes, the principal of those, who had advised the General to give battel. *Scipio* presently rallied all the Cavalry he could with three hundred Horse which he had, and dividing them into two Squadrons, caused them to march against the Enemy each of his side, with order not to charge at the same time, but make their discharge of their Darts, and then immediately retreat; then charging again, retreat in like manner. He was of opinion, that thus, having always one half of them fronting the Enemy, and stopping them with force of Darts, he should constrain him to close his Battalia's, which indeed happened; for after often renewing this kind of fight, and that the Africans saw they continually charged them with Darts which extremely vexed them, they turned all their Power against *Scipio*, giving by this means leisure to the rest of the Army to repass the River; and *Scipio* seeing the Romans on the other side, passed himself through all the showers of Darts, thrown at him by the Africans. Now at the beginning of this fight, four Roman Cohorts, which the unexpected assault of the Enemy had hindred from gaining the River, were retired to an Eminence, where *Asdrubal* besieged them. The Romans perceived nothing of it, till such time as they were about to encamp; and now they did know it, knew not what to resolve on; some were of advice to continue their march, and not to expose a great Army for a small Number. Whereupon *Scipio* remonstrated to them, that when the debate was about a matter of importance, mature deliberation,

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'tis true, was requisite ; but that now seeing so many brave men in an extreme danger, nothing was to be left unattempted to relieve them. In short, having taken with him Provision for two days, he set forward, leaving the Army in a great fear, lest he should not return himself. As soon as he came to the place, where the Enemy besieged the Romans, he immediately seized of an Eminence nigh to that, to which the Cohorts were retired to, and which was only divided from it by a very narrow Valley. His coming hindered not the Africans from continuing the siege, for they could not think that his men tired with travel could give any assistance to the besieged; but he seeing that the two Hills joyning themselves together at the foot, made but a very small Valley, advances that way, and posts himself above the Enemy ; who startled at his courage and readiness, betook themselves to a disorderly flight. He would not pursue them, because they were the greater number, but contented himself with the saving of these four Cohorts, which were given over for absolutely lost, The Soldiers seeing him return contrary to their hopes, and that not only he himself was safe, but that he had likewise saved others ; gave assurance of their inward rejoicing, by their outward acclamations and shouts of joy, conceiving an opinion of him, that he acted nothing but by the assistance of the same Divinity, which was believed to foretel things to his Ancestor *Scipio*. *Manlius* returned to his Camp near the City, after having suffered sufficiently, for not giving credit to *Scipio*, who would have disarmed him from the Expedition ; and whereas many thought it strange, that they had left their Dead unburied, especially three Tribunes ; *Scipio* gave liberty to a Prisoner, and sent him to *Asdrubal*, to entreat him to give Funerals to the Tribunes. He caused them to be sought for among the Dead ; and knowing them by the Rings of Gold they wore (for by them are the Chiefs among the Romans distinguished from the private Soldiers, who wear only Iron ones) he gave them honourable Funerals, whether moved to it out of humanity, or that in justice he ought it to the rule of War ; or else already reverencing the Glory of *Scipio*, he was willing by this Office, to oblige that great man : To proceed, as the Romans who had had this bickering with *Asdrubal*, were on their return to *Carthage*, still frightened with their defeat, *Phameas* cruelly perplexed them, and on the other side the Carthaginians came forth to meet them, so that they could not recover the Camp without the loss of some servants which those from the City cut off.

Mean while the Senate sent Commissioners to the Army to enquire into the state of affairs, to whom both *Manlius*, and the Chief Officers, and likewise even those Tribunes, who had escaped from the Rout, gave an account very advantageous in favor of *Scipio*. For at last so many glorious successes had stopt the mouth of Envy ; All the Army did the like, but above all his brave Actions spoke enough for themselves. Wherefore the Commissioners upon their return to *Rome*, published with one voice the admirable qualities of *Scipio*, and the great love the Souldiers bore him, which extreamly pleased the Senate. But now the Army being weakned by a great many disgraces, Ambassadors were sent to *Masanissa*, to demand forces against the Carthaginians, who found him no longer among the living. That King finding himself oppressed with age and sickness, and having many illegitimate Children on whom he had bestowed great gifts, and three legitimate Sons, all of different minds and manners, he sent to entreat *Scipio* as his friend, by succession from his Ancestors, to come and see him, and to consult with him about dividing his Kingdom among

XLIII.

among his Children; he immediately parted away, but ere he could arrive, *Masaniffa* had given up the ghost, having laid his Commands on his children to obey *Scipio*, in what manner soever he should divide the succession amongst them. Those were the last words of this great man happy in all things, for by divine favor he reconquered his own Kingdom, which *Syphax* and the Carthaginians had seized on, and enlarged it in such manner, that from *Mauritania* which lies upon the Ocean he extended the bounds of his Dominion into the Continent, as far as *Cyrene*, giving Laws to an infinite number of people, and teaching them a sweeter manner of living (for before the Numidians lived only on herbs, and despised tillage.) He left great store of Silver in his Coffers, and many warlike Troops, whom himself had exercised in revenging himself of his enemies. He took *Syphax* with his own hand, and brought the Carthaginians so low that the Romans had not afterwards so much difficulty to destroy them. He was tall of Stature, and very strong, so that though far advanced in years he would be present at all occasions so long as he lived, and ever mounted on horseback without a saddle, but the greatest sign of his vigorous constitution was that though he had many Children died before him, yet he never had less than ten living at a time after once he had arrived that number, and being now fourscore and ten years old, he left his youngest only four years old. That great age had he advanced to, and bore it out well, but at length of force he must die. *Scipio* did with honor cause the liberality of their father to be given to the bastard Children; divided the money among the legitimate Children, together with the Revenues, and willed that they should all bear the title of King: As for the charges of State he distributed them, to every one according to their capacity and inclination. He gave as by privilege of birth-right to *Micipsa* the Eldest who loved Peace the City of *Cirtha* the ancient residence of the Kings, to *Gulussa* the second, who was a Soldier, the Command of the Armies, and to *Mastaball* the third who was a Scholar, the charge of Justice. Having made this division of the Goods and Kingdom of *Masaniffa*. *Scipio* forthwith brought *Gulussa* along with him to assistance of the Romans, who having presently discovered the place where *Phameas* concealed himself, and from whence he issued out to surprise them, soon rid them of that inconvenience.

XLIV. One day *Scipio* and *Phameas* met in a place where there was only a water-course between, that was impassible. *Scipio* who was doubtful of some ambuscades, advanced only with three of his people, to make discovery, and *Phameas* came forward on the other side accompanied only with one, which made *Scipio*, judging he had a desire to speak with him, advance likewise only with one to attend him, when they were nigh enough to hear each other, he spake thus to the African, *Why do not you labour for your particular safety, since you can do nothing for your Country?* to which the other answered, *and what safety can I expect, in the Estate to which Carthage is reduced, after having done you so much mischief.* Assuredly replied *Scipio*, *if you believe I have any power, and that I am a man of Faith and Honor, I dare promise you in the name of the Romans not only grace and pardon but acknowledgements.* The African thanked him that had more confidence in him than in all others, and told him, *I will think of it, and if I believe it may be done I will give you notice, and wish that they parted.* Now *Mannius* to wipe away the stain of his first expedition to *Nucera*, returned thither, and having taken provisions for fifteen days, encamped, and

and fortified himself, as *Scipio* had counselled him to do the first time, but he was a long time without doing any thing, which blasted his fame the more, besides the hazard he ran the Army into of being beaten by *Asdrubal* upon their return to *Carthage*. Whilst he lay thus in an uncertainty what to do, one of *Gulussa's* people brought a packet to *Scipio*, who keeping it sealed till he came to the full Council of War, there broke it open and found writ in it, to this effect, *Such a day I will come to such a place, meet me there with what force you please, and give Order to those who are upon the Guard, to receive me if I come by night.* To this purpose were the contents of the Letters which had no name subscribed, but *Scipio* perceived well that it was an invention of *Phameas*. Though *Manlius* was fearful lest *Scipio* might be deceived by that politick man, yet seeing he had a good opinion of him, he permitted him to go to the place assigned, with Orders to receive an Oath of Fidelity from *Phameas*, without assuring him any set reward, but only promising that the Senate would recompence him, according to his deservings. But there was no need of these promises, for as soon as *Phameas* was come to the place appointed, he said that he put his own safety into the hands of *Scipio*, and for recompence he referred himself to the judgment of the Senate and people of *Rome*, and the morrow after having given his parol, he drew up all his Troops in battalia, and being advanced to the head of them with the Officers, as if he were about to consult of something of importance, he spoke to them in this manner.

If there remained any hopes to relieve our Country, I should be ready to die with you: but seeing it in the Condition in which you all know it, I am resolved to take Order for my own affairs: I have assurance given me for my self and those that will follow me: Now you are to think what you have to do.

Having thus spoken, the Captains and those who were under their command, to the Number of two thousand two hundred Horse, declared for the Romans, the rest stood firm by vertue of the authority and perswasion of *Hanno* surnamed the White. As *Scipio* returned to the Camp, accompanied with *Phameas*, all the Army came forth to meet him, receiving him with a general acclamation as in a Triumph. But *Manlius* above all expressed extraordinary joy, and no longer fearing his retreat might be shameful, because he believed *Asdrubal*, startled at the Revolt of *Phameas*, durst not follow him, he discamped for want of Provisions, not the fifteenth day after his departure, but the seventeenth. And because he had yet three days march through troublesome ways, *Scipio* took *Phameas* and *Gulussa* with their Horse, and made an inroad into the Country which the inhabitants of the place call the *Great Abyſs* from whence they returned at night to their quarters, with a great booty, and good store of Provisions. *Manlius* having advice that *Calphurnius Piso* came to succeed him, sent *Scipio* before to *Rome*, together with *Phameas*, whom all the Army conducted to the very Ships, beseeching the Gods to grant them the favor, that they might see *Scipio* return into *Africa* in the quality of Consul, as if it had been decreed by the destinies, that *Scipio* only could take *Carthage*, and in truth many of the Army wrote as much to *Rome*. The Senate gave publick praises to *Scipio*, honored *Phameas* with the Purple-robe, and chain of Gold, presented him with a Horse barded with Gold, and a Suit of Arms of the same gave him, besides six thousand Sesterces, and one hundred and fifty * Marks of wrought Silver, together with a Tent furnished with all necessary

* Each Mark containing eight Ounces.

necessary moveables, and gave him hopes of much more if he applied himself heartily to the service of the Republick : he promised it, and afterwards returned into *Africa*, to joyn with the Roman Camp.

XLV. In the beginning of the Spring *Calpurnius Piso* Consul, and his Colleague *L. Mancinus* Admiral embarked for *Africa*, whither being come, they made no attempt at all neither against *Carthage* nor against *Asdrubal*, but contented themselves to make War upon the little Cities round about, they besieged *Aspidi* by Sea and Land, but were forced to raise their Siege. 'Tis true *Piso* took another Town which he sack't, though the inhabitants complained they had surrendred upon composition : From thence he passed to *Hippone* which is a great City, considerable for it's Walls, it's Castle, it's Gates, and it's Haven, and which had been thus fortified by *Agathocles* Tyrant of *Sicily*. It being Situate near to *Utica* and *Carthage*, the inhabitants plundered the Convoys of Victuals that were carrying to the Romans, with which they were in some measure accommodated ; wherefore *Calpurnius* designed not only to chastise them, but likewise to make them restore the Prizes they had taken. He therefore laid siege to it, which continued all the Summer, but in vain, for the inhabitants made two sallies, wherein being assisted by those of *Carthage*, they burnt all the besiegers Engines. Thus Summer being spent without doing any thing, the Consul went to take up his Winter quarters at *Utica*.

XLVI. But the Carthaginians, who had yet all *Asdrubal's* Army entire, proud of the success of *Hippone*, where they had beaten *Piso*, and strengthened besides with eight hundred Numidian Horse, which had revolted from *Gulussa* to them under the conduct of *Bythias*, enlarged their hopes, besides they perceived that though *Micipsa* and *Mavastabal*, the other sons of *Masinissa*, promised Arms and Money to the Romans, yet they only temporized in expectation to see what course these affairs would take. They began therefore to spread themselves throughout all *Africa*, and without fear to fortifie places in the Country, declaiming every where against the cowardise of the Romans, and to perswade the people, they loudly proclaimed the two expeditions of *Nucera*, which had redounded to their shame, the last occasion of *Hippone*, where they had been so ill handled, and at last having besieged *Carthage* it felt though disarmed, though unprovided of all things, yet they had been forced to raise the siege. They sent likewise to *Micipsa*, to *Mavastabal*, and to the free Moors, to advise them to take care lest if the Romans took *Carthage*, they should afterwards invade and subdue them. They deputed some likewise into *Macedonia*, where one who called himself the Son of *Perseus* made War against the Romans, to exhort him to continue it, with promises that *Carthage* would not let him want either Money or Shipping. In short, now they saw themselves armed, they entertained no other but exalted thoughts, and their courage and their resolution daily increased, as they beheld themselves in a better condition of defence. *Asdrubal* their General abroad was no less resolute, after having twice successfully dealt with *Manlius*, which had raised his thoughts to that degree that he grew ambitious of having likewise the command of the Forces within the City, which to compass he caused *Asdrubal* the Nephew of *Gulussa*, who at that time commanded, to be falsely accused in full Senate, of holding intelligence with his Uncle. At which he being so surprised that he could answer nothing for himself, was knockt on the head with stools.

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XLVII.

But when the cowardise of *Piso*, and the preparations made by the Carthaginians came to be known at *Rome*, the people were extreamly moved, out of an apprehension they had, lest this War, undertaken against a neighboring Nation, and from all time enemy to the Roman name, should grow upon them. For they having been first deficient in their word, as to what they ordained the Carthaginians, there was no more hopes left of an accommodation. The memory of those Noble Actions done by *Scipio*, in *Africa*, whilst he was yet but Tribune, was yet very fresh, and the comparison of present affairs, with what he had done, raised so much the more the glory of his reputation, and as in all meetings every one told what was writ from the Army, all the world wish't his return in quality of Consul; the day of the Assembly for the Election of Magistrates drew nigh, but his not being of the age admitted by Law to possess that dignity forbid his pretending to it, for he demanded only the charge of *Edile*, when the people offered him the Consulate. The Consuls stood against it, and opposed the Law contrary to this Election, but the multitude persisted the more, alleaging that by the Laws of *Tullus* and *Romulus*, the people were Judges of the Assembly, and so it belonged to them to approve or cancel all Laws that concerned the Assembly. At last one of the Tribunes threatened the Consuls to take away their power of presiding if they agreed not to the will of the people, whereupon they permitted the Tribunes to abrogate that Law for a year, provided it were then re-established. The Lacedemonians it seems did the same, when being forced to make the Laws yield to necessity, to secure from infamy those taken Prisoners at *Piles*, they cried out, *Let us this day give the Laws leave to sleep*. Thus *Scipio* demanding the Edility, obtained the Consulate, and when *Drusus* that was likewise named Consul, required that the Government of the Provinces should be drawn by Lot, one of the Tribunes assembled the people and speaking of the War with *Carthage*, demanded to which of the Consuls they would give their Commission. So the people gave to *Scipio* the Government of that Province, permitting him to raise recruits to compleat the old Troops and to form new ones, to receive from the Allies all those volunteers would follow him, and to write in the name of the people of *Rome*, to what Kings and Cities he thought convenient, and indeed some Kings, and some Estates did assist him with forces.

Things thus disposed, he passed into *Sicily*, and from thence forthwith to *Utica*, mean while *Piso* besieged some Inland Towns, and *Mancinus* lay constantly before *Carthage*, where having observed a certain place in the wall neglected, because it was almost inaccessible by reason of the rocks that surrounded it, he thought he might secretly gain it, and having made provision of ladders prepared for the storm, some Soldiers mounted bravely, but the Carthaginians despising their slender Number opened a gate by the side of the rocks, and made a Sally upon the Romans, who so briskly repulsed them, that many Soldiers entred Pelmel with them into the City, and shouted amain, as if they had already been Masters of it. *Mancinus* ravished with joy (rash and heady as he was) with all those that remained in the Ships came forth half Armed, and ran to the walls to second their companions, but night coming on forced the Admiral to lodge in a certain Post near the the Walls where he kept without doing any thing, and because he had neither Arms nor Victuals, he sent messengers to *Piso* to give him notice to come to his relief, and to the Magistrates of *Utica*, that

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they should forthwith dispatch away Provisions; for he ran the hazard of being assaulted as soon as it was day, by the Carthaginians, and thrown headlong from the top of the Rocks. *Scipio*, who landed the same Evening at *Utica*, having seen *Mancinus* his Letter, presently caused the Trumpets to sound, to give warning to those were already landed to get forthwith aboard, giving orders to all the Youth of *Utica* to be in a readiness to follow him, and to the old men to bring Provisions on board the Gallies, and releasing some Carthaginian Prisoners, he sent them unto the City to let them understand that *Scipio* was arrived with a mighty Fleet. He dispatched likewise several Messengers one after another to *Piso*, to command him to come to him with all speed. About the last Watch he went to Sea, giving order to the Soldiers, that as soon as they approached the Town, they should all stand upright on the Hatches, that the Enemy might believe them the greater number. Towards the Break of Day, *Mancinus* being charged on all sides by the Carthaginians, had formed a round Battalia, encompassed by all the armed men he had, in the midst of which were inclosed above three thousand without Armour, but at last the Showers of Darts, and multitudes of Wounds had reduced them to the point of seeking their safety down the Precipices, when they saw *Scipio*'s Ships appear full of Soldiers, which surprized not the Carthaginians, who had already received advice of it by their Prisoners, but saved the lives of the Romans, who were almost hopeless; for at the approach of this Fleet, the Carthaginians gave ground, and the Romans withdrawn from the danger wherein they were, got aboard their Ships.

XLVIII *Scipio* sent back *Mancinus* to *Rome* (for *Serranus* his Successor was already come to command the Fleet) and went himself and encamped near *Carthage*. The Carthaginians on their part went and encamped directly opposite unto him, whither came to them *Asdrubal* that commanded the Field-Army, and *Bythias* Colonel of the Horse, with six thousand old Foot, and a thousand chosen Horse. But *Scipio* finding the Military Discipline much corrupted; that under *Piso* the Soldiers had been accustomed to Idleness, Rapine and Avarice; that in the Camp there was an infinite number of those Sutlers and Pedlars, whom only the hopes of prey made follow the Army, who debauched the best Soldiers to straggle with them, only to pillage and plunder, though by the Rules of War, he that went so far from the Camp, that he could not hear the Sound of the Trumpet, was to be proceeded against as a Run-away, and that all the mischief these people did was imputed to the Army, and all the plunder taken begot only matter of quarrel and dissention; for it often happened, that for a trifle Comrades fell together by the ears, and killed one another. *Scipio*, I say, having observed this, and knowing well he should never compass his ends on the Enemy, unless he first made himself Master of his own Troops, assembled his Army, and taking his Seat on the Tribunal, spoke in this manner:

The Oration of *Scipio*.

YOU are Witnesses, Fellow Soldiers, that whilst I bore Arms here under *Manlius*, I gave you an example of that Obedience which I desire you should pay me now, that I have a right to command: I could as well at this instant have punished your disobedience, but I thought it convenient first to advise you of
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*your duty. You know what actions you do, I am ashamed to tell you of them in full assembly. You live rather like Robbers than Soldiers, and are more used to Traffick, than to Assaults: you leave the Camp to scour the Country; and in the midst of War you are greedy after Delights, without labouring at all for Victory. This is the reason, why in that little time I have been absent, the Carthaginian Affairs are so well recovered: so that being now come to command you, I find that the reforming your evil orders will be the greatest part of trouble. If I certainly knew it were your own fault, I would not fail to punish you; but because I attribute it to another, I forget what's past. For my part I came not hither to plunder, but to conquer. I ask no Money from the Enemy before the Victory, and will patiently wait till they be fully defeated. 'Tis therefore my pleasure, that all those people in the Camp, who bear not Arms, depart, from this very day, except only some few whom I shall give leave to stay; and I forbid any, whoever he be, to return, unless it be to bring Provisions, and such Provisions too as are proper for Soldiers. I will give the Victuallers a limited time to expose their Commodities in, on which my * Quæstor and I will take care to set a reasonable price. So much for what concerns those who are not enlisted. For you my Fellow Soldiers, whatever we attempt, I have but one order to give you, that is, that you take example by me, whether it be for manners or diligence; and if you do it indeed, be assured, that your Endeavours will never want Success, nor your Actions Recompence: we must act now that the occasion requires it; let us adjourn profit and pleasure to their Season. This is what I demand from you, what I desire, Discipline: and then be assured, that as obedience shall be amply rewarded, so disobedience shall be severely punished.*

After having spoken thus, he forthwith caused all useless persons to be driven out of the Camp, and with them sent away all that was rather delicious than necessary. Having thus purged his Army, and disposed his Soldiers to obedience, he designed one night secretly to make an Assault by two several ways upon a certain great place against the Walls of the City, called *Megara*, and having sent those about, who were to make the Attaque on the one side, he took his march towards the other, causing to be brought along Axes, Croes and Ladders, he had already advanced a pretty way in the dark, without making any noise, when those that were upon the Wall perceived him, which they signified by their Cries, to which he answered first, and after him all the Assailants in like manner. There was likewise a great Cry raised on the other side, which gave the first terrour to the Carthaginians, astonished to be two several ways assaulted by so many Enemies, and by night. *Scipio* however, notwithstanding all the endeavours he used, could not gain the Wall; but having observed, that on the outside, and near the Walls there was a void Tower of the same heighth, which belonged to a private person, he caused some resolute young men to mount up into it, who having with force of Darts made those who defended the Wall, dislodge, laid Planks and Joysts over, and so passed to the Parapet, and thence leaped down into the place, and having broken open the Gate, gave entrance to *Scipio* with four thousand Men, forcing the Inhabitants to retreat into the Fortrefs, as if all the rest of the City had been taken. In this Alarm and confused Tumult they took some Prisoners; and those who were encamped without, forsaking their Camp, fled hastily to shelter themselves with the rest in the Cittadel: but *Scipio* perceiving this place of *Megara* was full of Gardens planted with Fruit-trees, and consisted of many little Inclosures of Mud-walls, Quick-set Hedges, Bushes, and some little Streams, fearing lest the Soldiers among so many Turnings and Wind-

ings which they were unacquainted with, might pursue the Enemy, and so give them the opportunity of laying an ambush for them, caused the Retreat to be sounded. Day appearing, *Asdrubal* enraged at *Scipio*'s boldness, caused all the Roman Prisoners he had to be brought upon the Wall, and before their Countrymen, with Pinchers or Hooks of Iron caused their Eyes or Tongues to be pulled out, or their Nerves or Privy Members torn off, some had the Soles of their Feet cut off, and others their Fingers; some he caused to be staid alive; and then tumbled down those high Rocks. This he did to the end, that taking away from the Carthaginians all hopes of Peace with the Romans, and sharpening their courages to the utmost, they should expect no safety but from their Arms: yet his design succeeded quite otherwise; for the Carthaginians, who found themselves made Complices of such horrible Crimes, became rather more timorous than hardy, and began to hate *Asdrubal*, who had cut off from them all hopes of pardon, especially the Senators, who loudly declared, that such cruelty and insolence were unseasonable in the publick Calamities, by which discourse they incensed him to that degree, that he took some of them, and slew them with his own hands. Thus he made himself terrible, living henceforth more like a Tyrant than a Governour, and making his security consist in his being feared, believing that sufficient to warrant him against all attempts might be made against his person.

L.

Scipio set on fire that Camp the Carthaginians had deserted the night before, when they ran to save themselves in the Cittadel, and being become absolute Master of the *Peninsula*, he caused a Trench to be dug from one Sea to the other, not above a Darts cast from the Enemies, who used their utmost endeavours to hinder the work, which made it extreme painful to the Soldiers: however, what by working, and what by fighting, they perfected it at length, though it were five and twenty Furlongs long. This being finished, he caused such another to be made towards the Inland, not far distant from the other, and after that two Traverses; so that it was a kind of a square Fortification, which he caused to be palisadoed with sharp Stakes, behind which he likewise caused a Ditch to be made; but that he might fortifie himself the better towards *Carthage*, he inclosed it with a Wall five and twenty Furlongs long, twelve Foot high, and six Foot broad, in which he placed Redoubts and Towers at equal distances. In the midst of the Fort he caused to be erected a very high Tower, on which he placed a square Platform, from whence he might discover all that was done in the City. These works having been finished in four and twenty days, and as many nights (by the continual labour of all the Soldiers, who by turns stood to their Arms, or wrought with their working Tools) *Scipio* lodged his Army. Yet he had not built this Fortification only for that use, but likewise to serve as a Circumvallation to hinder the bringing Provisions to the Besieged, which before came to them by land; for besides this Neck of the *Peninsula* which he now possessed, all the rest was encompassed by the Sea. This therefore was the first and principal cause of the Besieged's misery, which soon brought a Famine into the City; for an infinite number of people being fled out of the Country into *Carthage*, durst not go out again for fear of the Besiegers; the Merchants came no more because of the War; there was no Corn brought by Sea from *Lybia*, but rarely, and then when it was calm; so that the greatest part of their Provisions came ordinarily by land, and that passage being stopped, the City presently became afflicted with Famine. *Bythias*, who commanded the
Carthaginian

Carthaginian Horse, was now abroad, whither he had been sent to make Provisions of Corn, but he durst not come near *Scipio's* Entrenchments, much less attempt to force them: so that now no Corn could come into *Carthage*, but by Ships which were laden afar off, and which hardly got in, because of the Roman Fleet which lay at Anchor not far from the Port. However, they being forced to keep at a good distance, because of the danger of the Shore, which lay open to all Storms; and likewise could not come nearer into the Port without being subject to inconveniencies from the Carthaginians Engines upon the Walls, or of being by the violence of the Waves dashed against the Rocks, which lie there very thick: some Ships of Burthen sent from *Bythias*, and some Merchant-Ships that despised the danger, out of hopes of the gain, took their time when it blew a fresh gale into the Port, and with all Sails spread, made such way, that the Roman Gallies could not reach them; but these opportunities offered but seldom; and besides, that little Provision that came by Sea was at *Asdrubal's* dispose, who distributed it only to those thirty thousand Men he had chosen for the War, and gave no part thereof to the rest of the people, though perishing for hunger.

Scipio having observed this, contrived how to block up the Entrance of the Port which opened to the West, very near to the Sea Shore; and to this purpose he caused to be raised a long Dam, which advanced from that point of Land that separated the Marish from the Sea very far into the Water, towards the Mouth of the Port, which he did by casting in, and cementing together mighty Stones, that the Waves might not remove them; it's Breadth was in the Superficies four and twenty Foot, and four times as deep. The Carthaginians laughed at first, and mocked at the Undertaking, as if in a long time, or perhaps never *Scipio* could have brought it to perfection; but the whole Army laboured in it with an emulation of each other, without resting day or night; insomuch, that at last the Besieged affrighted, resolved to make another entrance on the farther side of the Port, where the *Peninsula* extends it self more into the Sea, where a Dam could not be made, both by reason of the depth of the Water, and violence of the Winds. All the people therefore set themselves to digging, so much as the very Women and Children, and beginning from within, and continuing their work without telling their design; and at the same time mustering up all the old Materials they had, they fell to make Gallies of divers sorts, following their business with much courage and diligence, but so secretly, that the Prisoners themselves could give no other account to *Scipio*, save that they continually heard a great noise in the Port, but knew not what it meant. Having at last completed every thing, they suddenly opened the Mouth of the Port, and about break of day came forth with fifty Gallies, and great quantity of Barques, Brigantines, and other smaller Vessels, in so good order, that they were very capable to strike. This new Mouth so unexpectedly opened, and the unthought of coming out of such a Fleet, so startled the Romans, that had the Carthaginians immediately fell upon their Fleet, unfurnished both of Mariners and Slaves, all hands being employed in the Works to advance the Siege, they might easily have made themselves Masters of it. But because it was decreed by the Destinies, that *Carthage* should be razed, they contented themselves with this vain Shew, and proud Bravado, retreating into their Port without doing any thing else.

LI.

LII. Three days afterwards they came forth again to Sea, with design to engage the Romans in good earnest, whose Fleet being now in a readiness set forward to meet them, they began the fight with great shouts on both sides, the Seamen, Souldiers and Commanders equally shewing their Courage, the one party fighting for their safety, the other to compleat their Victory, so that there was a furious fight on both parts, nothing being to be seen but wounds and death. In the fight the Carthaginian Brigantines gliding along under the banks of the great Roman Galleys broke them, sometimes in the Poop, sometime struck of their Rudders, and sometime burst a funder their Oars, so that they damaged them extreamly, and when they found themselves overcharged, they rowed off with a wonderful Nimbleness, and as nimbly returned to the Charge. At last the two Fleets having fought till Sun setting with equal advantage, the Carthaginians thought it convenient to retire, not that they confessed themselves overcome, but that they might next morning return to the fight in better order. In this retreat their smaller Vessels, being lighter and swifter, got the Van, and entring in a huddle into the Port, so stopt the entrance of the great Vessels, that they were forced to retire to a very spacious key built against the City-wall for the unlading of which they had during this War, raised a little rampart, for fear lest the enemies should possess it. There they stood firm with their Prows twined towards their enemies, all the Soldiers standing in a fighting posture, some upon the Ships, others on the Key, and others on the Rampart. The Romans who followed them had no great difficulty to assail them, for tis not hard to fight with Ships that lie still; but when they were again to draw off, because of their length, not being able to turn nimbly, they received as much damage in the retreat as they had given in the Charge, for as they turned about, they were forced to receive all the blows of the shot from the Carthaginian Engines on their broad sides. At last five Ships which the City of *Sidon*, allies of the people of *Rome*, had sent to *Scipio*, went and dropt their Anchors out at Sea, at a good distance from the Carthaginian, and giving scope of Cable enough advanced by force of Oars, and after having given their charge, warped back again by their Cables, which they had brought in at their poop, and then again returned to the Charge, and in like manner retreated. All the Fleet followed the Example of those of *Sidon*, whereby the Carthaginians were much damaged till such time as the fight having continued a good part of the night, the remainder of their Ships sheltered themselves in the Haven.

LIII. Morning being come, *Scipio* attempted the Key, because he thought the gaining of it would make the mouth of the Port useless, he therefore caused Rams, and other batteries to be planted against the Rampart, with which he beat down a part of it. But the Carthaginians though oppressed with hunger, and many other inconveniences, forbore not by night to assault the Roman Engines, not by Land, for there was no passage, nor upon Ships, for the Sea was too shallow, but naked and without light (for fear they should be discovered far off) they entred the Sea, where none kept guard, and passing, some wading with the water up to their breasts, and others swimming till they came very near the batteries, where when they could no longer conceal themselves, because they had lighted their fires, naked as they were, they received an infinite of wounds, yet not without revenge, for their fury carried them to strange resolutions, and

and all gored as they were with Arrows and Darts in their Breasts, & in their Faces, yet they abated nothing of their violence, but like fierce beasts pressed forward to meet the strokes, till having set fire to the Engines, they so dismayed those that defended them, that they took their flight towards the Camp, where never before was seen such an alarm, as this, caused by naked enraged people. *Scipio* astonished at the disorder came forth of the Camp, with some Horsemen, whom he commanded to kill those that would not stand, and with his own hands he killed some, and by that means obliged the rest, who else had been all lost, to keep their post, where they stood all the night in Arms. As soon as it was day, the Carthaginians delivered from the trouble of the Engines, labored to repair that part of the Rampier that was broken down, adding towers at certain intervals. On the other side the Romans made other Engines, and planted them on platforms, which raised them as high as the towers of the enemies, and from thence cast burning torches, brimstone and pots full of flaming pitch, with which they burnt some of them, which put the Carthaginians to flight, and opened the Romans a way to the Key to pursue them, but because the ground on which they ran was slippery by reason of the blood shed there, they could not overtake them. *Scipio* being become Master of the Key, lodged on it, fortified it, and caused a wall of brick to be built to the Cityward, very near the City walls, and of equal height. When it was finished he caused four thousand Men to get upon it with Orders to ply the enemy continually with Darts and Arrows, which extremely afflicted them, for the two walls being of an equal height, there was scarce a Dart thrown in vain, thus ended the Summer.

In the beginning of the Winter, *Scipio* determined to clear the Country of those Forces the Carthaginians had yet abroad, and to possess himself of all those places from whence they might convey provisions. He therefore sent his Captains, some one way and some another, and himself embarking went towards *Nephera* along the Marish, after having given Order to *C. Lelius* to march by Land to the intent that he might force *Diogenes* one of *Asdrubals* party from an advantageous post. As soon as he arrived, he encamped within two hundred and fifty paces of *Diogenes*, and having left *Gulussa* in the Camp, to prosecute the War with him, returned to *Carthage*. He continued often to go and return from one place to the other, to see how things passed, till such time as two towers of the Fort in which *Diogenes* was posted being thrown down, *Scipio* sends behind the Fort a thousand chosen Soldiers, while himself assaulted the forefront with three thousand others, choice men likewise, who marched upon the ruins, not in confusion but in a body, the Soldiers having orders to fight so close lockt together that they could not be repulsed, those in the first rank being sustained by the others that followed. At the noise made by the Assailants the Africans ran to defend themselves, but whilst they were all employed there, the thousand Soldiers behind, according to the Order given them, forced the Camp, and having pulled out or cut the Palisadoes, violently rushed in with a wonderful boldness whilst none were aware of it, or so much as doubted of such an Assault. The enemies perceiving them, betook themselves to flight, for they believed them a far greater Number then what they saw, and *Gulussa* who pursued them with his Numidians, and Elephants, made a strange and bloody slaughter

LIV.

slaughter, for there perished threescore and ten thousand men, accounting the Country people, ten thousand were taken Prisoners, and not above four thousand in all saved themselves. Afterwards *Scipio* took the City of *Nephera* with great labor, the siege lasting two and twenty days in a cold season and incommodious place. This victory contributed much to the taking of *Carthage*, for the Army at *Nephera* furnished the besieged with provisions, and that Fort hardened the Africans in their obstinacy, but after it was taken, all the other garrisons in the Country voluntarily surrendered to *Scipio's* Captains. Thus all the Country about *Carthage* being under the Roman obedience, and it being impossible to have any thing by Sea by reason of the War and Winter, Victuals grew very scarce in the City.

- LV. As soon as Spring came on, *Scipio* assaulted the Citadel called *Byrsa*, and the gate called *Coton* at the same time, which caused *Asdrubal* to set on fire that part of the gate which was square, but whilst he expected *Scipio* should make a new attempt on that side, and stood firm with the inhabitants; *Lelins* mounted privately by the other side of the gate which was of a round figure, and making himself Master of it, the shouts of those that were already got up, so dismayd the enemies, that the other Soldiers now contemning the besieged, and having filled all the places difficult to pass with Beams, Engines and Planks, they leapt in on all sides, in spite of all the resistance of the guards oppressed with hunger, and lost to all courage. *Scipio* thus possesst of the wall that encompassed the gate called *Coton*, got thence into the great place of the City which was nigh unto it, where night coming on, and not suffering him to go farther; he kept there in Arms with those Soldiers he had with him, and as soon as day broke, caused four thousand fresh men to come thither, who being got into *Apollo's* Temple, plundered his Statue, which was all of Gold, and all the inside of the Temple, which was covered with Plates of Gold, of a thousand Talents weight. They cut in pieces the Plates with their Swords, do what their Captains could to hinder them, till such time as having got what they could, they pursued their enterprize. Mean while *Scipio's* chief design was against the place called *Byrsa*, for that was the strongest of all the City, and a world of people were retreated thither. The way from the great place thither, was up hill, through three Streets, on each side of which there was a continuance of very high houses, whose upper stories jetting somewhat over into the Street, whole showers of Darts flew from thence upon the Romans, who were constrained before they passed farther, to force the first houses, and there post themselves, that from thence they might drive out those that fought in the neighboring houses, and after they had driven them out, they laid Beams and Planks from one side of the Street to the other, on which, as on Bridges they passed cross the Streets, thus they maintained War in the Chambers, whilst as fast as they met, they fought more cruelly below in the Streets. All places were filled with crys and groans, people dying a thousand different sorts of Deaths, some at Swords-point, some thrown headlong down from the tops of the houses, upon the pavement, others falling upon Javelins, Pikes and Swords, presented against them, however none durst yet set fire, because of those who maintained the fight in the lofts; but when *Scipio* had gained the foot of the Fortreſs, all the three Streets were immediately on a flame, and the Soldiers had charge to hinder the ruines of the houses caused by the fire, from falling into the Street, that the whole Army might

might have the more convenient passage; And now were new spectacles of calamity to be seen, the fire devouring, and overturning the houses, and the Roman Soldiers all about, so far from hindring it, that they endeavored to involve the rest in the same ruine. The miserable Carthaginians in despair falling confusedly with the Stones and Bricks on the Pavement, dead bodies, nay people yet living, and especially old Men, Women and Children, who had hid themselves in the most secret places of the houses, some laden with wounds others half burnt, and all crying out in a deplorable manner, others tumbling headlong from the upper stories of the houses, among the Masses of Stones and Wood, were in their falls torn in pieces. Nor was this the end of their miseries, for the Pioneers who to make way for the Soldiers removed the Rubbish out of the middle of the Streets, tossed with their Hooks and Forks, the bodies, as well of the dead as living into the vaults, turning them with their Iron Instruments, as if they had been pieces of Wood or Stones, so that there might be seen holes full of heaps of men, of which some having been headlong thrown in, yet breathed a long time, and lay with their legs above ground, and others interred up to the neck, were exposed to the cruelty of the Masons and Pioneers, who took pleasure to see their heads, and brains crushed under the horses feet, for these sort of people placed not those wretches, so by chance, but of set purpose. As for the Men of War their being engaged in the fight, with the hopes of approaching victory, the eagerness of the Soldiers, heightened by the sounds of the Trumpets, the noise made by the Majors and Captains in giving their Orders, made them even like furies and hindered them from amusing themselves at these Spectacles. In this bloody toil they continued six days and six nights without respite, save only that the Soldiers were from time to time relieved by other fresh ones, lest the continual watchings, labor, slaughter and horror should make their hearts fail them. *Scipio* only bore out all this time without sleeping, he was continually in action, continually running from one place to another, and taking no food, but what offered it self by chance as he was passing, till such time as quite tyred out he sat down in an eminent place, that he might see what passed. Mean while strange havock was made on all sides, and this calamity seemed likely to continue much longer, when on the seventh day they had recourse to his clemency and came to him bringing in their hand the Vervein of *Aesculapius*, whose Temple is the most considerable in all the Fortrefs, desiring no other composition, but that he would please to give their lives, to all that would come forth, which he granted to them, except only to the Runaways. There came forth fifty thousand as well Men as Women, whom he caused to pass out of the little Gate towards the Fields, with a good guard. The Runaways who were about nine hundred, seeing there was no mercy for them withdrew into the Temple with *Asdrubal* his Wife and Children, where though they were but a small Number they might defend themselves, because of the height of the place situated upon Rocks, and to which in times of peace they ascended by sixty steps; but at length oppressed with famine, watchings and fear, and seeing their destruction so nigh, Impatience sieled them, and quitting the lower part of the Temple they fled to the highest story. *Asdrubal* mean while privately withdrew himself, and went to *Scipio* with a branch of Olive in his hand: *Scipio* having commanded him to come up, and prostrate himself at his feet, shewed him to the Runaways, who seeing him, demanded silence, which being granted after having vomited forth an infinite number of revilings and reproaches against *Asdrubal*, they set

fire to the Temple, and buried themselves in the flame. It is said that whilst the fire was kindling, *Asdrubals* Wife decking her self in the best manner she could, and placing her self in the sight of *Scipio*, spake to him with a loud voice in this manner.

The Oration of *Asdrubals* Wife.

I Wish nothing to thee, O Roman, but all prosperity, for thou dost act only according to the rights of War. But I beseech the Gods of Carthage, and thou thy self to punish, as he deserves, that *Asdrubal*, who has betray'd his Country, his Gods, his Wife and his Children, and then addressing her Speech to *Asdrubal*. *Perfidious Wretch* (said she) thou most wicked of all mankind! This fire is about to devour me and my Children: but thou, Great Captain of Carthage, for what Triumph art not thou reserved, or what Punishment will not be made thee suffer, at whose feet I now see thee.

After these reproaches she cut her Childrens throats and cast them into the fire, and then threw her self headlong in; such, as is reported, was the end of this Woman, but this death had certainly better become her Husband.

LVI.

As for *Scipio*, seeing that City which had flourished for seven hundred years since it was first built, comparable to any Empire whatsoever for Extent of Dominion by Sea and Land, for its Arms, for its Fleets, for its Elephants, for its Riches, and preferable even to all Nations on the Earth for Generosity and Resolution, since after their Arms and Ships were taken away, they had supported themselves against Famine and War for three years together. Seeing it, I say, now absolutely ruined, tis said that he shed tears and publicly deplored the hard fortune of his enemies. He considered that Cities, People and Empires are subject to Revolutions, as well as the conditions of private Men, that the same disgrace had happened to *Troy* that powerful City, and afterwards to the *Assyrians*, *Medes* and *Persians*, whose Dominion extended so far, and lately to the *Macedonians*, whose Empire was so great and flourishing, which was the reason that unawares, and as it were without thinking of it, that Distich of *Homers* escaped him.

*Priam's and Troy's time come, they Fates obey,
And must to Fire and Sword be made a prey.*

And *Polybius* who had been his Tutor, demanding of him in familiar discourse, what he meant by those words, he ingeniously answered, That the consideration of the Vicissitude of Humane Affairs, had put him in mind of his Country, whose Fate he likewise feared; as the same *Polybius* reports in his Histories.

Carthage thus taken, *Scipio* gave the Plunder to the Soldiers for some days, except only the Gold and Silver, and Offerings, which were found in the Temples. After which he distributed several Military recompenses to all his Soldiers, except only to those who had pillaged *Apollo's* Temple. And having caused a very light Ship to be loaden with the spoil of the Enemy, he sent

sent it to *Rome* to carry news of the Victory, and caused it be signified throughout all *Sicily*, that those who would come, and claim the offerings made to their Temples, which had been carried away by the Carthaginians when they had made War in that Island, should have them restored. Thus giving testimonies of his goodness in all that he could, he gained the good will of all people. And at last having sold what remained of the spoil, he caused all the Bucklers, Engins and useless Ships, to be piled together, and being girt after the manner of the Romans, set fire to them as a sacrifice to *Mars* and *Minerva*.

The Ship that went from *Carthage*, happened to arrive at *Rome* in an Evening, where as soon as the news was known of the taking of that City, all the people flock'd to the publick places, and the Night was spent in rejoycings and imbracing each other; as if this Victory (the greatest that ever the Romans had gained) had confirmed the Publick Repose; which they before thought unsecure. They knew well, that they and their Predecessors had done great things against the Macedonians, the Spaniards, and lately against the Great *Antiochus*, as likewise in *Italy*; but they confessed they never had a War so much to be feared as this, by reason of the generosity; prudence and hardiness of their Enemies; nor so perillous, by reason of their infidelity; They likewise remembered the miseries they had suffered by the Carthaginians in *Sicily*, in *Spain*, and likewise in *Italy*, for sixteen whole years together, during which *Hannibal* had sackt four hundred Cities, and destroyed in divers encounters three hundred thousand men, and being several times come to the very Gates of their City, had reduced them to the last extremities. These things considered, made them with difficulty believe, what was told of the victory, and they often demanded of one another if it were certain that *Carthage* was destroyed. Thus they past the night in recounting one to another, how after having disarmed the Carthaginians, they had presently made themselves new Arms, beyond the judgment of all the World. How having taken away their Ships, they had built others of old stuff; and how having stopt the entrance of their Port, they had in a few days dug a new one, on the other side. They spoke likewise of the unmeasurable height of their Walls, the vast stones they were built with, the fire which they had several times put to the Engins. In short they represented to the eyes of the Auditors the whole figure of this War; insomuch that giving life to their discourse by their gesture they seemed to see *Scipio* on the Ladders, on the Ships, in the Gates, and in the Streets, running from one side to the other.

The people having thus spent the night, on the morrow solemn sacrifices were made to the Gods, and Publick Prayers, wherein every Tribe assisted separately: after which Plays and Spectacles were exhibited to publick view, and then the Senate sent ten Commissioners, of the Number of the Fathers, to settle joyntly with *Scipio*, such Orders as were most necessary for that Province and for the Romans best advantage. As soon as they were arrived they Ordered *Scipio* to demolish what remained of *Carthage*; henceforth forbidding any to inhabit there, with horrible imprecations against those, who in prejudice of this Interdict, should attempt to Rebuild any thing, especially the Fort called *Byrsa*, and the place called *Megara*, to the rest they defended no mans entrance. They decreed likewise, that all the Cities which in that War had held on the Enemies party should be razed, and gave their Territories Conquered by the Roman Arms, to the Roman Allies, particularly gratifying those of *Utica*, with all the Country extending from *Carthage* to *Hippone*, they made all the rest of the Province Tri-

butary, from which neither Men nor Women were exempt, resolving that every year there should a *Prætor* sent from the City, and having given these Orders they returned to *Rome*. *Scipio* having Executed them, and beholding himself at the height of his wishes, made sacrifices, and set forth Plays in Honour of the Gods, and after settling all things in a good condition returned to *Rome*, whither he entered in Triumph. Never was any thing beheld more glorious, for there was nothing to be seen but Statues and Rarities, and curious pieces of an inestimable price, which the Carthaginians had for so long a time been bringing into *Africa*, from all parts of the World, where they had gained an infinite of Victories. This hapned near the same time that *Mummius* Triumphed the third time over the Macedonians, and the first time over the Greeks, after having overcome *Andriscus*, who gave himself out to be *Philip*, about the hundred and sixteenth Olympiad. Some time after there arising several seditions in the City because of the poverty of the people, under the Tribuneship of *Gracchus*, it was advised to send six thousand people to inhabit in *Africa*; but when setting forth the foundations of this Colony, in the place where formerly stood *Carthage*, it was found the Wolves had removed the marks, the Senate forbade their further proceeding. Long time after, when *Cæsar* who was created *Dictator*, after his Victory over *Pompey*, pursued him into *Egypt*, and from thence came into *Africa* to prosecute the War, against the friends of his dead Enemy, 'tis said that he saw in a dream a great Army, which shedding of tears called to him, and that moved with this dream, he set down in his Table Book, the design he had to Rebuild *Carthage* and *Corinth*; but being soon after kill'd by his Enemies in the Senate, *Cæsar Augustus* his Son finding by chance that Memorial, caused *Carthage* to be Rebuilt, which we may now behold near the place where the Ancient *Carthage* stood, for he took care not to fall under the Execrations fulminated when it was demolished. I find it on Record that they sent near three thousand inhabitants from *Rome*, and that the neighboring Cities compleated the peopling of it. Thus was *Africa* reduced into the form of a Province, and *Carthage* ruined by the Romans was Rebuilt by themselves, and Repeopled one hundred and one years after it was demolished.

The End of the Roman Wars in *Lybia*.

APPIAN

A P P I A N
 OF
 ALEXANDRIA,
 HIS
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 Roman Wars
 IN
 SYRIA.

Book II.

The Argument of this Book.

- I. **A** Ntiochus undertakes to make War against the Romans, without any just cause. II. His preparations; Hannibal comes to him, adviseth him to carry the War into Italy, and sends Ariston the Tyrian to Carthage, to stir up the people. III. A Conference between Scipio the African and Hannibal. IV. Antiochus, on the promises of the Etolians, begins the War. V. Hannibal's Speech to divert the King from prosecuting the

the War, till his Forces were come out of Asia. VI. The Romans prepare for War, mean while Antiochus besieges Larissa, but raises his Siege, and goes to winter at Chalcedon, where he Marries, though above fifty years old. VII. Manius, General of the Romans, pursues Antiochus, who stays for him at the straits of Thermopylae, where they engage, and Antiochus is defeated. VIII. Publick Prayers for Manius Victory, which is followed by the surrendry of many places; Antiochus causes his Forces to come from Asia. IX. L. Scipio Consul prepares to come and command the Army after Manius; mean while Livius, Admiral of the Romans, and Polexenidas, Commander of Antiochus's Fleet, engage, where Livius gets the better. X. L. Scipio, and his Brother the African pass into Etolia, and thence into Thrace; whilst Livius, Successor of Attilius, takes many Towns; and Polexenidas deceives Pausimachus, General of the Rhodian Fleet. XI. Seleucus, the Son of Antiochus, invades Eumenes his Kingdom, and besieges Pergamus, whence he raises his Siege, mean while the Roman Fleet defeats that of Antiochus. XII. He quits all he held in Europe, which the Scipio's possess themselves of; then follow that King, and overtake him at Sardis, where conditions of Peace are proposed, which he will not accept. XIII. He is forced to come to a Battel, wherein he is utterly defeated. XIV. The Scipio's grant him Peace, on conditions which the Senate confirm; for which the African is accused of corruption, and defends himself in an extraordinary manner. XV. Manius, Successor of Scipio, gives Order to the rest of the Affairs of Asia, and brings back the Army into Italy, where he dismisses them, and the Senate rewards the Rhodians and Eumenes. XVI. An account of the Successors of Antiochus their actions; and how the Romans reduced Syria to the form of a Province. XVII. The State of the Affairs of Syria from Alexander the Great, till Seleucus Nicanor came to be King. XVIII. His Life and Actions. XIX. The History of the Marriage of Antiochus with Stratonice, and the death of Seleucus. XX. Continuation of the Descendants of Seleucus to Antiochus the Great, and a short recapitulation of his Successors.

Antiochus, King of Syria, Babylon, and of many other Countries, was the Son of Seleucus, Grand-child of Antiochus, and the sixteenth Successor from that Seleucus, who after the Death of Alexander, reigned in that part of Asia, confining on the Euphrates. This Prince made the first proof of his Arms against the Medes, the Parthians and other people revolted from his Predecessors, where he signaliz'd himself by so many Heroick Actions, that he gained the surname of Great. Afterwards the success of his first Enterprizes, and that glorious Title raising his courage, he despoiled Ptolemy Philopator, King of Egypt, yet but an Infant, of the lower Syria, and part of Cilicia; and after that, setting no bound to his designs, he transported the War towards the Hellespont into Etolia and Ionia, where he claimed a right, by virtue of his being King of Asia, because formerly those Countries had been under the Dominion of the Kings of Asia. From thence passing into Europe, he became Master of Thrace, constraining those who offered to resist to pay him obedience. He likewise fortified the Chersonesus, and rebuilt Lysimachia, which Lysimachus, King of Thrace, after Alexander had built as a Cittadel to keep the people in subjection; and which after his death, the Thracians had demolished. Antiochus undertook to repeople it, making those Inhabitants

tants, which went out of it return, redeeming those that were in slavery, and drawing thither many new ones, giving them Sheep and Oxen, and Iron to Till the Ground. He was very desirous with all possible expedition to put this City in a condition, and to make it the seat of that War he had resolved on, because he believed that in all *Thrace* there was no place more proper to be made a Magazine of Corn, and other Provisions. A great number of people had already surrendered unto him, and received the Garrisons for fear of his Arms, when those of *Smyrna*, *Lamp-sacus*, and many others, who would not submit to his Yoke, sent their Deputies to *Flaminius* the Roman General, who a little before had in a great Battel defeated *Philip* of *Macedon* in *Thessaly*; for in those times and before, the Affairs of *Greece* and *Macedon* were extremely embroiled, as we have related in the Greek Histories. There were many deputations on one part and the other, between *Antiochus* and *Flaminius*, but without any effect; for the Romans and *Antiochus* had for a long time been distrustful of one another. The Romans were of opinion, that this King grown now so powerful, would not, after so many happy successes, consent to Peace and Repose; and that Prince saw that the Romans only could oppose his designs, there being small likelihood they would ever suffer him to establish a Dominion in *Europe*: Yet hitherto there was no occasion given of a breach, when the Ambassadors of *Ptolemy Philopater* came to *Rome* to complain that *Antiochus* had dispoiled him of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. The Senate and people of *Rome* were very glad that this occasion presented, and presently sent their Ambassadors to *Antiochus*, under pretence of reconciling the two Kings: but indeed to observe the designs of *Antiochus*, and oppose them as much as they could possible. *Cneus*, chief of this Embassie, required of the King, *That he would not hinder Ptolemy, who was a friend of the people of Rome, from enjoying what had been left by his Fathers: and that he should leave in liberty those Cities, which formerly belonged to Philip of Macedon, saying it was not reasonable, that he should take to himself what the people of Rome had conquered.* To this he added, *That they were astonished he should come from Medea to the Sea-coasts of Asia, with so great a Fleet, and so powerful an Army, and already begin to trouble Europe by building of Cities, and making himself Master of Thrace, and that there was great appearance all these were but preparations to another War.* The King made answer, *That his Predecessors had formerly possessed Thrace, but being busied elsewhere, it had been usurped from them, and that now, that he had leisure, he would recover the Possession, and had rebuilt Lysimachia for the Residence of his Son Seleucus. For the rest, he would leave the Cities of Asia in liberty, provided they would own the Obligation from him, and not from the people of Rome. But for what respects Ptolemy, (said he) I am his Kinsman, and shall suddenly be his Father-in-law, and then shall take care to act in such a manner, as he shall give you thanks for the good office you have done him: but let me in my turn be astonished too, not being able to comprehend by what right the people of Rome meddle with the Affairs of Asia, since I meddle not with those of Italy.* Thus they parted, without doing any thing save threatening one another. Some time after a report was spread, that *Ptolemy Philopater* was dead, which made *Antiochus* to take his way towards *Egypt*, with design to seize that Kingdom, which the death of that King might make an easie Conquest. Being at *Ephesus*, *Hannibal* driven from *Carthage* by the calumnies of his Enemies, who had accused him to the Romans, as factious and likely to trouble the Peace now between them, came to salute him, and offer him his service; and as he had the Repritation

tation of a great Captain, the King received him with much kindness, and kept him near his person. Being gone as far as *Lycia*, he understood that *Ptolemy* was yet living, whereupon he quitted the design of *Egypt*, out of hopes that he might easily seize *Cyprus*, and to that intent, he embarked for that Island; but was surprized with so furious a Tempest near the River *Sara*, that he lost a great number of his Ships, and many of his Friends, Mariners and Soldiers; and the rest of his Fleet being carried by the Storm to *Seleucia* in *Syria*, he there caused his Ships to be repaired, which were much out of order, and celebrated the Nuptials of his Children, *Antiochus* and *Laodice*, whom he had before made enter into contract of Marriage.

II. At length having absolutely resolved on a War with the Romans, he endeavoured to ally himself to the Kings his Neighbours by Marriage. He sent *Cleopatra*, surnamed *Syra* to *Ptolemy* in *Egypt*, and gave her in Dower the lower * *Syria*, which he had formerly usurped from him, hoping thus to appease that young man, that he might attempt nothing on that side during the War. He sent likewise *Antiochida* to *Ariarathes*, King of *Capadocia*, and the last to *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*: But that King knowing the design he had of making War upon the Romans, and that it was only for that end that he sought his Alliance, excused himself; and when his Brother *Attalus* and *Phileter* wondered that he despised the Alliance of so great a King his Neighbour, who offered it of himself; he laid before them the importance of this War, in which possibly in the beginning they might fight with equal Forces, but that in the end the Romans would prove victorious, by reason of that courage and generosity, which rendered them undefatigable. *In which case*, said he, *I shall remain free and secure in my Kingdom; but if Antiochus overcome, 'tis possible so powerful a Neighbour may deprive me of my Estates; or if he let me keep them, 'twill be only on conditions of submission to his Empire.* These were the Reasons why he would not accept the Match.

* Or Cœlo-syria.
* Constanti-nople.
Now *Antiochus* being returned to the *Hellepont*, and passed over into *Chersonesus*, took many places in *Thrace*, either by force or surrender, set at liberty all the Greeks that were under the Dominion of the Thracians, and was extremely liberal to those of * *Bizantium*, because their City being seated at the mouth of the Sea, was very commodious for War; he likewise by his bounty, and the terror of his Arms, drew the Galatians to his party, judging those great Bodies were very proper to oppose the Romans in a Battel. After this he came to *Ephesus*, whence he Deputed *Lyfias*, *Eginetes* and *Menippus* to *Rome*, in effect to pry into the intentions of the Senate, but in appearance to tell the Fathers: *That always hitherto he had been affectionate to the Roman Name, and likewise that he had been desir'd to have been received into their Alliance, if they had thought him worthy.* However, he could not but wonder that they should order him to quit the Cities of *Ionian*, to release to some of them the Tribute they ought him, not to meddle with the Affairs of *Asia*, and to abandon the Possession of *Thrace*, which he held of his Ancestors; for that such kind of commands were usually given to the Conquered, and not to Friends. The Senate knowing well that these Ambassadors were only come to sound them, answered in few words, *If Antiochus leave the Asiaticque Greeks at liberty, and touches nothing in Europe, he may be, if he pleases, friend of the people of Rome.* This was all they said, without giving any farther reason to the Ambassadors. *Antiochus* thereupon designing as soon as he could to seize upon *Greece*, that from

from thence he might begin the War against the Romans, thought good to communicate his intentions to *Hannibal*, who told him, *That Greece having for a long time been afflicted with War, he thought there would be no great difficulty in seizing upon it. But that it was hard for a Prince to make War in his own Country, because of the scarcity of Provisions that might happen, but much more easie to maintain it in his Enemies Country: That Antiochus would never attain his desires upon the Romans in Greece, considering the conveniencies they had of supplying themselves with Provisions, and the faculty of raising Men: He therefore counselled him to sieze on some part of Italy, and make that the seat of the War, whereby the Roman Affairs would, as well at home as abroad be weakned. I know, said he, Italy perfectly well; and if you will give me but ten thousand men, dare promise my self to land and post my self in some place convenient for your designs, from thence I will write to my Friends in Carthage, to engage them to stir up the people to revolt, who already of themselves weary of the present Government, preserve no great fidelity for the Romans, and who out of hopes of a better Fortune, will attempt any thing as soon as they hear of my return to Italy.* The King with pleasure listned to this advice; and considering (as true it was) that the Engagement of the Carthaginians in this War, was of no small importance, gave him charge to write forthwith to his Friends. However he writ not, for he could not do it with safety, the Romans having their Spies every where, and the War not being yet declared: Besides there were many envious persons in *Carthage*, and that Republick was troubled with those Divisions, which not long after were the cause of its ruine. Howbeit, he sent to his Friends a certain Tyrian Merchant, called *Ariston*, who came to *Carthage*, under pretence of Trade, and by him he desired them, that as soon as they heard he was entred *Italy*, they should move the people to revenge the outrages they had received; he acquitted himself very well of his Commission: for *Hannibal's* Enemies knowing of the coming of this *Ariston*, began to make a great noise, as if he had the management of some contrivance to the prejudice of the Publick, so that search was made for the Tyrian, and he, that he might not only engage the Friends of *Hannibal*, fixed up by Night in the Palace a certain Writing, by which that Captain exhorted all the Senate to joyn with *Antiochus* for the defence of the Country, and that done, gets him to Sea. Morning being come, and the Writing read, the Friends of *Hannibal* found themselves by this invention discharged of any suspicion could be had of them, because it was believed the whole Senate had part in this advertisement. However the people knew not what to resolve on, they affected not the Roman Rule, but they had neither the power, nor the boldness to attempt any thing.

Mean while the Romans to cry quits with *Antiochus*, sent him likewise Embassadors to sound him, and spy into his Forces, of the number of which was *Scipio* the African. They came to *Ephesus*, where understanding that he was gone into *Pisidia*, they staid for him, and during his absence, had several conferences with *Hannibal*. They expostulated with him, that whilst *Carthage* was in Peace, and *Antiochus* upon the point of being declared Enemy of the people of *Rome*, he had left his Country, though since the League, neither he nor any other Carthaginian had any cause of complaint. This was a policy in the Ambassadors, who believed by these familiarities with *Hannibal*, they might bring him under suspicion with the King, of which, as great a Polititian as he was, he was not at all

aware : But the King being advertised of it, grew jealous of him, and confided not in him, as he had done before : but besides his jealousy, *Antiochus* grew envious of this great Commander, fearing lest, if his Affairs had success, all the Glory would be attributed to *Hannibal*. One day (as 'tis said) these two excellent men, holding a conference before a numerous Auditory, fell upon a discourse of great Captains ; and *Scipio* having asked *Hannibal*, who of them all he esteemed to be the greatest ? He replied, *Alexander of Macedon* : To which *Scipio* agreed, because he yielded to *Alexander* : And thereupon asking again, to whom he gave the second place, he named *Pyrrhus* King of *Epire*, because in his Judgement, Boldness and Courage were the principal Virtues of a General of an Army, and of all Kings he had ever heard speak of, he had known none more hardy. *Scipio* approved not this so well, yet he asked him again, To whom he gave the third place ? To my self, said he, for scarce crept out of my Infancy, I made my self Master of Spain ; I am the first, after *Hercules*, that hath passed the Alps with an Army ; and being entred into Italy, have struck a terror through all places : I have taken and sack'd four hundred Cities, and all this without any assistance, either of Men or Money from the Carthaginians. Here *Scipio* interrupting these Bravadoes, told him smiling ; And in what degree would you have placed your self, if I had not overcome you ? I would have then ranked my self, said he, before *Alexander*. Thus without diminishing any thing of his own Glory, he obliged *Scipio* with an ingenious praise, telling him he had vanquished a Captain greater than *Alexander*. Their conference ended : *Hannibal* prayed *Scipio* to go and lye at his Apartment ; which *Scipio* answered, he would freely have done, had he not been with *Antiochus*, whom the Romans had a present distrust of. Thus did these great Captains, by a Generosity worthy of themselves, measure their enmities only by the Wars in which they were engaged. *Flaminius* did not so, for finding, after the defeat of *Antiochus*, *Hannibal*, who fled to have saved himself in *Bithynia*, in the Court of King *Prusias*, where that Roman was in Embassie upon other Affairs, though he had never received any particular offence, nor had any order from the Senate, there being now no reason to fear him, *Carthage* being subdued ; yet he constrained him to end his days by Poyson. 'Tis said this death had been foretold him by the Oracle in these terms.

In the Libyſſan land ſhall Hannibal dye.

But he himself was deceived, for he hoped to dye in *Libya*, never thinking that in *Bithynia*, there was a River called *Libyſſa*, which gave name to the adjacent Country. I have related these Examples, as well of the Generosity of *Scipio* and *Hannibal*, as of the contrary baseness of *Flaminius*, because I thought them not unworthy to find a place in this History.

- IV. To proceed, *Antiochus* upon his return from *Pisidia*, after having given Audience to the Deputies of the Rhodians, promised to leave in liberty both them, the Byzantines, and all the other Greeks, bordering upon *Asia*, in case he came to an agreement with the Romans ; but would not grant the same conditions to the Etolians and Ionians, because they had already been accustomed to the Dominion of the Kings of *Asia*, as barbarous

barous, as they were. As for the Roman Ambassadors, they returned without doing any thing ; nor indeed came they for any other intent, but to gain knowledge of the Estate of *Antiochus* his Affairs. After their departure, came the Deputies of *Etolia*, of whom *Thoas* was the Chief, who offered the King all the Forces they had, advising him to pass forthwith into *Greece*, as to an easie Conquest: Telling him, *There was no necessity he should stay for those Forces that were to come out of the midst of Asia, for the Etolian Powers were more than sufficient, and besides the Lacedemonians, and Philip of Macedon, sworn Enemy of the Romans, would joyn with him as soon as he should be entred into Greece, but that he could not use too much diligence.* *Antiochus* presently took fire, nor could the news brought him of his Sons being dead in *Syria* hinder his embarquing, but with ten thousand men only, he went and landed in the Island of *Eubœa*, which he so terrified, that they yielded to pay him Obedience. *Micithion*, one of his Captains, began likewise prosperously enough ; for having found some Romans in the Island of *Delos*, which is consecrated to *Apollo*, he cut part of them in pieces, and took the rest Prisoners. *Amynder*, King of the *Athamanians*, joyned himself likewise to *Antiochus*, and that for the reason we are about to relate. A certain Macedonian, called *Alexander*, bred at *Megalopolis*, to whom the Inhabitants had granted the freedom of becoming a Burgess of their City, had perswaded them by extravagant lyes, that he was of the Race of *Alexander*, the Son of *Philip* ; and to gain the more credit to his knavery, he called his Children, the one *Philip*, and the other *Alexander*, and the last, which was a Daughter, *Apamia*, whom he gave in Marriage to *Amynder*, *Philip*, Brother to the Maid, and who had conducted her to her Husband, seeing his weakness and ignorance in Affairs, had staid with this his Brother-in-law to Govern his Estates, in favour of the Alliance. *Antiochus* took hold of this occasion, putting this *Philip* in hopes that he would re-establish him in the Kingdom of *Macedon*, which belonged to him by Succession from his Ancestors ; and by this means he drew the *Athamanians* to his party, as he did likewise the *Thebans* by going to *Thebes*, where he made an Oration to the people.

Thus having rashly enough undertook a War of such great importance, founded on the assistance of *Amynder*, the *Thebans* and the *Etolians*, he held a Council concerning *Theffaly*, whether he should presently siege it, or stay till Winter were past. *Hannibal* being at this Assembly, where he had kept silence till the King desired his advice, then gave it in these terms.

V.

The Oration of Hannibal.

“ I Am of the opinion it is indifferent, whether you siege upon *Theffaly* before Winter or after : but know, that people broken by a long train of misfortunes, though they may at present testifie an inclination to you, will not stick to range themselves on the Roman party, if there happen to you the least disgrace : Besides we are come hither without any Forces of our own, perswaded by the *Etolians*, that the *Lacedemonians* and *Philip* will joyn with us ; and yet I fear the *Lacedemonians* are no less our Enemies than the *Achaïans* : For *Philip*, though he should declare for you, I cannot perceive in the condition, wherein
 “ things

“things stand, that it would be of much importance which party he
 “takes, but I am firm in this judgement, that you forthwith cause your
 “Troops to come out of *Asia*, without placing your hopes, either upon
 “the Etolians or *Amynder*, and that as soon as they are come, you enter
 “*Italy*, that the Romans thereby sufficiently pestered to find remedies for
 “Domestick mischiefs, may attempt nothing against your Dominions, nor,
 “fearing to leave home defenceless, permit their Forces to range abroad.
 “To this purpose you must divide your Fleet into two parts, one of which
 “may waste the Coasts of *Italy*, whilst the other is kept in readiness, ex-
 “pecting some favourable conjuncture. In the mean time you are to post
 “your self with your Land Army on the Frontiers of *Greece*, near unto
 “*Italy*, both to hold them always in terrour, and to make an irruption as
 “soon as you can possibly. Then it will be to some purpose to use all
 “sorts of means to engage *Philip* to your interests, for which part soe-
 “ver he takes, he will be of no small consequence. And if you cannot
 “gain him, you must send your Son *Seleucus* to enter his Country with
 “an Army on the Thracian side, that seeing himself embroiled in
 “a Domestick War, the Enemy may draw no assistance from
 “him.

This was *Hannibal's* opinion, which certainly was not ill, nor indeed
 was there any better proposed in the Assembly. But the envy born to this
 great Man, joyned with a fear, the King and Councillors had, lest he should
 appear more understanding in the mystery of War than they, or that if
 things succeeded, all the Glory would be attributed to him, hindered its be-
 ing followed, save only that *Polexenidas* was dispatch'd into *Asia*, to cause
 the Army advance.

VI

The Senate receiving advice of this irruption in *Greece*, and of the de-
 feat of the Romans in *Delos*, declared *Antiochus* Enemy to the Roman
 people: And thus after the distrust so long time had on one part and the
 other, they came to an open War. But because the King was Possessor of
 vast Territories in the Continent, and almost all the Sea-coasts, that he
 was entred into *Europe*, where he had begot a fear of him, as well be-
 cause of his mighty preparations, as of the Glory of those brave Actions
 had gained him the title of Great, the Romans believed that this War
 would be of a long continuance; and besides, they were distrustful of *Phi-*
lip of *Macedon*, whom they had lately vanquished, and doubtful lest the
 Carthaginians should violate the League, because of *Hannibal*, who was
 with *Antiochus*, they had moreover in suspicion some Provinces newly
 conquered, and fearful lest they should make some insurrection, when
 they saw *Antiochus* in Arms, wherefore they sent Forces to girdle them
 with Garrisons, and with Propretors, who had each of them carried be-
 fore them six Axes, and to whom they gave one half of the Authority
 attributed to the Consuls, as they bore half their ensigns: And because
 in this great danger, they were likewise doubtful lest *Italy* should not
 prove altogether faithful, or stand stedfast with them against *Antiochus*,
 they sent a powerful Army unto *Tarentum*, to hinder the Enemies en-
 trance, whilst their Fleet coasted round the Country, so much did *Antio-*
chus at first terrifie them. After they thought they had sufficiently se-
 cured Affairs within; they set themselves to levy Soldiers, of whom they
 raised twenty thousand in the City, and twice as many in the Cities of their
 Allies, with design in the Spring to pass into *Ionia*. Thus they spent the
 Winter

Winter in making their preparations. In the mean time *Antiochus* took his march towards *Thessaly*, and being come to the place called *Cynocephalos* or *Doghead*, he Magnificently buried the bodies of those that had been slain, which had hitherto lain without Sepulchre, gaining by this means the good will of the Macedonians, and loading *Philip* with the hatred of his people, incensed that he had not taken the care to bury the bodies of those that had been slain in his service. *Philip* was yet uncertain what party he should take, but hearing this news, he straightway preferred the Romans, and sending for *Bebius*, that commanded the Army, that lay hard by, took between his hands the Oath of Alliance against *Antiochus*. *Bebius* praised him, and henceforward trusted in him, so far that sending *Appius Claudius* with two thousand Men into *Thessaly*, he made not any difficulty of causing him to march through the midst of *Macedonia*. *Claudius* being come to *Tempe*, nigh *Antiochus* his Camp that besieged *Larissa*, kindled great fires that he might make the Enemy believe he was come with a powerful Army. The King did believe it, and persuading himself it was *Bebius* and *Philip* him; Fear made him raise the Siege of *Larissa*, and making the season his pretence which began to grow cold, he went to take up his Winter-quarters at *Chalcis*. Here he fell in love with a beautiful Virgin, though he were above fifty years old, and Married her with Great Pomp and Magnificence, without considering he had upon his hands a War, wherein all his Glory lay at stake. He spent the whole Winter in pleasure and divertisement, and suffered his Army to do the like, but having in the first of the Spring made an inroad into *Acarmania*, he too well perceived that Soldiers accustomed to Idleness were difficultly retrained, and began to repent of his Marriage, and the delights to which he had abandoned himself. Not but that he did somewhat in this Country; Some places submitted to him, and others he took by force, but having intelligence that the Romans passed the *Ionian Sea*, he returned to *Chalcis*.

Their Army was composed of two thousand Horse, and twenty thousand Foot, they had likewise some Elephants. It was commanded by *Manius Acilius Glabrio*, who being passed from * *Brundisium* into * Or *Brindisium*. *Apollonia* took his march towards *Thessaly*, raising in his way, the sieges from before such Cities as the Enemy had invested, and driving out the Garrisons from those who had received them, he reduced likewise, that *Philip* of *Megalopolis*, who had the forementioned pretensions on the Kingdom of *Macedon*, and took Prisoners about three thousand of *Antiochus* Souldiers. Mean while *Philip* of *Macedon* made an Irruption into *Athamania*, and drove thence *Amynder*, who fled, and sheltered himself in *Ambracia*. *Antiochus* having intelligence hereof, and seeing so sudden a change of affairs, began to be afraid of the diligence of his enemies, and perceived at last that *Hannibals* advice was the best, Wherefore he dispatched many Messengers one after another to *Polexenidas*, to cause him to advance, and in the mean while with all expedition possible he drew together all the force he could make, which amounted to ten thousand Foot and fifteen hundred Horse, with some Auxiliary Troops of his Allies, and with these went to sieze upon the pass of *Thermopyla*, that he might stop the Enemies passage whilst he expected his Army out of *Asia*. Now the strait of *Thermopyla* is a long and narrow passage, bounded on one side with a troublesome and inaccessible Sea, and on the other with a deep and broad Marish. It hath on both sides two mighty steep Rocks, of which

VII.

which one is called *Tichiontes*, and the other *Callidromos*, where are found hot Springs whence the place had the Name of *Thermopylae*. Here *Antiochus* caused to be raised, two walls, and erected Engines upon them, committing the guard of the tops of the mountains to the Etolians, lest the Enemy should surprize him by the same windings. *Aerxes* had found out to assault the Lacedemonians and *Leonidas*, because they had left them unguarded. Having therefore placed a thousand Men, on each top he went and encamped with the rest of the Army near *Heraclea*. *Manius* having intelligence of the Enemies Posture, caused publication of the batrel to be made for the morrow, and at the same time sent away two of his Tribunes *M. Cato* and *L. Valerius* to whom he gave as many chosen Men as they desired, with Orders in the night to make a turn about the mountains and if it were possible to drive the Etolians from their Posts. *Valerius* having assaulted those which had the Guard of *Tichiontes*, was repulsed, for they defended themselves courageously. But *Cato* having posted himself near the *Callidromos*, about the last watch advanced, and surprized the Enemies, yet asleep; however he had a sharp scuffle, by reason of the incommodiouness of the place, where the Soldiers were forced to Scramble up the Rocks, and Precipices to come at the Etolians. Meanwhile *Manius* marched directly towards *Antiochus*, having drawn off his Army into several bodies for he could not fight otherwise in these straits where the King expected him, having placed his Targets, and light Armed Foot in the Front of his Phalanx, which he had embattled before his Camp, on the right hand stood the Slingers and Archers, who guarded the Foot of the Mountain, On the left the Elephants, and on the Sea-side, those Companies appointed for the Guard of his Person. When they were engaged, *Manius* found himself rudely intreated on all sides, by the light Armed Soldiers: But bravely sustaining the Shock, and sometimes giving ground, sometimes returning fiercely to the charge, he harassed them in such manner, that he put them to the Rout. The Phalanx opened to give them passage, and closing again presented the Romans with an infinite of sharp long Pikes; (By this Invention it was that *Alexander* of *Macedon* and *Philip* did principally make themselves terrible, for no Man was so hardy as to press upon this thick and affrightful Forrest of Pikes.) Hereupon on a sudden, might be perceived the Etolians with great crys flying from the *Callidromos*, and sheltering themselves in *Antiochus* Camp; which at the instant struck fear into both parties, who knew not what it meant; but when they knew *Cato* who with loud shouts pursued the Flyers, and saw him already nigh the Camp, the Kings Soldiers, who had heard the Roman Courage and Valor largely spoken of, and were sensible of their own defects and faintness, occasioned by their having spent the Winter in Pleasures and Idleness, began to be afraid, and their fear blinded them, so that they could not observe the numbers commanded by *Cato*, but imagining them far greater then they were, and apprehensive lest they should Plunder their Camp, they ran thither in disorder, followed so close by the Romans, that they entered Pelmel with them, and forced them to a second flight. *Manius* pursued them as far as *Scarphis*, and made a horrible slaughter, took a great number of Prisoners, and at his return from the chase of the Enemy gave their camp in spoil to his Soldiers. Meanwhile the Etolians had sieged the Roman camp, which they found abandoned, but as soon as they saw *Manius* return they quitted it. It is said that of the Roman Army there were about two hundred Men slain, either in the fight or the pursuit, *Antiochus* lost ten thousand reckoning the Prisoners, and he

as soon as he saw his Army give way, saved himself with five hundred Horse, and at one carriage reached *Elatia*. From thence he got to *Chalcis*, where his Fleet lay, on which he Embarked with his new Spouse *Eubia* (for so she was called) and fled to *Ephesus*. Yet he took not with him all his Ships, for some that were laden with Provision fell into the hands of the Roman Admiral who sunk them.

News of this Victory being brought to *Rome*, publick Prayers were made, all the City rejoicing at the happy beginnings of this War, and in acknowledgment of *Philips* fidelity they sent back to him his Son *Demetrius*, who was yet a Hostage in the City. Whilst at *Rome* they were giving Demonstrations of their joy for this happy success, the Phocians, Chalcidians and many other people, who had been of the Kings party, came to ask pardon of *Manius*, who forgave them. After which he went with *Philip* to spoil *Etolia*, took all their Cities together with *Damocritus* General of that Nation (the same *Damocritus* who had threatened *Flaminius*, he would encamp on the banks of *Tiber*.) After this he took his March towards *Callipolis*, over Mount *Corax*, which is of a great height, and very difficult to pass by reason of the Rocks especially for an Army, laden with baggage, and the spoils of the Enemy as this was, for in passing this cragged way many Soldiers with their Arms and Equipage, were lost among the Precipices, besides they stood in fear of the Etolians, who might have troubled them, but they appeared not, being busied in sending Deputies to *Rome* to desire peace. *Antiochus* in the mean while drew towards the Sea side with all Expedition possible, all the forces that had been levied in the Lands under his obedience. He caused likewise a Fleet to be fitted out, the command of which he gave to *Polexenidas*, who had been banished from *Rhodes*, and not long after passed into *Chersonesus*, which he fortified a second time, he placed Garrisons in *Sestos* and *Abidos*, by which the Romans might pass into *Asia*. And having designed *Lysimachia* for his Principal Magazine, he caused to be brought thither great store of Ammunition and Provision, believing the Romans would soon draw towards him with great forces both by Sea and Land.

The Senate and People of *Rome* sent as Successor to *Manius*, *L. Scipio* now Consul, and because he was not over expert in the Art of War, they gave him for Lieutenant *Publius* his brother, who having overcome the Carthaginians, had brought away the surname of *African* as a spoil. Whilst these two brothers were laboring in their preparations, *Livius* who before had Commission to hinder the Enemy, from making any descent in *Italy*, having been sent Successor to *Attilius*, who commanded the Romans Naval Forces, Embarked on those Ships he had for the Defence of the Coasts, together with some sent by the Carthaginians, and other Allies, and came to the Port of *Pyraeum*, where *Attilius* having delivered up to him, the command of the Fleet, he took the Sea with fourscore and one Ships, all Armed for War followed by *Eumenes*, with fifty more, the better half of which were likewise Armed. They first made a descent in *Phocida*, which yet held for the King, but now for fear receiving them, they the day following went forth to fight. For *Polexenidas* who commanded *Antiochus* his Fleet was coming to meet them with two hundred Ships much lighter then theirs, which was a great advantage, for the Romans were not yet perfectly skilled in Sea Affairs. This Captain seeing that two Carthaginian Ships, advanced in the head of the Fleet,
sent

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sent out three of his against them, which took them both, but empty, for the Africans had cast themselves into the Sea. *Livius* angry at this affront, makes a head, and goes to charge the Admiral, they stay for him, and grapple with him, so that the Ships being now fast to one another, they fought as if on firm Land; but the Romans being most daring leaped into the Enemies Ships, and making themselves Masters of them, brought them into the body of their Fleet, together with the two Carthaginian Ships had been taken at first. After this Prologue to a Battel, when the two Fleets came to joyn, the Romans far surpassed their enemies in bravery and strength, but because their Ships were heavier, they could not reach those of *Antiochus*, when they made their retreat; however they forced them to fly and save themselves in *Ephesus*, and they themselves went to *Chios*, where joyned with them seven and twenty Auxiliary Ships of *Rhodes*; The King having heard what passed in this Sea-fight, sent *Hannibal* into *Syria*, to cause other Ships to come from *Phenicia* and *Cilicia*, but at his return the Rhodians gave him chase, and forced him to retreat into *Pamphilia*, and having taken some of his Ships, kept the rest for a while blocked up in the Port.

- x. Mean while *Publius Scipio*, being come into *Etolia* with the Consul *Manius*, who had delivered up to him the Army, he would not carry the War from City to City, judging it scarce worth the time, and therefore permitted the *Etolians* to send again their Deputies to *Rome*, whilst he chose rather to go directly to *Antiochus*, before his brothers Consulate was expired. To which end he caused his Army to march by *Macedon* and *Thrace*, to gain the *Hellepont*, but this way had been very difficult and troublesome, had not *Philip* of *Macedon*, taken order that the Markets should all the way be supplied, and built Bridges, and brought in Provisions as he did. This piece of Service was the occasion that the *Scipio's* released him of the rest of the Mony, that he ought, and indeed they had Orders to that purpose from the Senate in case he served the Commonwealth faithfully in that War. They wrote likewise to *Prusias* King of *Bythia*, Letters by which they gave him to understand, that the people of *Rome* had enlarged the Dominions of a great many Kings, their Friends and Allies, and that though they had overcome *Philip* King of *Macedon*, yet they had left to him his Kingdom, sent back his Son that was in Hostage, and released him the Mony he was still obliged to pay them; with which things *Prusias* was so much wrought upon, that he presently entered into Alliance with the Romans against *Antiochus*. Now the Admiral *Livius* understanding that the *Scipio's* were upon their way, left *Pausimachus* the Rhodian in *Etolia*, with the Rhodian Ships, and a part of the Roman, and himself with the rest sailed towards the *Hellepont*, to receive them. In his way *Sestos* and *Rhetia*, and two Ports of the Acheans, and some other little Towns yielded to him, and because *Abydos* would not do the same, he layd Siege to it. After *Livius* departure, *Pausimachus* lying at Anchor near *Samos*, exercised his people, in trying many inventions of his own, and framing new kinds of Engins, and among the rest making Iron Pots, filled with combustible stuff, and fastned to the end of long booms, thrust from the Ships, so that if in time of Service the Enemies Ships came near them, they might burn them, by letting fall into them, those flaming Pots. Whilst he busied himself in these sorts of Employments, *Polexemidas* who was likewise of *Rhodes*, but had been banished thence, was contriving how he might intrap him. He promised him to deliver

deliver up to him the Kings Fleet, on condition he would prevail that he might be recalled from Banishment: *Paufimachus* was jealous of the cheat, and for a good while stood upon his Guard; but after he had received on the part of *Polexenidas*, Letters written with his own hand, and had advice that he was gone from *Ephesus*, having sent most of his Mariners to seek for Provisions, he thought there was no probability, that a man like him would run the hazard of giving testimony under his own hand against himself, and began too lightly to give faith to him, and grew negligent of his Guards; he likewise sent his Seamen to Victual after the others Examples. *Polexenidas* seeing his plot took, suddenly caused his men to return, and privately sent *Nicander*, a famous Pyrate, with some armed Soldiers into *Samos*, to charge the Enemy behind on the Land side; and he imbarquing about midnight, came before day break, and fell upon the Rhodian, and his Companians, who were yet asleep. *Paufimachus* frightened at this unexpected assault, commanded his Soldiers to dismount from the Ships, and defend themselves on the Beak: but when *Nicander* came to charge him behind (persuaded by an error ordinary in the night) he believed the greatest Force had possessed themselves of the Shore, and regaining his Vessels in great disorder, he was the first that made head against the Enemies, and the first that valiantly fighting was slain; almost all the rest were slain or cut in pieces: Only seven Ships which carried the Fire-pots, and which the Enemies durst not approach were saved; the other twenty were towed, by so many Boats to *Ephesus*. The noise of the Victory made *Phoea*, *Samos* and *Cuma* declare for *Antiochus*, and obliged *Livius*, who feared lest the Ships he had left in *Æolida*, might be involved in the same misfortunes, speedily to return. *Eumenes* came thither also; and the Rhodians having sent twenty other Ships, in a short time all men regained courage. To revenge this affront, they presented themselves before *Ephesus* in order of Battel; but no person coming out to them, they left one half of their Fleet at anchor, in sight of the City; and with the other part, went and made a descent into the Enemies Country, spoiling the Sea Coasts: but *Nicander* coming suddenly upon them, made them quit their prize, and flee to their Ships, so that the time of *Livius* command being expired, they came and disembarked at *Samos*.

At the same time *Seleucus*, Son of *Antiochus*, foraged the Lands of *Eumenes*, and held *Pergamus* so closely besieged, that no person could get out; so that *Eumenes* was constrained to make all haste possible to *Ela*, which is the border of his Kingdom, together with *L. Emilius Regulus*, the Successor of *Livius*. There came likewise from *Achaia* a thousand Auxiliary Foot, and a hundred chosen Horse, under the Command of *Diophanes*, who being entred into *Pergamus*, and perceiving from the Walls the people of *Seleucus* feasting and making merry, and careless of their Guards, would have persuaded the Inhabitants to make a Salley upon the Enemies; but they not having courage enough to adventure it, he drew out what Horse and Foot they had, and placed them in battalia before the Walls, with directions not to move till they had Orders. The Enemy scoffed at the smallness of their number, and their fearfulness: but when he saw them busie at Dinner, he fell on, and giving the Alarm to their *Corps de Guard*, forced them to turn their backs, and flee in disorder; some were killed taking up their Arms, others bridling their Horses, others in running after their Horses that were got loose, and others, as they strove in vain, to mount them. Thus *Diophanes* gained a noble Victory in the sight of the Inhabitants, who encouraged him from the Walls, but yet durst not come forth

forth to second him ; and after having slain as many as he could overtake in so sudden an eruption, he returned into the City with Men and Horses taken from the Enemy. On the morrow he posted himself in the same station, without being followed by those of *Pergamus* any more than the day before. *Seleucus* faced him with some Bodies of Horse, offering him Battel ; but he moved not thereat , kept firm his ground near the Walls, waiting an opportunity ; and when he perceived about noon *Seleucus* Horsemen were returning to the Camp quite tyred , he furiously charged them in the Rear, and after having put them to the rout, and slain some of them, he retreated into the City, he made many such like attempts , for they could neither go out to Forrage, nor to cut Wood, but he was still at the backs of them ; till at last he harraised them in such manner, that *Seleucus* was forced to withdraw his Camp out of the Territories of *Pergamus*, and at last was quite driven out of *Ermene's* Kingdom. Sometimes after happened a Sea fight between *Polexenidas* and the Romans near *Myonisa*. *Polexenidas* having fourscore and ten Ships of War, and *Regulus* the Roman Admiral fourscore and three, of which five and twenty were Rhodians commanded by *Eudorus*. He was appointed to fight on the left hand ; but perceiving that *Polexenidas* was stronger on the right, and ready to encompass the Romans , he made head with all his Ships, which were very nimble, and forthwith opposed him, with those which carried Firebals , so that he durst advance no further for fear of burning ; but as he tack'd, he exposed the broadsides of his Ships to the Rhodians , who charging upon them , sunk some of them, till such time as one of the Rhodian Ships having run his Beakhead with such violence against a Sidonian, that the Anchor fell into the Rhodian, they were grappled fast together, and now they began a Fight as on firm Land, and a great number of Vessels thronging in both of one side and the other to the assistance of these grappled Ships , the Fight was very bloody ; but one half of the Kings Ships being divided from the rest of their Companions, were oppressed by the Romans before the others perceived it, and as soon as they saw it, they betook themselves to flight. The King lost nine and twenty Ships, of which thirteen were taken with all their crew. The Romans lost only two besides one of *Rhodes* , which *Polexenidas* carried with him to *Ephesus*. Thus ended the Sea Fight which was fought near *Myonisa*.

- XII. Mean while the King strengthened the *Chersonesus*, and fortified *Zysmachia*, judging well, as true it was, that the Romans would find it difficult to pass into *Thrace*, without having a firm alliance with *Philip*. But being of an inconstant Spirit, and variable on matters of no moment, as soon as he heard of this loss, near *Myonisa*, he began to fear, and believed he had some God to his Enemy, since all things succeeded so ill, that the Romans were become Masters of the Sea, where he thought he had the greatest advantage ; that *Hannibal* was blocked up in *Pamphilia* ; and that *Philip*, who he thought should have remembered the injuries he had received, did himself conduct the Enemy through ways inaccessible. Frighted with all these disorders ; and God blinding his judgement, as it happens in weighty calamities, he most imprudently abandons the *Chersonesus*, without staying so much as for a sight of the Romans, or without either transporting or burning all those Provisions and Munitions he had heaped together, whether of Corn, Arms, Engines or Money, but leaving them intire to the service of his Enemies. Nay, so senseless he was, that when those

those of *Lyfimachia* went to him weeping with their Wives and Children; he took no notice of it. He had now no other thoughts but how to hinder the Romans from entering into *Abidos*, on which he henceforward placed all his hopes; and yet, as if the Gods had more and more blinded him; he never took care to guard that passage, nor so much as placed a Garrison in it, but made a swift retreat into the Inland, designing there to expect the Enemy. The *Scipio's* having intelligence of his departure, made haste to possess themselves of *Lyfimachia*; and having sieled on all the Treasure and Provisions the King had left in *Chersonesus*, they forthwith passed the *Hellepont*, which they found defenceless, and overtook *Antiochus* at *Sardis*, before he any thing doubted it. This diligence of theirs so much astonished him, that beginning to torment himself, and making Fortune a party in the faults he had committed, he presently dispatched away *Heraclides* the *Byzantine* to the *Scipio's* to treat of Peace, offering them *Smyrna*, *Alexandria* upon the *Granick*; *Lampsacus*, which had been the cause of their difference, with half the charge of the War. He had likewise Orders to grant them all the Cities of *Ionia*, and *Æolia*, which had held of their party, and in short, whatever they demanded. These Conditions he was to propose publicly; but in private he had Commission to offer to *Publius Scipio* a great sum of Money, with promise to restore him his Son without Ransom, for the King had taken him prisoner in *Greece*, as he passed from *Chalcis* to *Demetriade*. This is that *Scipio*, who afterwards took and demolished *Carthage*, and was the second that bore the surname of African. He was the Son of that *Paulus*, who took *Perseus* of *Macedon*, Grand-child to *Scipio* by the Mother side, she being his Daughter, and afterwards became his Son by Adoption. The *Scipio's* made answer to *Heraclides* in full assembly, *That if Antiochus desired Peace, he must not only quit all Ionique and Eolique Cities, but likewise all Asia on that side Mount Taurus; and besides that, pay all the Expence of this War, which had been begun through his fault; And in particular Publius told the Byzantine, That if the King had offered these Conditions, whilst he held Lyfimachia and the Chersonesus; nay, it's possible before he had passed the Hellepont, the Romans might have accepted them; but seeing he had suffered them to pass, and that now they beheld themselves Masters, not only of the Bridle, but of the Horseman, they knew not what else to say to him. However, he was highly obliged to him for his kindness, and should be more when he sent him his Son, but as Affairs at present stood, he advised him, as his friend, to receive these Conditions e'er something worse befel him. After this he was carried sick to Ælea, leaving Cn. Domitius, Lieutenant to his Brother. As for Antiochus, he was of the same opinion Philip of Macedon had formerly in the like case been, that though he were absolutely defeated, they could not demand more, and therefore applied himself to rally his Forces in the Country of Thyatira, very near the Enemy. However, he sent Scipio his Son to Ælea, in acknowledgement of which Scipio sent him word, by those which brought him his Son, that he advised him not to give Battle till he was returned to the Army.*

The King perswaded by the Authority of that great Man, went and incamped near Mount *Sipyle*, where he fortified his Camp with a strong Wall, and was besides defended by the River *Phrygia*, which parted the two Armies. This Post he made choice of, that he might not be obliged to fight against his will. But *Domitius*, covetous of Glory, had a great desire to fight, whilst he had the Command. He therefore courageously

* About two
miles and a half.

passed the River, and came and encamped within * twenty furlongs of the Enemy, doing all he could for four days together to draw him to a Battel, he every day drew out his Army before his Trenches, and the other did the like; but neither the one nor the other would begin the engagement. The fifth day *Domitius* drew forth his Army, and took the Field, hoping *Antiochus* would come to meet him; but seeing he moved not, he came and encamped close by him, and having let pass one day more, he caused it to be published throughout his Army, so loud that the Enemy might hear it, that on the morrow he would fight, whether *Antiochus* would or no: This King committed another mighty fault upon this occasion, for he might have stood upon the Ditch of his Camp, or have kept himself within his Trenches, till *Publius* had been recovered: but he thought it a shame for him to refuse Battel, when he was the strongest; he therefore prepared himself, and about the last Watch, both Armies took the Field, and drew up in Array. They were Marshalled in this Order: *Domitius* placed his right wing, composed of about ten thousand Roman Foot on the Bank of the River; on the side of them were ten thousand other Italian Foot, both parties divided into * Vanguard, Battel and Rear. Next the Italians stood *Enmenes* his Army, and three thousand Achæans armed with Bucklers. The right Wing composed of the Latin, Roman and *Enmenes* his Cavalry, which amounted to about three thousand Horse; between whose Ranks there were placed some light armed Foot and Archers, and besides there were four Squadrons, which *Domitius* kept near his person, and all these made not above thirty thousand Men; the right Wing was commanded by *Domitius*, the Battel by the Consul, and the left Wing by *Enmenes*. They had likewise some Elephants, which were come to them from *Lybia*; but they believed they should not be able to make use of them, because they were too few; and besides being small, as all the Lybian Elephants are, they would be apt to be frightened, when they saw greater, wherefore they placed them behind in the Rearguard: Such was the order of the Roman Army.

* Hastati, Principes & Triarii according to the Roman order.

Antiochus had an Army of seventy thousand Men, whose main strength consisted in the Macedonian Phalanx, composed of sixteen thousand Footmen, which according to the institution of the Ancient Kings, *Philip* and *Alexander*, were divided into ten Battalia's, each of fifty Ranks, and in each Rank two and thirty Men: Their Front represented the Walls of a City, because between every Body stood an Elephant like a lofty Tower; it was covered on the Flanks with two bodies of Horse, the one of Galatians armed at all points, and the other of these chosen Macedonians, whom they call *Agema*: In the right Wing were the light armed Soldiers, the * *Argyraspides*, and two hundred Archers on Horse-back. In the left Wing were the Gallogracian Foot, the Teetolages, the Trocmes, the Tolostiboges, some Cappidocians, whom *Ariarathes* had sent to the King, and a great multitude of Mercenaries, which were sustained by other Cavalry, armed Back and Brest, and by the Band called *Soccale* lightly armed. Thus had *Antiochus* ordered his Forces, placing his principal confidence, according to all appearance, in his Cavalry, which in part covered the Front of his Battel: but he had committed an irreparable fault by having too closely lock'd up his Phalanx, on which he should have placed his chief reliance, being all old Soldiers. He had besides all these another Body composed of Slingers, Archers, and Men with Darts and Targets of divers Nations, Phrygians, Lydians, Pamphylians, Cretans, Triballians, Cilicians, armed after the manner of *Crete*, together with Archers on Horse-back

* Or Horsemen with silver Shields.

back, Dacians, Mysians, Elymans and Arabes, who mounted on Dromedaries extremely swift, vexed the Enemy from above with the shot of their Arrows, and when they were to fight nigh at hand, made use of long and narrow Swords. There were some Chariots armed with Scythes, which were placed in the head of this multitude with Orders to retire, after having made the first charge. *Antiochus* Army appeared upon a view of it, to be, as it were, two, the one to assail the Enemy, and the other to stand their ground, as if they had been an Ambuscade, and certainly both the one and the other were capable of striking terrour, both for their number and their order. The King was upon the right hand, he gave the left to his Son, and *Mendis*, *Zeuxis* and *Philip*, Master of the Elephants, had the charge of the middle Battel. The day was very misty, so that the obscurity hindred the Enemies from discovering their Forces; and besides the moistness slackned the Bow-strings, and made limber and slippery the Thongs, with which they lanced their Darts; which *Eumenes* having observed, found nothing else to be concerned at, his only care was now for the Chariots, which he extremely feared. He therefore command the Slingers, Darters, and other light armed Soldiers to charge them, and on every side to throw their Darts and Javelins only at the Horse; for they being once beaten down, the Chariot was useless, or would serve rather to break the Ranks of their own party, than hurt the Enemy. And indeed it happened so, for the Chariot-horses being wounded, turned towards their own Cavalry, so that the Dromedaries that followed the Chariots were the first broken, then the armed Horsemen who could not shun the Encounters of the Scythes, by reason of the weight of their Armour: And thus was the whole Army put into a greater disorder, then there was any reason for, or the occasion merited; for it having begun in the middle of the Field of Battel, spread it self to both ends, and the extent thereof being large amidst the confusion of different Voices, and a general fear, those which were near the danger, sooner felt the blow than foresaw it; and all the rest were terrified with the expectation of some great mishap. *Eumenes* seeing his first onset had succeeded so well, and that the place where the Chariots and Dromedaries had stood was void, he pressed forward his Horse, and those of *Italy* against the Galatians, Cappadocians, and other Mercenaries, crying aloud to his people, that they should go fall upon those unskilful people, whom their Protectors had forsaken. They obeyed and charged with so much violence, that they put to flight both them and the Men of Arms that were behind them, whom the defeat of the Chariots had already put in disorder, and because the weight of their Arms hindred their saving themselves, they were almost all cut in pieces. Whilst *Eumenes* thus bore down the Horse in this Wing, *Antiochus* having broke and put to rout the Legions, gave them chase. Mean while the Macedonian Phalanx, which stood lock'd up together upon four Fronts in the midst of the Cavalry, finding themselves opened on all sides, by the flight of the Wings, opened to receive in the midst of them, some Companies of light armed Men, who fought at the head of them, and presently closed again. And now *Domitius* easily encompassed the Macedonians, thus clustered together, with his Horse and light armed Foot, and shrewdly annoyed them, for they could neither come to the charge, nor enlarge themselves, and their experience stood them in no stead at this close order, but rather exposed them to the Darts of their Enemies: All they could do was to present their Pike heads to the Romans, provoking them to come to the push, otherwise threatening they would come to them; but being on foot, and
heavily

heavily armed, they durst not go to assault Horsemen, for fear of breaking the Order of their Phalanx, which they could very hardly recover. The Romans pressed not too close upon these old Soldiers, thus lock'd together, and exasperated by despair ; but wheeling about them, they charged them at distance with Arrows and Darts, of which not any fell without execution, because they being so huddled together, could not shun them : seeing themselves harassed in this manner, and not knowing what course to take, they gave ground, but still retreating, and not breaking their Order, in so much that the Romans durst not yet draw near, but were satisfied to charge them at distance, till such time as the Elephants, which they had placed between the Battalia's, began to break their Ranks, and refusing any more to obey their Rulers, caused the whole multitude to betake themselves to flight in disorder. *Domitius* having routed the Phalanx, attempted to force *Antiochus* his Camp, whilst he continued driving the Legions that were opposed to him unto their very Camp, they not being supported by any Horse, nor any Darters, nor Slings ; for *Domitius* had placed none in this Wing, believing it sufficiently defended by the River. But the King being repulsed by the Tribune, that had the charge of the Guard of the Camp, who sallied out with some fresh Forces, and caused those that fled to return to the charge, turned head, puffed up with an opinion of the Victory, because he knew not what had passed elsewhere. *Attalus*, Brother to *Eumenes*, advanced to encounter him with a Body of Horse, of which the King made so light off, that he charged through and through, without receiving any great damage. But when he came to have knowledge of the defeat, by the slaughter of his people, with whom all the Field of Battel was covered, seeing the vast heaps of Bodies, Men, Horses and Elephants, confusedly mixed together, and that even his Camp was in the Enemies power ; he likewise betook himself to flight, and all upon the spur made for *Sardis*, whither he reached about midnight. From *Sardis* he presently took the way towards *Celenes*, which men call *Apartia*, whither he had understood his Son was escaped. On the morrow he departed from *Celenes* towards *Syria*, leaving his Captains to rally the ruins of his Army ; and in the mean time sent Ambassadors into the Field of Battel, to demand peace of the Consul, who was then burying the Bodies of his dead, spoiling those of the Enemy, and gathering together the Prisoners. Among the Dead, there were found about four and twenty Roman Knights, and about three hundred Footmen, who had been slain by *Antiochus*, and of *Eumenes* Soldiers only fifteen Horsemen : As for the Enemy, they lost fifty thousand men, comprizing the Prisoners, for the number of the dead was so great, it could scarcely be counted. All the Elephants fell upon the place, save only fifteen, which were taken alive. After this Victory so great, that many could scarce believe it ; for they could not imagine that a handful of men fighting in an Enemies Country could possibly defeat such a prodigious Army of the Kings, and especiall of the Macedonian Phalanx, composed all of old Soldiers, now stronger in men than ever, and believed invincible ; after this Victory, I say, *Antiochus* his Friends blamed his rashness for having undertaken this War against the Romans, and said that from the beginning he had made it appear, that he was no great Captain, having so inconsiderately abandoned *Lyfiamachia*, and the *Chersonesus* ; and besides that, withdrawn the Garrisons from the *Hellepont*, by means of which he might have hindred the *Scipio's* from passing into *Asia* : And at last they condemned his imprudence for imprisoning, as it were, the choice Forces of his Army, there-
by

by rendring them useleſs, and placing his hopes in a heap, and multitude of new leavied Soldiers, rather then in men accuſtomed by long exerciſe to the toils of War, and whoſe bodies and courages were both invincible. Whilſt all the world talked in this manner of *Antiochus*, the Romans grown more reſolute then before, now began to think nothing impoſſible, founding their thoughts, as well upon their native valor, as upon the aſſiſtance of the Gods, and not being able ſufficiently to admire their own good fortune, when they conſidered how being ſo infinitely unequal in number, and in a ſtrange Country, they had in one only battel, and in one day ſubdued ſo many Nations, made prize of ſo great Riches, overcome ſo many Mercenary Troops, quell'd the glory of the Macedonians, and in ſhort ruined *Antiochus*, King of ſo many Kingdoms, and reduced him that had gained the Surname of Great, to a by-word, and a Proverb of *Antiochus the Great has been*.

Whilſt the Romans entertained themſelves, with theſe pleaſant thoughts, *Publius* brother to the Conſul, finding himſelf in a condition to undertake a journey, came to the Camp, where the Kings Deputies had Audience. They now only deſired to know what *Antiochus* muſt do, that he might be received into the friendſhip of the Senate and People of *Rome*, to which *Publius* answered. *That this War was not begun, but through the fault and covetouſneſs of Antiochus, who poſſeſſing a great Empire, of which the Romans were not at all jealous, not therewith content, had deſpoiled Ptolemy his kinsman, and friend to the people of Rome, of the lower Syria, had invaded Europe without any right, ſubdued Thrace, fortified the Cheronneſus, and built Lyſimachia. In concluſion having brought an Army into Greece, had endeavored to reduce under ſervitude the Greeks whom the Roman People had lately ſet at liberty and continued his enterprizes, till ſuch time as he was defeated at Thermopylae, That though he had been forced to ſave himſelf by flight, he had abated nothing of his Ambition: but had renewed the War by Sea, where he had been beaten in ſeveral Engagements, and had never made any Overture of Peace till the Roman Army was come over into Asia. That even then he had proudly reſuſed their conditions, and ſetting on Foot a mightier Army to make yet greater attempts was fallen into an Extremity of Diſgrace. But (ſaid he) though with reaſon we may impoſe on him a greater penalty, after ſo much obſtinacy, we will not uſe our good fortune inſolently, nor inſult on others calamities. We offer you therefore the ſame conditions we did before, adding only ſome ſmall matter advantageous to both, and of importance to the common ſecurity. Renounce Europe, Quit to us all Asia as far as Mount Taurus, Deliver into our hands all your Elephants, and as many Ships as we ſhall order you to furniſh. You ſhall henceforth keep no Elephants, and only ſuch a Number of Ships as we ſhall preſcribe. You ſhall give up twenty Hoſtages, ſuch as the Conſul ſhall chooſe, and towards the Expence of the War you ſhall pay fifty Talents ready Mony, and two thouſand five hundred after the Senate ſhall have ratified the Peace, with a thouſand Talents to be for twelve years to come, yearly ſent to Rome. You ſhall likewise deliver to us all Priſoners and Runaways, and pay unto Eumenes the Remainder of what was due to his Father. If Antiochus preſently perform theſe Articles, we will grant him Peace, and promiſe him the Friendſhip of the Roman People; Provided the Senate approve it. The Deputies having accepted theſe conditions, part of the mony was ſoon brought, and the Hoſtages delivered, among which was the Kings youngſt Son called *Antiochus*, which done the *Scipio's* and *Antiochus* ſent their Deputies to*

XIV:

Rome.

Rome. The Senate ratified the Treaty, and the Articles were signed according to *Scipio's* intentions, however somethings were added not before expretted. *That the bounds of Antiochus his Dominion should be the two Promontories, called Calcadnon and Sarpedonion, beyond which he was not to bear Arms. That he should have only twelve Ships of War to keep his Subjects in awe, but that if he happened to have any War, he might then have more, that he should not leavy any Mercenary Soldiers in the Lands under the Roman obedience, nor receive any Runaways, and that from three years to three years he should exchange the Hostages save only Antiochus his Son.* This League was Engraven on a Table of Copper, and set up in the Capitol as other Articles of Peace with any Nation were used to be: an extract of which was sent to *Manius Volson*, who being at *Apamia* a City of *Phrygia* took before *Antiochus* Deputies the Oath of Alliance, as *Antiochus* on his part swore to observe it in the presence of the Tribune *Thermus*, sent to him for that purpose. Thus ended the War between *Antiochus* the Great, and the People of *Rome*.

Some were of opinion it proceeded no farther, because of the favour shewed by the King to *Scipio's* Son, and indeed at his return to *Rome*, they endeavored to trouble him about it, and the two Tribunes of the People accused him of having been corrupted by presents to betray the Commonwealth. But he made slight of his accusers, and his Tryal happening to be assigned on the same day, that he had gained his Victory over the Carthaginians, he sent before hand to the Capitol, all things necessary for a Pompous Sacrifice, and presented himself before the Judgment Seat, magnificently habited, and not in Mourning like others accused of any crime, to move their Judges to compassion. This brave Man secured by the Testimony of his own Conscience, amazed all the world by this manner of Conduct, for when he began his Discourse, he made no mention of any crime, he spoke only of the Carriage of his Life past, the mighty things he had done for the Commonwealth, and the many Victories he had gained, and he uttered it with so good a grace as delighted the whole Auditory, but when he came to speak of *Carthage*, which he had subdued, he amplified the matter with so much heat, that he not only moved, but warmed the People, by telling them, *This is the day, Gentlemen, whereon I defeated the Carthaginians whom once you so much feared: Therefore I am going from this place to sacrifice at the Capitol, whoever loves his Country, let him follow, and go with me to return thanks to the Gods.* Having said these words he mounted to the Capitol, without concerning himself at the Judgment. All the People followed him, and the Judges themselves applauded him, beseeching the Gods that his Sacrifice might prove acceptable. This procedure left his accusers in a deep perplexity; for they durst no more call to judgment or accuse of ambition or corruption a Man whose whole behaviour was exempt from suspicion and above calumny. Thus nobly did he scorn an accusation, had no agreement with his past life: In which in my opinion he acted more prudently then *Aristides* accused of Theft, or *Socrates* when imprisoned for the matters objected against them, who suffered under the infamy without making defence for themselves. It is true, *Plato* attributes a certain Plea to *Socrates*, which he had framed according to his own fanfie. In my Judgment likewise he repelled Calumny with more generosity then *Eparinondas* the Sovereign Magistrate of the Boeotians with *Pelopidas* and another, his Colleagues. The Thebans having sent these Captains with their Forces to assist the Arcadians and Messenians

nians against those of *Lacedemon*, and the War not being yet finished as they would have had it, they recalled them because of some Calumnies: but they kept for six Months more the Command of the Army, refusing to surrender it into their hands were sent to succeed them, till such time as they had driven out the Lacedemonian Garrisons, from the Cities they held, and placed Arcadians in them. *Epaminondas* had been the sole cause of this, having promised his Colleagues, that they should fall into no danger. But as soon as they were returned to the City, their accusers undertook them each apart to have them condemned to death; for by their Laws it was a Capital Crime to hold by force the Command of the Army, when another was sent to be General. The other two were discharged not so much out of any compassion the Judges had for them, as because they laid the whole fault upon *Epaminondas* who had advised them so to do, and did consent to what they had said. He therefore being last of all called in Judgement, *I confess* (said he) *that I have kept the Command of the Army beyond the time prescribed by the Law's, and have constrained my Colleagues, whom you have absolved to do the same, I therefore beg no favor from you: I only desire that for my past services it may be writ upon my Tomb. Here lies he who having gained the Victory at Leuctra, led to the very Walls of Sparta his fellow Citizens, in whom before the only sight of the Lacedemonian Hats struck a terror: His Country condemned him to death, because he had less consideration for the Laws then for the Publick good.* After having said these words, he descended from the Tribunal offering his body to any that would lead him to Execution, but the Judges touched with this reproach, and admiring this manner of defence, changed their design of condemning him as Criminal into Respect, and without putting it to Vote withdrew from the Assembly. Let every Man judge of these Examples as he pleases.

To proceed; *Manius* Successor to *Scipio*, visiting those Lands quitted by *Antiochus* to the Romans to settle them in good Order. The Tolibologes a people of *Galatia*, who had assisted the King in this War, refused to submit. They gathered together upon *Olympus* a Mountain of *Mysia*, whither he followed them with great labor, and having overtaken them, put them to the Rout, kill'd an infinite number, and drove others down the precipices insomuch that the slaughter was so great it was impossible to reckon the dead, because of their Numbers: he took forty thousand Prisoners, whose Arms he caused to be burnt, and because he could not carry along with them so great a Number of Captives, he sold them to the Neighboring Nations. The Tectosages, and the Trocmes to revenge their Nation, laid an Ambush for him, and charged him so furiously that with great difficulty he saved himself, but soon after finding them lying as it were heaped upon one another, by reason of their great Numbers, he caused them to be encompassed by his light Armed Soldiers, who at a distance discharging at them a shower of Arrows, not one fell without Execution, which made so horrible a Butchery, that after the death of eight thousand Men they drove the rest fighting past the River *Halys*; and because *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, who had taken part with *Antiochus*, sent to *Manius* two hundred Talents, demanding Pardon, for he was fearful of the War, the Roman entered not into his Territories, but turned head towards the *Hellepont* with vast Riches, innumerable sums of Money, an infinite of Spoils and Plunder, and an Army loaden with great quantity of Baggage. But now he committed a great fault, that he would not, be-

xv.

ing it was Summer time, take his passage by Sea, not considering the vast weight of their Equipage ; For it was not now his business to harden the Soldiers by labor, since he was not going to War, but returning home laden with spoils. And yet he chose rather to lead his Army by the way of *Thrace* which is long, crooked and craggy, and that in the violent heat of Summer, and without giving any advice thereof to *Philip*, that he might have come out to meet and be his Conductor, nor did he divide his Forces into many Bodies, for the more commodiousness of the March, and better supply of things necessary, nor distributed the baggage by the companies that it might have been the better guarded, but he made all his Army file off, in the midst of which came the Carriages, which neither the Vanguard nor Rear could relieve, because the way was long and narrow, by which means the Thracians falling in on all sides, and charging them unexpectedly he lost a great part of his Prey, Money and Soldiers, and hardly saved the rest in *Macedon*, which made appear of what importance *Philip's* care in conducting them, was to the *Scipio's*, and how great *Antiochus's* fault was in abandoning the *Chersonesus*. *Manius* having caused the remainder of his people to march through *Macedon* into *Thessaly*, and from thence into *Epire*, imbarqued them, and landing at *Brundisium* dismissed there his Forces, and returned to *Rome*. Those of *Rhodes* and *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* were well satisfied with having taken part with the people of *Rome* against *Antiochus*, and the Rhodians having sent their Ambassadors to *Rome*, and *Eumenes* being come in person thither, the Senate gave to the inhabitants of that Island *Lycia* and *Caria*, which they had taken from them some time before, for having favored the party of *Perseus* King of *Macedon* Enemy to the Roman people. As for *Eumenes* they gave him all that they had taken from *Antiochus* save only the Greek Cities of *Asia*, to so many of which as had been tributary to *Attalus* Father of *Eumenes* they ordered to pay tribute to *Eumenes*, and for those which had before paid tribute to *Antiochus* they were declared free, and permitted to live according to their Laws.

XVI. *Antiochus* the Great being dead, his Son *Seleucus* succeeded, who redeemed his brother *Antiochus* from being Hostage at *Rome* by sending in his place *Demetrius* his Son. *Antiochus* was already come as far as *Athens*, when *Seleucus* was trayterously murdered by one of the Officers of his household called *Heliodorus*, who had designed to seize on the Kingdom, but *Eumenes* and *Attalus* drove him out and re-established *Antiochus* that they might gain his friendship : For there had already past some things between the Romans and them which obliged them to stand on their guard. Thus *Antiochus* the Son of *Antiochus* the Great entred into Possession of the Realm of *Syria*. The Syrians called him *Epiphanes*, that is to say Illustrious, because when strangers would have usurped his Kingdom he had defended it, and restored the Family of his Ancestors. Having therefore entred into Friendship and Alliance with *Eumenes*, he remained peaceable possessor of the Kingdom of *Syria*, and of the Neighboring Nations, giving the Government of *Babylon* to *Timarchus*, and the Superintendancy of his Revenues to *Heracledes* two brothers, whom he had abused. He undertook likewise a War against *Artaxias* King of *Armenia*, and having taken him Prisoner, died, leaving for his Successor his Son *Antiochus* but nine years old, to whom the Syrians gave the name of *Eupator*, because of the Vertue of his Father, and appointed *Lysias* for his Tutor or Governor. The Senate received with great satisfaction, the news, that *Antiochus*,
who

who had reigned some years gloriously, was so soon dead; and when *Demetrius*, the Son of *Seleucus*, Brother to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, Grandchild to *Antiochus* the Great, and Cousin to the Infant, represented at *Rome*, (where he yet remained as Hostage, being about twenty three years of age) that he was next Heir to the Crown, they refused to let him go, because they believed it more advantageous to the people of *Rome* to have *Syria* governed by a Child than a Man. And having understood likewise, that there were some Elephants in that Kingdom, and some Ships above the number agreed on with *Antiochus*; they sent Commissioners to cause the Elephants to be killed, and the Ships to be burnt; the sight of this Execution begot compassion in all the World, who thought it cruelty to kill Beasts so tame and so rare, and to burn such Ships, and so much spleen did it raise up in one *Leptines*, that meeting *Cn. Octavius* in a place of Exercises, as he was causing himself to be appointed, he killed that Commissioner, whom *Lysias* caused to be interred. *Demetrius* having advice hereof, went to the Senate, and demanded that at least they would discharge him from the conditions of a Hostage, since he had been exchanged for *Antiochus*, who was dead; but not being able to obtain any thing, he secretly escaped by a small Vessel into *Syria*, where he was received with a general approbation of all the World. He presently put *Lysias* to death, and soon after the Infant, forced *Heracidos* to flee; and executed *Timarchus* as a Rebel, having accused him for ill management in the Government of *Babylon*. Wherefore he was called *Demetrius* * *Soter*, a name given him by the Babylonians. After this, seeing him-^{* Or Saviour;} self settled in the Kingdom, he sent to *Rome* a Crown of Gold worth ten thousand Crowns, as an acknowledgement of his having been civilly treated in quality of a Hostage; and moreover, delivered to them *Leptines*, who had slain *Octavius*. The Senate accepted the Crown, but as if the crime had concerned all the Syrians, they would not content themselves with the punishment of *Leptines*. After this, *Demetrius* drove *Ariarathes* out of the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, and received a thousand Talents for settling in it *Holophernes*, said to be his Brother, though it were the Romans intention, that both Brothers should be Kings alike: but sometime after they were both expelled, and *Ariobarzanes*, likewise by the Forces of *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, upon which cause with some others began the War with *Mithridates*. Never was there a greater, nor in which there were so many strange revolutions, or so many Nations concerned; besides that it lasted forty years, during which time, the Palace of the Kings of *Syria* oft-times changed its Master, though they were still of the same Race. There happened likewise during that time, many broils and mutations in divers Kingdoms. The Parthians, who for a long time had been revolted from the Family of the *Seleucides*, added to their Estates *Mesopotamia*, which they cut off from the Kingdom of *Syria*. *Tigranes*, Son of * *Tigranes*, having subdued the neighbouring Nations, which had every one their King, and causing himself to be called King of Kings, made War upon the *Seleucides*, who would not submit. And *Antiochus*, surnamed the Pious, being not able to resist him, he became Master of all the Provinces of *Syria* on this side *Euphrates*, as far as *Egypt*, and of *Cilicia* besides, which was likewise under the Dominion of the *Seleucides*. *Magabates* commanded in the name of the King his Master in all their Estates newly conquered, with a powerful Army for fourteen years together; but after that *Mithridates* overcome by *Lucullus*, sought refuge in the Court of *Tigranes*. *Magabates* went with his Army to the assistance of his King.

* This Tigranes had a Son also called Tigranes.

and in the mean time *Antiochus*, Son of the Pious, retook Possession of his Kingdom, with applause of all *Syria*. *Lucullus*, who waged the first War with *Tigranes*, and drove him out of his new Conquests, disturbed not the King of *Syria*, in the Possession of the Kingdom of his Fathers; but *Pompey*, Successor to *Lucullus*, after having defeated *Mithridates*, suffered *Tigranes* to remain King of *Armenia*; but for *Antiochus*, though he had never disoblged the Romans, yet he despoiled him of his Kingdom, and indeed it was easie for a great Army to oppole a King unarmed: not but that he had another pretence, for 'twas alledged, that it was not just that *Syria*, whose Kings of the Seleucian Race were expelled by the Arms of *Tigranes*, should rather return to them again, than to the Romans, who were Conquerers of the same *Tigranes* himself. Thus were *Cilicia*, *Syria* as well the higher as lower, *Phœnicia* and *Palæstine* added to the Roman Empire without fighting, and with them all the Countries between *Euphrates* and *Egypt*. There remained only the Jews to be subdued by force, and *Pompey* performed it, sent their King *Aristobulus* Prisoner to *Rome*, and rased the Walls of *Jerusalem*, a very great and a holy City in that Country. *Ptolemy* the first King of *Egypt* had before done the same: *Vespasian* likewise took and pillaged it; and the last time it was taken, was by *Adrian* in our days, wherefore the Jews pay more Tribute by the Pole, than for the Goods which they possess, and for the Syrians and Cilicians they pay the hundredth part. *Pompey* having conquered all the Nations that had been formerly under the *Seleucides*, gave to some particular Kings, as also to the Gallogreeks of *Asia*; and for the others, he confirmed in their Tetrarchies the Ancient Kings that had faithfully served the Romans in the War against *Mithridates*. Some years after all these Estates were reunited to the Roman Empire, every one in his time, but the principal part under the Empire of *Augustus Cæsar*. Now *Pompey* being departed from *Syria*, left his Government to his *Quæstor Sæurnus*, to whom the Senate sent *Marcus Philippus* for Successor, and after him *Marcellinus Lentulus*, both these Prætors, who during the two years that each had the government of this Province, were obliged several times to come to blows with the neighbouring Arabs, who made incursions into the Province, wherefore afterwards there were Proconsuls sent into *Syria*, who had the same power with the Consuls in matters of War. *Gabinus* was the first that came with an Army, when *Mithridates* King of *Parthia*, driven from his Kingdom by *Orades* his Brother, was re-established by the assistance of the Arabs. At the same time *Ptolemy*, the Eleventh King of *Egypt*, being expelled likewise by his Subjects, by force of Money prevailed with *Gabinus* to re-settle him in *Alexandria*, and suspend the War with *Parthia*. He did it, and by force constrained the Alexandrians to return to the obedience of their King. But *Gabinus* was by the Senate condemned to banishment; for having without express Orders passed into *Egypt*, and having undertaken a War which was thought to be unfortunate, being forbid by the *Sybil's* Verses. To *Gabinus* succeeded (as I think) *Crassus*, who going to make War with the Parthians was defeated by the loss of his whole Army. After him *L. Bibulus* had this Government, during whose time the Parthians made an irruption into this Province, and in the time of *Saxa*, who was his Successor, extended their Arms as far as *Ionia*, the Romans being then diverted by the Civil Wars. But we shall more amply treat of all these Matters in the Book of the Wars against the Parthians, this being only designed for the Wars in *Syria*. What therefore I have said, is only to make known in what manner *Syria* came under the Roman Dominion, and how it

was

was reduced under the form of a Province. Nor will it be much from the purpose to insert something of what passed from the time of the Macedonians, till it was brought under the Roman Rule.

Alexander having overcome the Persians, was King of *Syria*, and not only of *Syria*, but also of all the Countries, whither he carried his Arms. After the death of *Alexander*, who left two Sons, the one yet a little Infant, and the other in the belly of his Mother. The Macedonians pressed forward, by the love they bore to the Blood of *Philip*, chose for their King *Aridæus* the Brother of *Alexander*, who yet was not esteemed over wise, changing the name of *Aridæus* into that of *Philip*; but that only for the that *Alexander's* Children were in their minority, for they gave Guards to the Mother, whilst she was great with Child. Mean while the Captains of the Macedonians, and principally *Perdiccas*, under the authority of this *Philip*, divided the conquered Nations into Satrapies or Governments, and the Brother and Children of *Alexander*, being sometime after dead, the Satrapes or Governours, became Kings. *Laomedon* was the first that was placed in the Government of *Syria*, by the favour of *Perdiccas*, and of *Antipater*, who after *Perdiccas* had the Government of the Kingdom. As soon as he had taken possession, *Ptolemy*, who was Governour of *Egypt* came into *Syria* with a Fleet, and offered this Governour a great sum of Money to put it into his hands, that it might serve as a Rampier to *Egypt*, and that from thence he might invade *Cyprus*. But not able to obtain any thing that way, he took *Laomedon* himself Prisoner, who afterwards corrupting his Guards, fled to *Alcetas* in *Caria*. Thus *Ptolemy* sieged upon *Syria*, where having staid for some time, he left Garrisons, and returned into *Egypt*: As for *Antigonus*, he was Governour of *Phrygia*, *Lycia* and *Pamphilia*; and besides, when *Antipater* went into *Europe*, he left him superintendent General of all *Asia*: So that *Eumenes*, Governour of *Cappadocia*, being declared Enemy of the Macedonians, he went and besieged him, and understanding that he had made a private escape from the place, pursued him, and slew him in the way to *Media*, whither he had designed to flee for refuge: from whence returning to *Babylon*, he was magnificently received by *Seleucus*, then Governour there. But *Seleucus* having condemned to death one of his Captains, without acquainting him with it, he demanded of him an account of the Publick Moneys, which so much perplexed *Seleucus*, that not able to resist *Antigonus*, he retired to *Ptolemy* into *Egypt*. *Antigonus* hereupon deposed *Blitor*, Lieutenant Governour of *Mesopotamia*, from his charge, because he had assisted *Seleucus* in his retreat. Soon after he reduced under his obedience the Province of *Babylon*, *Mesopotamia*, and all the Nations from *Media* to the *Hellespont*; insomuch, that the other Governours not enduring he should siege on so many Countries to their prejudice, entred into a League against him. *Seleucus* was the principal Author of it; and *Ptolemy*, *Lysimachus*, Governour of *Thrace*, and *Cassander*, who commanded in *Macedon* after the death of his Father, signed to it. They forthwith sent Deputies to *Antigonus* to demand the restoration of those Lands he had sieged on, and to produce the publick Moneys to be divided amongst them: He made a mock of the Deputation, whereupon the Confederates declared War against him. This nothing daunted him; but on the contrary, he beat out those Garrisons *Ptolemy* had placed in *Syria*, and made himself Master of *Phenicia*, and lower *Syria*, till then under the obedience of *Egypt*. Thence he went to the *Cicilian Ports*, leaving *Demetrius* his Son, only two and twenty years
of

XVII.

of age, in *Gaza*, with an Army to oppose the designs of *Ptolemy*: but *Ptolemy* defeated him in a great Battel, and forced him to flee to his Father. *Seleucus* was presently sent by the Confederates to *Babylon*, to repossess himself of his Government: *Ptolemy* having to this effect given him a thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse; this was a Body utterly incapable of forcing so great a City, but the inclinations the Babylonians had for him, made him be received, and his Forces soon increased prodigiously. *Antigonus* incensed against *Ptolemy*, overcame him in a Sea Fight, which was fought near the Island of *Cyprus*, where his Son *Demetrius* commanding, the Army were so puffed up with this Victory, that they proclaimed both Father and Son Kings. It is true, there was no person left of the Blood Royal, *Aridæus*, the Son of *Philip* being dead, as were likewise *Olympia's*, and the Children of *Alexander*. *Ptolemy's* Army hereupon gave him likewise the Title of King, lest his loss should make him seem to yield to the Victor. Thus different success occasioned the like event. The others presently followed the Example, and of Governours made themselves Kings. Thus *Seleucus* became King of *Babylon* and *Media*, killing afterwards with his own hand in combat, *Nicator*, whom *Antigonus* had placed in the Government of that Province; he had afterwards many Wars, as well against the Macedonians as the Barbarians, and among the others two against the Macedonians. The last of which was against *Lysimachus*, King of *Thrace*; and the first against *Antiochus*, then fourscore years old, when the Battel was fought near *Ipsa*, a City of *Phrygia*, where that brave old Man discharging the part of a General and Soldier together, lost his life.

XVIII.

After his death the Confederate Kings divided amongst them his Estates, of which *Seleucus* had for his share all those Lands that lie between *Euphrates* and the Sea, and from the Sea as far as *Phrygia* in the main Land, which vastly augmented his Dominion. And he moreover losing no opportunity of making himself greater, being equally powerful in Eloquence and Arms, conquered *Mesopotamia*, *Armenia*, and *Cappadocia*, firnamed *Seleucia's*; and besides those became Master of the Persians, Parthians, Bactrians, Arabs, Tapyrians, Sogdiens, Arachoses, Hyrcanians, and other Nations, fronting upon the River *Indus*, which had been subdued by *Alexander*. So that, except that King, no Prince ever possessed so great a Country in *Asia*; for all the Lands, from the confines of *Phrygia* to the River *Indus*, were under his obedience. He went likewise to make War with *Androcotes*, King of the Indians, that inhabit beyond the River, and returned not till an Alliance was contracted between them, which was followed by Peace. True it is, that whilst *Antigonus* lived, he possessed but some part of this, for the greatest share came to him after his death. They say that being in *Alexander's* Army, in his expedition into *Asia*, and yet but a private Soldier, he consulted the Oracle of *Didymæa*, concerning his return, to which he was answered, *Take leave of Europe and possess Asia*. That in *Macedon*, there of a sudden appeared on his Fathers Hearth a great flame, which no body was seen to kindle, and that his Mother was advertised in a Dream, to give the first Ring she should find to *Seleucus* to wear; for that he should Reign in that place, where by chance he let it fall, and that she found one of Iron, with an Anchor engraven thereon, which was lost about *Euphrates*. 'Tis said likewise, that as he walked about *Babylon*, he stumbled upon a stone, which having caused to be taken up, there was found an Anchor underneath, which troubled much the South-sayers,

Southfayers, who would have had this Prodigy to be a preface of delay : But *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*, who accompanied him, said it was rather a sign of steadfastness, wherefore when *Seleucus* attained to the Royalty, he bore an Anchor engraven in his Ring. Some likewise have assured us that whilst *Alexander* was yet living, and in his presence there happened another preface of the future greatness of *Seleucus* ; for after he was returned from the Indies, being embarked upon the *Euphrates* to go visit the Marshes of *Babylon*, with intent to make Channels to water the Champion of *Syria* ; his Diadem was by the wind carried off his Head, and set upon a heap of Reeds, near the Sepulcher of an Ancient King, by a fatal preface of the death of that Prince, which happened soon after. Whereupon a Mariner casting himself into the Water, and having taken up the Diadem, put it on his Head, and brought it drier to *Alexander*, who for a reward gave him a Talent of Silver. The Divines told him he should put this man to death, some say he did it, others deny it ; and others again say, it was not at all a Mariner, but *Seleucus* himself, who cast himself into the Water, and put the Diadem on his Head for fear of wetting it, and that the preface was fulfilled in the persons of them both : *Alexander* dying at *Babylon*, and *Seleucus* succeeding in the greatest part of his Empire. These are the signs I have met with, prefiguring his greatness. To proceed, after the death of *Alexander*, he was Captain of the Guards of the Kings Household, a command, which whilst the King lived, had been possessed by *Ephestion*, and after him by *Perdiccas* ; from thence rising by degrees, he came to the Government of *Babylon*, and at last mounted the Throne ; and because he had gained many Victories, he was called * *Nicator*, for I think that more probable than to imagine that because he slew *Nicator*, he bore away that name as a precious spoil. He was tall of Stature, and so strong, that when *Alexander* once sacrificed, a Bull in fury breaking from its Cords, and escaping, he alone stop'd it, laying fast hold on his Horns, which is the reason why they place Horns with his Statues. He beautified the Country under his Dominion with many fair Cities, which he built from one end to the other, of which sixteen he caused to be called by the name of his Father *Antiochia's*, six after his Mothers name *Laodicea's*, nine after his own name *Seleucia's*, four after his Wives names, three after the first *Apamia's*, and one after the last *Stratonicea*, the fairest remaining to this day are five, two *Seleucia's*, one on the Sea side, the other on the *Tigris*. *Laodicea* in *Phenicia*, *Antiochia* in Mount *Libanus*, and *Apamia* in *Syria* : He likewise gave names to others, either Grecian or Macedonian names, as *Berea*, *Edeffa*, *Maronea*, *Perinta*, *Callipolis*, *Achaia*, *Polla*, *Orope*, *Amphipolis*, *Arethusa*, *Astachia*, *Tegaa*, *Chalcis*, *Larissa*, *Heraa*, *Apolonia*, and in *Parthia* it self, *Sotera*, *Calliope*, *Charis*, *Hecatonpolis*, *Achaia*, in *India*, *Alexandropolis* ; and in *Scythia*, *Alexandrescatta* : His Victories gave a name to *Nicepborea* in *Mesopotamia*, and to *Nicopolis* in *Armenia*, which confines on *Cappadocia*. 'Tis said likewise, that when he was about to build *Seleucia* on the Sea side : It was marked out by the Thunder, wherefore the Thunder is there adored as a God, and to this day they sing Hymns to it, and use many particular Ceremonies. And when he designed to lay the Foundations of that, which is upon the River *Tigris* ; the *Magi* or Southfayers, who had Orders to set out the day and hour, when the Work was to begin, to the end it might be built under a fortunate Constellation, pitched upon an unhappy hour, because they were not well pleased, that a great City should be built there to awe themselves. And that as the King in his Tent waited for the

* The Victorious.

the fatal hour, and all the Army stood ready to lay their hands to the Work, as soon as the Signal should be given them. The hour of good Augury being come, the Soldiers on a sudden, thinking they heard the Command given, fell to the Work with so much alacrity, that no forbidding whatsoever could stay them: at which *Seleucus* was much cast down; but the Magicians seeing him disquieted about the fate of the City, demanding only safety for their persons, and having obtained it, spoke to him in this manner.

The Oration of the Magicians.

S*Ir, neither Men nor Cities can change their Fate be it good or bad, for every City has its Destiny, as well as every Man; now it hath pleased the Gods that this here shall endure many ages, being begun at this present hour. True it is, that because we feared that when once built it would become a Fortress against our selves, we have endeavoured to divert the Destinies, but they will still be Mistresses, both of the cunning of Magicians, and inanimadvertency of a King. Wherefore Fate it self commanded your Army to do what was most advantageous. 'Tis a truth we assure you of, and that you may believe we deceive you not again; You were here in person, you commanded they should stay for the signal, and your Army, which in other occasions, where they were to throw themselves into dangers, and to endure toil and labour, has always been perfectly obedient to you, could not now stand still, though you commanded it; but all on a sudden with its Officers ran to the work, as if it had been commanded; and so indeed it was, and therefore could not be staid at your commands; but who in humane affairs can have more power than a King, but a God? God, which this day grants you the full of your desires. God, who a more faithful Counsellor than we, is the Author of the Foundation of this City. God, enemy of our Nation and Allies, since now we have no more strength left, having neighbours more powerful than we so near us. In short, rest assured, this City is founded under a fortunate Constellation, and shall flourish a long time. And now we hope as our fault proceeded only from the fear we had of the decay of our felicity, you will not repent your self of the pardon you have granted us. The King mightily pleased with the Magi's discourse, forgave them: And this is what I have found concerning Seleucia.*

XIX.

Now *Seleucus* willing, that whilst he was yet living, his Son might be King, gave to him the greatest part of his Territory in the main Land: but though this were an action worthy the magnanimity of a mighty Prince; in my judgement, what he did in favour of this Son's love, and of that modesty he struggled with in his sickness, declared more courage and prudence. For this young Prince was passionately in love with *Stratonice* his Fathers Wife, by whom *Seleucus* had already had a Child; yet knowing his passion to be criminal, he never discovered it, nor gave the least symptom of it to any person: but smothering his grief, languished in his bed, and desired death. *Erasistratus* himself, that famous Physician, to whom the King gave such large allowance, could not at all conjecture whence his distemper sprung, till such time as observing that he had no corrupt humours in his body, he concluded the seat of his malady must be in the mind, the contagion of which had past into the
Body

Body. He knew his Grief, Anger, and other disturbances of Man's Spirit; could not well be concealed, but that a Modest Person might well conceal his Love; and founding himself upon this, he privately discoursed it with *Antiochus*, and conjured him to tell him the cause of his Distemper: But not being able to draw any thing from him, he kept near his Bed, had diligently observed those Changes happened to him, when any Woman entred his Chamber, and having taken notice that when others came about him; his Body continued without any alteration; but at all times, when the Queen came to visit him, his spirit seemed strangely moved, and shame and remorse of Conscience seem'd written in his Face, though he said never a word; but that as soon as she was gone, his Body resumed a more lively colour, and with a fresh heat returned to its former Estate. Upon which he told *Seleucus*, that his Sons distemper was incurable; whereat the King surprised, let his Grief break out with a Shriek; and the Physician added, *'Tis for Love, Sir, that he dies, and the Love of a Woman he can never enjoy.* *Seleucus* was astonished, that there should be a Woman in the World, that would not let her self be perswaded by a King of *Asia*; when he proposed to her the Marriage of his Son, and thereto added Prayers, Gifts and Money; nay, a great Kingdom, to which the Prince was Heir, and which he would be ready to part with presently in recompence of his cure, if any one demanded it, and thereupon pressing the Physician to tell him, who this Woman was: He replied, *'Tis my wife, Sir.* To which the King returned: *And how good man, you that are our Friend, and tyed to our House, by so many reciprocal Testimonies of kindness, and besides all that, a wise and honest man; will not you save the life of this young Prince, the Son of a King, your Friend, fallen unhappily in Love, and who out of Modesty has concealed his Grief, even unto Death? Can you make so little account, not only of Antiochus, but of Seleucus himself?* He feigning to be moved with these Arguments, turned them thus upon the Father. *And if he were (said he) in love with the Queen, would you quit her to him?* Hereupon *Seleucus* began to swear by all the Gods, Protectors of his Crown, that he would give her him freely, and with all his heart, that he might leave to Posterity a Noble Example of Paternal Goodness towards a Modest Son, who in his Affliction had not made the least Complaint, and was absolutely unworthy of this Misfortune. In conclusion, after much Discourse of this Nature he declared, he was extremely troubled, that he himself could not be the Physician of his Unfortunate Son, without being beholding to *Erasistratus*: Who seeing now the King was in earnest, discovered to him the whole matter, and how he came to know it, notwithstanding all his Sons resistance. *Seleucus* seemed overjoyed at what he heard, and now there remained only the difficulty of perswading his Son and the Queen; which he did, and after having gained their Consent to his Proposition, he assembled his Army, who perhaps had already some inkling of the Matter, and beginning to make an enumeration of the great Actions he had done, by which he had extended the Bound of his Empire farther, than any of the Successors of *Alexander*, he then remonstrated to them, how being grown old, it was hard for him to govern so vast a Kingdom. *Wherefore (said he) I will divide this mighty Mass, and that I may provide for your security for the future, I am resolved to discharge my self at present of one half of this burthen on him that I esteem most dear. I believe that you will obey me in all things, it being but just you should do so.*

You, I say, that since the death of Alexander, fighting under my Auspices, are mounted to so high a degree of Power. Now that which I esteem most dear, and most worthy of this Empire is this young Prince, the Fleck of my Children, and this Princess, who being in a flourishing age, will soon give you Children to be the stay and support of this great Empire. I marry them therefore together in your presence, and I give them all those Kingdoms I possess in the main Land. As for the thing it self, do not you consider in it, so much the Custom of the Persians, and other Nations, as the general Law, common to all men, which requires that Subjects should believe whatever their King Decrees is just. As soon as he had uttered these words, the Army began to make their Acclamations, proclaiming him the greatest King since *Alexander*, and the best of all Fathers. Thus *Seleucus* married his Wife with his Son, and sent them to take possession of their Kingdom. And surely this Action gained him more Reputation than all the Victories he had won; for he conquered himself. He had seventy two Governments, under his Domintion, so vast it was, of which he gave the greatest part to his Son, receiving to himself only the Country, lying between *Euphrates* and the Sea. After this, having War with *Lysimachus* (which was the last he had) he gave him Battel on the confines of *Phrygia*, near the *Hellepont*, where *Lysimachus* was slain. And as he had passed the Strait to sicse upon *Lysimachia*, he was himself slain by *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Serranus*, who was one of his Train. He was the Son of *Ptolemy Soter*, and of *Euridice*, the Daughter, of *Antipater*, and fear having driven him from *Egypt*, because his Father had resolved to give the Kingdom to his younger Brother; *Seleucus* took pity on him, received him, as the Son of his Friend, entertained him at his Table, and carried him along with him, in recompence of which he became his Murderer. Such was *Seleucus* his end, who dyed in the seventy third year of his Age, and fortieth of his Reign; for my part, I believe we may likewise refer to his death the answer of the Oracle: *Take leave of Europe, and possess Asia*; for *Lysimachia* is in *Europe*; and this was the first time he had repassed into *Europe*: After having followed *Alexander* to the Conquest of *Asia*: 'Tis said, demanding a Magician where he should dye, he received this Answer.

*Keep far from Argos to prolong the date
Of Life, for else thou hastnest on thy Fate.*

After which he made an exact search of all places, called *Argos*, and took special care not to go near the *Argos* of *Peloponnesus*, of *Amphilochia*, of *Orestisde*, from whence some Macedonians are called *Argeades*, or so much as to a City of that name, which *Diomedes*, during his banishment, had caused to be built beyond the Ionian Sea; but that as he was going from the *Hellepont* to *Lysimachia*, he saw an Alter built upon an Eminence, and having demanded the name of the place, they told him it was called *Argos*, and that whilst he was informing himself of the cause of that name, whether the Argonauts passing that way had not given it, whether the Inhabitants of the Country had not called it so, because of the Argians, that went to the Wars of *Troy*; or at last, whether it might bear that name in memory of the Country of the *Atrides*. *Ptolemy* thrust him with his Sword through the Body. *Phileteus*, Governour

nour of *Pergamus*, redeemed his Body from *Serranus*, with a great sum of Money; and when he had burnt it, sent the Ashes to *Antiochus*, who caused a magnificent Monument to be raised for him in *Seleucia* on the Sea, and built a Temple in Honour of him, which was called *Nicatorion*. As for *Lysimachus*, 'tis said that he was one of *Alexanders* Guard of the Body; and that one day having a long time followed the King on foot, who was on Horse-back, he grew so weary, that to ease himself, he laid hand on the Horse-tail, and by chance was pricked in a Vein of his Fore-head, by the point of *Alexanders* Javelin, which hung behind the Crupper, from whence there issued so much Blood, that that Prince having nothing else, bound it up with his Diadem, which being afterwards restored to that Prince all bloody, *Aristander*, the South-sayer foretold, that the wounded person should be a King, but should always Reign in Wars and Troubles. And indeed he ruled forty years, comprising the time, when he assumed but the quality of Governour, and at last was slain at the age of seventy years, with his Arms in his Hand, his Vanquisher *Seleucus* not long out living him. *Lysimachus* being slain, a Dog he had loved, staid a long time by the Body, and defended it from the Birds and Beasts, till such time as *Thorax* of *Pharsalia* finding it, gave it Burial. Though some there be that say, that he was buried by a Son of his, called *Alexander*, whom fear had made seek a refuge with *Seleucus*, when *Lysimachus* put to death *Agathocles* his other Son; and that his Body having a long time been sought after, was at length found by means of a Dog, quite putrefied, and was buried by the Inhabitants of *Lysimachia* in a Temple, which was afterwards called *Lysimachion*. Thus dyed also at the same time two Kings of equal stature, and of an extraordinary strength of Body, one at the age of seventy years, and the other three more, fighting in person to their very death.

After *Seleucus* his death, his Sons succeeded in his Kingdom of *Syria*, the first of which was *Antiochus*, surnamed *Soter*, who fell in love with his Mother-in-Law, and afterwards repulsed the Gauls, who had made an irruption out of *Europe* into *Asia*. The second was another *Antiochus*, born of the same Woman, he whom the Milesians called God, because he had delivered them from *Timarchus* their Tyrant, but this God dyed of Poison, given him by his Wife. He had married two, whom he equally loved, *Laodice* and *Berenice*, Daughters of *Ptolemaeus Philadelphus*, one of which two, to wit, *Laodice* gave him his death, as she did soon after to her Sister *Berenice*, and her Child. *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Philadelphus* revenged this crime by the death of *Laodice*, and marched into *Syria*, as far as *Babylon*, which gave occasion to the Parthians, seeing the House of the *Seleucides* in trouble, to shake off the Yoke of their Dominion. To this Man, surnamed God, succeeded in the Kingdom of *Syria*, *Seleucus* his Son by *Laodice*, who was called *Callinicus*, and after *Callinicus* his two Sons, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*; one after the other: the Eldest of which having neither health nor strength enough to keep his Army in awe, was poisoned by his Domesticks, having reigned only two years; and for *Antiochus*, who was surnamed the Great, it was he who had War with the Romans, the History of which we have now wrote. We have likewise spoke of his two Sons, who reigned both one after the other, *Seleucus* twelve years, without doing any thing considerable, (nor indeed had the power, by reason of his Fathers former losses) and *Antiochus* only two years, during which he took prisoner *Artaxias*, King of *Armenia*, and undertook an expedition into E-

gypt against *Ptolemy* the Sixth, one of those two Sons, whom their Father lately dead, had left for his Successors. As he lay encamped near *Alexandria*, *Popilius* the Roman Deputy came into his Camp with Letters, whereby he was commanded to depart the Kingdom of the *Ptolemies*. After he had read them, and said he would consider of them, *Popilius* made a Circle upon the Ground about him with a Rod he had in his hand, bidding him, *consider before he went out thence*, which so terrified him, that he presently departed the Realm; and because in his way, he plundered the Temple of *Venus* in *Elymais*, he dyed of a rottenness of the Lungs: He left a Son nine years old, called *Antiochus Eupator*, of whom we have spoken, as also of *Demetrius* his Successor, who being Hostage in *Rome*, escaped into *Syria*, where having taken possession of the Kingdom, the Syrians gave him the name of *Soter*, which the Son of *Nicator* had before born. There was one *Alexander* raised Arms against him falsely, saying he was of the Race of the *Seleucides*; and being supported by *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*, out of the hate he bore to *Demetrius*, he drove him out of his Kingdom; he dying in Exile, his Son, called likewise *Demetrius*, reconquered it, and because he had Vanquished this *Seleucus*, who was not of the Family of the *Seleucides*, he was called by the Syrians *Nicator*, like the first *Seleucus*, from whom the Kings of *Syria* were descended. And endeavouring to follow his Example, he undertook an expedition against the Parthians, where being taken Prisoner, he lived a long time in the Court of *Phraates*, and married *Rhodogune*, that Kings Sister. Mean while a Domestick of the former King's, called *Diodotus*, seeing the Throne of *Syria* without a King, fixed on it to advance therein a Child, named *Alexander*, the Son of that bastard *Alexander*, and a Daughter of *Ptolemies*; and soon after having made away his Pupil, had the boldness to make himself King, changing the name of *Diodotus* into that of *Tryphon*. *Antiochus*, Brother of the Prisoner *Demetrius*, hearing at *Rhodes* of his Brothers Captivity, and all the disorders succeeding it, returned into his Country, where with much labour he reduced this *Tryphon*; and having put him to death, advanced with his Army against *Phraates*, to oblige him to release his Brother, whom he presently sent to him out of a fear, the Parthian, at that time, had of War, yet this kept him not from pursuing his design, and engaging in Battel with the Parthian, wherein being overcome, he slew himself. *Demetrius* returned to his Kingdom was murdered by his Wife *Cleopatra*, enraged at the second Marriage with *Rhodogune*, the news of which had before been the cause, that during the Captivity of her Husband, she had married with her Brother *Antiochus*, she had two Sons by *Demetrius*, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*, surnamed *Grypus*; and by *Antiochus*, another *Antiochus* called the *Cyzycenian*, of whom *Grypus* she caused to be brought up at *Athens*, and the *Cyzycenian* at *Cyzica*. As for *Seleucus*, who had caused himself to be crowned immediately after the death of his Father, she killed him her self with an Arrow, whether it were she were fearful, he should revenge his Fathers death, or that she had conceived a hate against the whole Family. *Seleucus* being dead, the Kingdom descended to *Grypus*, who forced his Mother to drink a Poison she had prepared for him. Thus she at last was punished, and for him he degenerated nothing from *Cleopatra*, for he having advice of it, declared War against his Brother, drove him out of his Kingdom, and made himself King of *Syria*, he enjoyed it no long time, being himself expelled by the Arms of *Seleucus*, Son to *Antiochus*

Antiochus Grypus, who respected not in him the Quality of Uncle ; but he became so violent, and lived with so much Tyranny, that being at *Mopsa*, a City of *Cilicia*, he was burnt alive in the place of publick Exercise. His Successor was *Antiochus*, the Son of the *Cyzycenian*, whom the Syrians believed had escaped his Uncles traps, only for his Piety, wherefore they surnamed him the Pious ; and yet he was only saved by a Curtezian fell in love with him, because of his Beauty, which makes me think the Syrians gave him that name, only out of a jeer ; for this Pious man married *Selene*, who had before been married to his Father the *Cyzycenian*, and to his Uncle *Grypus*. Therefore Divine Justice suffered him in punishment of his Crime to be driven out of his Kingdom by *Tigranes* ; and the Son he had by *Selene*, who being bred in *Asia* was called *Asiatick*, to be deprived of his Kingdom by *Pompey*, as we have before related, having reigned only one year, during which that General was elsewhere employ'd. He was the seventeenth King after *Seleucus*, without reckoning *Alexander* the Bastard, or his Son, who were not of the Race, nor their Domestick *Diodotus*. To conclude, the Race of the *Seleucides* Reigned two hundred and seventy years, and if we account from the time of *Alexander* the Great, till this Kingdom was reduced into the form of a Province, we must likewise add those fourteen years which *Tigranes* Reigned. Thus much I thought good to say, by the way, concerning the Macedonians, that were Kings of *Syria*, though the Subject be somewhat separate from our History.

The End of the Syrian War.

APPIAN

A P P I A N
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Roman Wars
IN
PARTHIA:

PART I.

BOOK III.

The Argument of this Book.

I *THE Introduction to the History.* II. Crassus chosen Consul leaves Rome to go against the Parthians. III. Crassus first Expedition wherein he do's nothing memorable. IV. Crassus preparations for his second Expedition and the presages of his misfortune. V. His march, and the treachery of Agbarus. VI. Upon Intelligence that the enemy is not far

far off, he draws up his Army in Battel. VII. Description of the Battel. VIII. Success of the Battel, and the death of Crassus Son. IX. The end of the Battel wherein the Romans are worsted. X. Crassus decamps by night. XI. The Parthians pursue their Victory, and Crassus is slain. XII. The Parthians rejoyce at Crassus death. XIII. The beginning of Anthony's War against the Parthians, in which Ventidius makes great progress. XIV. Anthony's Preparations. XV. Some fights between Anthony and the Parthians. XVI. Anthony's retreat. XVII. The rashness of Flavius Gallus who had nigh lost the Army. XVIII. Famine in the Army. XIX. Continuation of Anthony's retreat, and the end of the War.

After Pompey (and those who as we have already said, succeeded him in the Government of Syria) Gabinius was sent to Command in that Province, whither (as he was disposing himself to make War against the Arabs) Mithridates King of Parthia driven out of his Kingdom by his brother Orodes) came to him to request him to suspend his Expedition against the Arabs, and march against the Parthians. But Ptolemy the Eleventh, King of Egypt had more prevalency over the Spirit of the Proconsul, and by the power of Money wrought so far with him, that in stead of going against the Parthians he led his Army to Alexandria. After having reestablished that King, he was condemned to Banishment, for having without the Senates Order undertook a War in Egypt, forbid by the Oracles, and particularly by the Sibyls verses. Crassus succeeded him, who going to make War upon the Parthians perished with his whole Army. After his death, when L. Bibulus was governor of Syria, the same Parthians made an irruption into the Province, and afterwards under the Government of Saxa, who succeeded him over-run all as far as Ionia, the Romans being imbroiled in Civil Wars: yet did they nothing memorable, besides spoiling the Country, rather like thieves than Men of War, and all that was but the consequence of Crassus overthrow, which had given them a boldness that Anthony was at last to give check to, but to write the History of this Expedition we must begin our discourse farther of.

The day of Assembly for Election of Consuls being come. C. Caesar, Pompey the Great, and Marcus Crassus being found Competitors, the two last (notwithstanding all the endeavors of Cicero, Cato and those of the Contrary Faction) obtained the Consulate by force, and prolonged to Caesar the Government of Gaul for five other years. Having drawn by lot the Governments of Syria and Spain. Syria fell to Crassus, and Spain to Pompey, with which all Men were well satisfied. For the people were pleased that Pompey should not go far from the City, and there was great likelihood because he extremely loved his Wife, that he would not willingly absent himself for any long time. On the other side Crassus as soon as he saw himself Governor of Syria, dissembled not his satisfaction. He thought no greater happiness could have arrived him, and so far did his Excess of Joy transport him, as to make him in his familiar conversation with his friends, utter a thousand extravagancies, which favored of the young Man, and seemed contrary to his nature, who had never been taken for a Proud Man or a Boaster; but now exalting his thoughts above their due level,

I.

II.

level, his judgment was perverted, insomuch that he not only promised himself to subdue the Syrians and the Parthians, but as if the Victories gained by *Lucullus* against *Tigranes*, and by *Pompey* against *Mithridates* had been but sports, his depraved imaginations carried him as far as the Bactrians, the Indians, and the Oriental Ocean. Though in his Commission there was not any mention made of a War against the Parthians, yet no Man doubted but he was resolved to undertake it. *Cæsar* himself writing to him from *Gaul* commended his design, and exhorted him to pursue it, but many good and understanding Men, thought it strange he should go to make War against innocent people who only demanded peace. Wherefore *Crassus*, having intelligence that *Atteius* Tribune of the people had a design to hinder his going out of the City, was afraid, and intreated *Pompey* who had a great power over the spirits of the people, to be his Conductor, they found in the Street a great number of Persons disposed to Arrest him, but *Pompey* observing them, went to meet them, and with a smiling countenance appeased them; so that they held their peace, and gave him passage. *Atteius* only made opposition, first by forbidding *Crassus* to pass any farther, and then by commanding the Usher to seize his person, but the other Tribunes not thinking it convenient, let him pass. Then *Atteius* ran to the Gate, and filling a chafing dish with fire, as *Crassus* past by made efusions thereon, pronouncing Execrations against the Consul, and invoking Gods, whose names were new and dreadful. This manner of cursing is very Ancient, and the Romans are of Opinion that these Imprecations are so powerful, that whoever they are pronounced against cannot escape, nor can any good happen to him that pronounces them, wherefore they never use them rashly, and now many persons blamed *Atteius*, in that by declaring himself Enemy to *Crassus* though in favor of the Commonwealth, he had filled the minds of the whole City with fear and Superstition. Yet all this hindered not the Consul from setting forward to *Brundisium*, and though the Winter which was not yet near past might have diverted him from adventuring to Sea, yet he would stay no longer, so that he lost many of his Ships by Storm, and having rallied the remainder of his forces, took his way by Land through *Galatia*, where he found King *Deiotarus*, who was of a great age, building a New City to whom he said in raillery. *You begin to build at twelve a clock, to which the other replied smiling, and you I perceive go not against the Parthians very early.* For *Crassus* had already past sixty years of age, and look'd much Elder then he was.

- III. Being arrived in the Province, the first success of his affairs answered very well to his hopes, for having caused a Bridge to be built, he with ease and security passed his Army over the *Euphrates*, and received under his obedience many Cities of *Mesopotamia* which surrendered to him; One he besieged called by the Greeks *Zenodocia*, which was defended by a Tyrant named *Apollonius*, and because he had lost before it one hundred of his Soldiers, he stormed it with his whole Army, took it, razed it, and sold all the Inhabitants he could find by Outcry. After this he permitted his Army to call him Emperor by which he lost much of his Reputation, as if having gained this Victory, his hopes had reached no higher. In conclusion he placed Garrisons in all the Cities had surrendered, whose numbers amounted to seven thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, and with the rest of his Army, came to take up his Winter quarters in *Syria*, whither his Son who had born Arms in *Gaul* under *Cæsar*, from whom he had received

received many Military rewards, came to him with a thousand chosen Horse. This was in my opinion the second fault *Crassus* committed, after having rashly undertaken this Enterprize, for whilst he ought to have advanced as far as *Babylon* and *Seleucia*, Cities in all times Enemy to the Parthians, by keeping at this distance he gave the Enemy time to make preparations. The stay he made in *Syria* gained him not more glory, for he lived rather like a Tax-gatherer than a General. The time which should have been employed in making provision of Arms, and exercising the Soldiers, was spent in reckoning up the Revenue of the Cities, and in weighing and measuring the Gold and Silver consecrated to the Goddess of *Hierapolis*. And when he had Ordered the Lords and Commonalty of the Country to set out a certain Number of Soldiers, he presently dispensed with them for Money, whereby he drew upon himself the scorn of all the World. It was at the Temple of the forementioned Goddess, whom some will have to be *Venus*, others *Juno*, others *Nature*, which contains in her the seed of all things, there it was I say that he received the first presage of his ill fortune. For as the Father and Son came out thence, the young Man stumbled, and fell before the Gate of the Temple, and the old Man fell upon his Son.

Whilst he was drawing his Forces out of the Garrisons there came to him Ambassadors from * *Artabanes* who said but little to him, the sense of which was this. *That if the People of Rome had sent that Army, the War would not end, but by the absolute ruine of one of the parties, but if it were true (as was reported) that Crassus without his Countries consent, and for his own particular interests had undertaken it, Artabanes would not then do his utmost, but having compassion on the Consuls age, would let the Romans go, whom he considered rather as men besieged than Conquerors, To which Crassus having arrogantly replied that he would give them an answer at Seleucia; Artabanes chief of the deputation in a fit of laughter showing the Palm of his hand; Crassus said he, there shall hair grow here before thou see Seleucia, and therewith the Ambassadors departed to give advice to * *Orodes* their King that he must resolve for War. Immediately after, some of those who had been placed in Garrison in the Cities of *Mesopotamia*, having escaped through all the difficulties in the World, came to the Camp, where they bred no small disturbance. They gave account of the vast number of Enemies they had seen, the labors they had undergone in defence of the Cities from whence they were driven, and aggravating every thing, as is usual in such cases, they assured their fellows that it was impossible to escape from the Parthians when they pursued, nor to overtake them when they fled, that their Arrows wounded before they could be perceived, and that nothing was proof against them, whilst they were Armed with such strong Curasses that nothing could offend them. The Roman Soldiers hearing these discourses were appalled, for being perswaded that the Enemies differed nothing from the Armenians, and Cappadocians whom *Lucullus* had beaten till he was weary, and believing that the most of their labor would be the length of the way, and the trouble to pursue Enemies that durst not stay for them, they saw that quite contrary to the opinion they had entertained, this War would be both doubtful and dangerous; Insomuch that the Chief Officers of the Army were of opinion to hinder *Crassus* from proceeding farther, till he had considered more maturely of an affair, which concerned the safety or loss of so many Men. Moreover the Augures gave private notice that the Entrails of the Beasts promised no good, and that *Crassus* his Sacrifices were not pleasing to the Gods.*

* The General name of the Kings of Parthia.

* The King's particular Name.

Gods. But he would hearken to nothing from them or any other but those who encouraged him generously to pursue his design; among which the counsel of *Artabazus* King of *Armenia* made great impression on his Spirit, for he came to the Roman Camp, with six thousand Horse which they call the Kings guards with promise to furnish ten thousand Horse more, and thirty thousand Foot at his own expence, persuading to assault the Parthians, by the way of *Armenia*, and he would take care to guide the Army a commodious way, and to furnish them with all necessaries, and that thus *Crassus* would have continual Mountains to March through, and places difficult for Horse Service, in which the *Parthian* strength chiefly consisted. The Consul highly applauded the Kings good will, and praised the Magnificence of his Troops, but told him he would take the way of *Mesopotamia*, where he had left a great quantity of Valiant Men of the Roman name. After this conference the *Armenian* returned into his Kingdom. As for *Crassus*, as he caused his Army to pass over a Bridge, great Claps of Thunder began to make a dreadful noise, and continual flashes of lightning darted in the Soldiers eyes, besides all on the sudden an impetuous storm, raged against the Bridge, and carried away a part of it. It happened likewise that the lightning fell twice in the place whereon they were to encamp, and one of the Consuls Horses in his most stately Trappings carried the Esquire that rode him, into the River notwithstanding all endeavors to stop him, nor were either Horse or Man ever seen afterwards; They say likewise that the Eagle that was first taken up by the Standard-bearer, of it self fell backward, and that when the Army having past the River sat down to eat, they by chance gave the Soldiers nothing but Lentils and Broath, which is counted doleful meat, because only served at Funerals. Afterwards as *Crassus* made an Oration to his Army, there escaped from him a word which struck a strange terror into the minds of the Soldiers. For he told them he had caused the Bridge over the River to be broke down, that not one of them might return; and though that absurdity might have been repaired by explaining the words, and that the Consul ought to have interpreted it, that he might not leave upon their Spirits an Impression of ill Presage, yet he would not do it out of Stubbornness. After this having mustered his Army, he offered a Sacrifice, and as the Priest put the Entrails of the beast into his hands, he let them fall, at which the assistants being scandalized, he laughing said, *These are the inconveniences of old age, but our Arms will never fall out of our hands.* He then found that the Army which passed the River consisted of seven Legions, about four thousand Horse, and as many light Armed Foot.

V. Sometime after the Scouts brought in word that the whole Region was desert, and that they had only discovered the track of a great Number of Horses which seemed to fly before them, upon which intelligence *Crassus* conceived some good hopes, and the Soldiers began to despise the Parthians, believing they would never stand to fight them. However *Crassus*, and some of the Consuls Friends, advised him to retire into some one of those places he held in that Country, till such time as he had received more certain advice of the Enemy, or at least that he would march them towards *Selucia*, along the Banks of the River, for so greater plenty of provisions might be brought him by water, and in case the Enemy came to assail him, the River might serve as a Rampire; so that they could not encompass him about, and by that means he might fight them with equal Forces.

Forces. As *Crassus* was consulting about the importance of this Counsel, there arrived in the Camp an Arabian Gentleman called *Agbarus*, cunning but treacherous, whom Fortune made use of as the Principal Instrument, for destruction of the Army; some who had born Arms under *Pompey*, knew him, and remembering that Great General had obliged him, thought he might have an affection for the Romans. But indeed he was sent to *Crassus* by those who Commanded the Kings Army, to draw him if possible from the River, and Foot of the Mountains, and make him take into the Plain, where the Horse had more advantage. For they were resolved on nothing less then to come to a pitcht battel with the Romans in that place. *Agbarus* therefore coming to salute *Crassus*, and being well spoken, began his discourse with the praises of *Pompey*, and the kindnesses he had received from him, then he fell to discourse of the mighty power of *Crassus*, setting forth that he wrong'd himself in spending time in consultation, when he was but more than too strong, for there was not any need of Arms, but only of nimble Feet and Hands, to deal with a People, who had a long time been prepared to pack up their Mony and Choicest Riches, and fly into *Scythia* or *Hyrkania*, *But if you will fight*, said he, *you must make hast lest the King resuming Courage Rally up likewise his Forces, for at present you have only to deal with Surena who is the Rear-guard of those Forces that make their Retreat, for as for the King, they know not where he is.* Now all this was false, for *Orodes* had upon the first of the War divided his Forces into two Armies, with one of which he had invaded *Armenia*, where he made strange Havock to Revenge himself of *Artabazus*, and had given the other in charge to *Surena* to oppose the Romans. Not out of scorn as some say, for there is no likelihood that he should disdain to deal with *Crassus* a Roman Consul or that he could think it more Honorable to wage War with *Artabazus* or Plunder the Villages of *Armenia*, but for my part I am of the opinion he retired thither for fear of the danger, or as into an Ambuscado, to expect the success of the War. For *Surena* was no Common Man, being both for Riches, Birth and Quality, the second to the King, and for Valor and Vigor of Body, the Chief among all the Parthians, besides he was large of Stature, and of as Noble an Aspect as any Man living could be. He had continually in his train a thousand Camels for burthen, two hundred Coaches for his Women, and for his Guard a thousand Men at Arms, besides a greater Number of Light Horse, so that the Ordinary Train of his Household, was ten thousand Horse, reckoning his Vassals and Slaves, and by an Ancient Hereditary Right of his Family he had the Honor first to set the Crown on the head of the new King of the Parthians: He had brought back this same *Orodes* from Exile, and restored him to the Throne, he had by Storm taken the Great *Selucia*, being the first that mounted on the walls, from whence himself drove the Guards that defended them, and though he were not now above thirty years of age, he was esteemed one of the most Politick Men of the time he lived in, which he shewed by entrapping *Crassus*, who yet in truth was easie to be deceived, first by reason of his pride and daring, and at last because of his fear, and the distress to which he saw himself reduced. *Agbarus* therefore having by fair words perswaded him to leave the River, caused him to take his march through the midst of vast plains, naked of trees, untill'd, and of which they saw no end, so that the Soldiers grew faint-hearted, not only for thirst, and the tediousness of the way, but because they found no refreshment in their travel, they saw neither River nor Mountain, nor any green thing, but as if they had been in the wide Sea,

they beheld nothing on all sides but an affrightful solitude. All this already gave them some suspicion of Treason which was confirmed, when Ambassadors from *Artabazus* came to acquaint the Consul that their King being engaged in a War against *Orodes*, who had invaded his Country could not send him any assistance, but that he advised him to turn his Arms that way, and to joyn with the Armenians to give battel to the Parthians, or if that were not his judgment, at least so to order his march that he took care not to engage in the plains, where the Horse should have too much advantage, but that he should as much as he could draw towards the Mountains. To all which *Crassus* who would not write a word in Answer to the King, brutishly and like a Man in Choler made Answer, "That he was not now at leisure to think of the affairs of *Armenia*, but "that at his return he would Chastise *Artabazus* for his treachery. Whereupon *Cassius* and those that were of his mind grew angry, but without saying a word to *Crassus*, who would not listen to any good counsel given him, they fell to reviling *Agbarus* with a thousand reproachful words. *What mischievous Devil brought thee hither, thou most villanous of all mankind* (said they to him) *by what Witchcraft or Incantments hast thou been able to persuade Crassus, to take his march through these vast Solitudes, a road more proper for a Numidian Robber then a Roman General?* But he being cunning entertained them still with fair words, exhorting them to have a little patience, and encourageing the tired Soldiers to march, and with flattering smiles telling them: *What do you think you are marching now through Campania, or do you hope to find here Fountains, Rivers, Shades, Baths, and continual Inns? Remember, pray remember that you pass now by the confines of Arabia and Syria.* Thus *Agbarus* treated the Romans as if he had been their Pedagogue, and before his Treason was discovered he left them, not by stealth but by consent of the Consul, whom he made believe he went to give Orders about things necessary, and to create some disorder in the Enemies Camp. 'Tis said that that day *Crassus* came forth not in a Purple Robe, according to the manner of the Roman Generals, but cloathed in Black, which yet he went and changed as soon as he perceived it, and that some Ensigns pitcht in the ground stuck so fast, that those who were to carry them, could scarcely pull them out, at all which *Crassus* did but laugh.

- VI. He Commanded presently to March, and earnestly urged the Legions to follow the Horse, when some of his Scouts coming in, brought word that others of their fellows had been slain by the Enemy, and they had hardly escaped, and that there was a dreadful multitude following them at the heels with resolution to fight. This news amazed the whole Army, but especially *Crassus*, who began to draw his Army into Battel, but with a great deal of Irresolution. First, according to *Cassius* advice, he drew up his Legions at length, extending them as far as ever he could, that the Enemy might not surround them, and placing his Horse on the wings, but afterwards changing his mind, he formed his Legions into a Battel of four Fronts, each of which he covered with twelve Cohorts, each Cohorts strengthened by a Squadron of Horse, that all four might be equally defended by the Horse. One of the wings he gave in charge to *Cassius*, the other to his Son, and kept himself in the main battel. Marching in this Order they gained a River called *Balissa*, which though neither deep nor large was very welcome to the Soldiers, who had had so toilsome a March through

through heat and dust, most of the Officers advised not only the refreshing the Soldiers, but resting that night there, to the intent, that making the best discovery they possibly could of the number and posture of the Enemy, they might be the better able to encounter the next Morning: but young *Crassus*, and his Horsemen, calling out for the Battel, the Consul again re-incouraged, commanded that those, who had a mind to take any repast, should eat without stirring from their Ranks; and scarcely had he allowed them to take what Food was necessary, but he marched forward the Army, not slowly and often halting, as is usually done by those, who would preserve their Men for the Fight; but upon the gallop, and all in a breath, till such time as the Enemy appeared sooner than they looked for them; but neither in any great numbers, nor in a posture to give any terrour to the Romans; for the main Body of the Army was hid by these Vant-curriers, who by *Surena's* order had with loose Coats covered their Armour.

But when they drew nearer, and that the Enemies had given Signal of Battel, there was heard throughout the whole Plain a dreadful noise, for the Parthians use in War neither Horns or Trumpets; but knowing well that of all the Senses, the Ear is most capable of affecting the Mind; and stirring up the Passions, they beat all at once through the whole Army, certain Drums, whose hollowness makes dreadful roaring, which in some measure imitates Thunder. This noise having begun to terrifie the Romans, the Parthians threw off their loose Coats, and shewed their Armour of polished Steel, whose brightness dazzled the eyes, and they were discovered to be mounted on Horses, barbed and covered with plates of Iron and Copper. *Surena* made a show above all the rest, the Magnificence of whose habit seemed somewhat effeminate, and disagreeable to the high Reputation he had gained: but in this he followed the Custom of the Medes, who go to Battel painted and curled, whereas the Parthians tuck up their Hair on their Foreheads, to make them appear more formidable. At first they charged on the Spur with Lances in their Rests against the Front of the Roman Battel, to try to break it: but having observed the Legionary Bucklers joyned so close, and their Ranks fast locked together, they retired, and as if they had disbanded, and quitting their Ranks, wheeled about the Roman Army: *Crassus* sent against them his light armed Men, who went not far; for the Soldiers soon finding themselves overwhelmed, and beaten down with showers of Arrows, ran to save themselves among the Ranks of the Legions, bringing amongst them great confusion and disorder; especially when it was perceived, that those were discharged with such a violence, that they equally wounded those that were armed, and those that were not. And now the Parthians began to fight at a distance with Flights of Arrows from all sides, which were never shot in vain; for the Romans were so closed together, that though the Parthians would, they could not well have mist them; and their Bows being great and strong, and managed by vigorous Arms, made no slight Wounds: Insomuch that the Romans were already hard put to it. If they stood firm without quitting Ranks, they were wounded; and if they pressed to assault the Enemy, they could not reach them, and yet were wounded still; for the Parthians discharged their Arrows, as they fled; and next the Scythians are certainly the most skilful Nation in the World in this Exercise, invented doubtless to defend at once, both from the Enemy, and from the shame of flight.

VII.

However;

VIII.

However, the Romans had patience so long as they hoped, that the Enemy having once drained their Quivers, would either retire, or come to fight hand to hand: but when they understood that they had in their Army great numbers of Camels laden with Arrows, whither they went by turns to fill again their Quivers, as fast as they had emptied, they were utterly dismayed; *Crassus* seeing no end of this kind of fight, began to afflict himself, and sent to tell his Son, that he should advance to charge the Enemy, before they were inclosed; for they pressed hard upon him, and wheeled about the Wing, which he commanded to fall on in the Rear. This young Man having therefore taken thirteen hundred Horse, of which *Cæsar* had given him a thousand, and eight Cohorts of Foot armed with Bucklers, which stood next him, drew off, and went furiously to charge the gross of the Enemy; but they (whether that place were miry, as some say, or that by this stratagem, they had a mind to draw the Consul's Son, as far as was possible, from the rest of the Army) turned tail and fled. He presently with loud cries declared the Enemies flight, and addressed himself to pursue them, accompanied by *Censorinus* and *Megabachus*; this last famous for strength of Body, and height of Courage; the other a Senator, and besides a great Orator, both of the same age with young *Crassus*, and his familiar Friends. The Horse followed, and the Foot after them, all filled with joy and hope, believing they gave chase to a Vanquished Enemy; but they had not gone far ere they discovered the cheat, beholding those return to the charge, who had made a show of flight, supported now and strengthened with great numbers: Whereupon those who were at the Head of the Romans stood still, believing, because of their small number, the Enemies would come and assault them at hand: but they opposed them only with their Lancers, whilst the rest scouting up and down the Plain, with their Horse-hoofs broke the surface of the Earth, from whence arose such clouds of Sand and Dust, that the Romans could neither see nor speak: So that being thus lock'd up close together in a croud, they were wounded, and dyed not of a quick and easie death, but with strange pains and convulsions caused by the Arrows sticking in their Bodies, which not being able to endure, they rolled themselves upon the ground to break them in their wounds, or else striving to pull them out with the barbed heads, which had pierced into the Veins and Nerves, they grievously tore themselves, and added fresh anguish to the former. Thus most of all those Cohorts that followed the Horse being slain, the rest remained useless, because of their wounds; and when their Captains commanded them to go charge the Parthian Men at Arms, they showed their hands nailed to their Bucklers, or their Feet struck through and fastned to the ground; so that they could neither fight nor flee. Hereupon young *Crassus* resolved to make one brisk attempt with his Horse, but the strokes they gave with their weak and slender Javelins, having but small effects on the others Currales of boild Leather, guarded with bands of Iron; whilst on the contrary their steel-headed Lances piercing through and through the Gauls lightly armed, and almost naked, made the match very unequal. He had great confidence in these Gauls, and indeed they did act wonders, they lixed on these Lances with their naked hands, and in endeavouring to wrest them away, tumbled the Men at Arms from off their Horses; who being over-laden with Iron, could very hardly mount again: There were likewise some of them, who quitting their own Horses, went and thrust their

their Swords in the bellies of those of the Enemy, who mounting at the snart of the wound, tumbled back with their Riders, so that many were by this means trampled to death under the Horse Feet, as well of the Romans as the Parthians: but nothing was more insufferable to the Gauls than the heat and drowth, to which they were not accustomed; and besides, many had lost their Horses, which had been slain by the Pikes or Lances. Wherefore they resolved to recover the Legions, having in the midst of them the young *Crassus*, already tortured with many wounds: but seeing nigh unto them a Hillock of Sand, which formed a kind of Eminence, they retired thither, and tying in the midst those Horses they had left; fortified themselves with their Bucklers, which they ranked round about them, thinking by this means to defend themselves from the Barbarians: but it fell out quite contrary; for though in a Level those before do in some measure cover those behind, yet here, by reason of the declining ground, one standing above another, no person could be in security. They were all wounded alike, and dyed with the more vexation, that they could not revenge themselves, but must all perish without Glory. There were along with the young *Crassus* two Greeks, Citizens of *Carres*, called *Hierom* and *Nicomachus*, who would have perswaded him to have saved himself with them in the City of *Ichnes*, which took part with the Romans: but he made answer, There were no death so cruel, that for fear of it *Publius* would forsake his Companions, who had not engaged themselves in that danger, but for his sake. And at the same instant gave leave to them, exhorting them to take care of themselves; but for his own part, not being able to make use of his hand, because of a wound he had received by an Arrow, he presented his brest to his Esquire, commanding him to run him through. Some say *Censorinus* dyed in the same manner, and that *Megabachus*, and most of the Nobility slew themselves. The rest assailed by the Parthians, dyed generously defending themselves, and 'tis reported five hundred only were taken alive. The Enemy forthwith cut off the Heads of young *Crassus*, and his Companions, and returned to seek out his Father, who in the mean time had acted, as we shall now relate.

After the Command given to his Son to charge, and that some came and told him, that the Enemy fled, and that he likewise found himself not so hardly pressed upon, for indeed they had left him; he took a little courage, and caused his Army to March into the lower Ground, hoping his Son would soon return from the pursuit of the Enemy. Mean while young *Crassus* perceiving himself in danger, dispatch'd away several Messengers to his Father, to give him notice of it, of whom the first were slain by the Enemies; and the next, who hardly escaped brought word, that *Publius* was certainly lost, if not suddenly relieved. Upon this news the Consul found himself tossed with sundry passions which blinded his reason, so that he knew not what to resolve on: He was fearful of losing all, if he went to the succour of his Son; yet he loved him, and therefore was in doubt whether he should go to his relief, or endeavour to save the rest. At last he caused the Army to March towards the Enemy, who presently appeared to meet them; witnessing by their loud and terrible shouts that they had gained the Victory; and letting the Romans know, by the confused noise of their Drums, that they must again prepare to fight. Thus they made their approach, bearing the Head of *Publius* upon the end of a Lance, and asking by way of derision, who were

were the Parents of that young Man, and of what Family he was? for they could not believe that *Crassus* the basest of all men could beget a Son so Brave and Valiant. This fight cast down the spirits of the Romans more than all the Calamities they had suffered; and instead of stirring up in them that indignation and desire of revenge, which it ought, overwhelmed them with horror and fear. However, *Crassus* Valour appeared upon this occasion extraordinarily; he cryed out, as he marched on Horse back through the Ranks :

The Oration of *Crassus*.

THis Misfortune concerns me only, fellow Soldiers, the glory and felicity of our Country remains yet intire, whilst you are in a condition to defend it. And if you have any compassion upon me, for having lost a Son of that Value, discharge your anger on your Enemies, and deprive them of their joy by punishing their cruelty. Loose not your Courage, for the misfortune happened to me, whoever pretends to great recompences is subject to like disgraces. *Lucullus* did not Vanquish *Tigranes*, nor *Scipio* *Antiochus*, without the expence of blood. Our Fathers lost a thousand Ships in the Conquest of Sicily; and in Italy it self many Generals and Captains have perished, whose loss hath not hindred their party from gaining the Victory; for the Roman Empire is not mounted to this Greatness and Power by the good Fortune of the Romans, but by their Patience and height of Courage in Adversity.

After these words *Crassus*, perceiving that most of the Soldiers received them but coldly, commanded to give a great shout all together, which made but their inward grief the more known; for they shouted with weak and discordant Voices, whilst the Barbarians answered them in a Tone high and Harmonious. The Fight presently began, wherein the Enemies light Horse wheeling about the Romans, galled them in Flank with showers of Arrows, whilst the Lanciers, who assailed them in Front, made them recoil and croud close together. However, some out of fear of the Arrows, drew off from the gross to charge nearer at hand: but they did their Enemies little hurt, and were presently killed by their Lances, whose Iron head entring the Body, was followed by a thick Staff, thrust forward with so great violence, that often times it went through and through both Horse and Man. After the Battel had thus lasted till night, the Parthians retreated, saying, *That they gave that night to Crassus to bewail his Son, unless he made choice of the better way, and had rather go and present himself to Arsaces than be carried*: And having said these words, they went and lodged in a place hard by, with full hopes the next Morning to put an absolute end the Victory.

x The Romans on the contrary had but an ill night of it, they had no thoughts either of burying their dead, or dressing their wounded, of which some lay dying, every one bewailed his own self, for there was no hopes of safety, whether they staid in that place till day, or whether, whilst it was dark, they set forward, cross those vast Plains; for the wounded, if they carried them, would hinder their flight; and if they forsook them, the cries of those miserable Creatures would give notice

to

to the Enemy of their departure : And though they imputed all their misfortune to *Crassus*, they wished, notwithstanding, they might either see or hear him ; but he had withdrawn himself, and with his head bound up, had cast himself on the ground in the dark. Whereby he became a great Example of the inconstancy of Fortune to the Vulgar, and of rashness and ambition to the Learned ; having suffered himself to be so far transported by those two failings, that he could not content himself to be one of the Prime among so many thousands of Citizens, but believed himself miserable, because he was accounted but the third Man in *Rome*. *Octavius* his Lieutenant, and *Cassius* his *Quæstor*, having found him in this posture, roused him up, and entreated him to take courage ; but seeing he was in utter despair, by advice of the * Tribunes and Centurions, they themselves published the Dead March, and began to discamp without noise : but when the sick and wounded perceived that they were about to forsake them, with their cries and roarings they spread a general trouble throughout the Army, even those who were already got into the Plain, took the Alarm, as if the Enemy had been ready to fall on : wherefore they made many halts, putting themselves in order to fight, and perplexed with the great numbers of the wounded that followed them, of which they took up some, and left others, they made but little way, save only three hundred Horse that fled away by themselves, with whom *Ignatius* arrived about Midnight at *Carres*, where having called in Latin to those were upon the Guards of the Walls, he bid them go and tell *Coponius*, the Governour of the place, that there had been a great Fight between *Crassus* and the Parthians ; and without explaining himself farther, or so much as telling his name, advanced towards the Bridge ; the truth is, he saved those Horse, but he was blamed by all the World for forsaking his General, not but that *Crassus* had some benefit by *Coponius*, having this advice ; for the Governour conjecturing by the ambiguity of his words, and by the suddenness of his departure, that the Messenger brought no good news, immediately drew to Arms what Force he had ; and when he had advice that the General was upon the way, went out to meet him, and gathering up as many of the Soldiers as he could, conducted them to the City.

As for the Parthians, though they knew well that the Romans were dislodged, yet they would not pursue them by night ; but as soon as it was day, they run to their Camp, and cut the throats of all those they had left, which amounted to no less than four thousand, and then pursued the rest, of whom they took great numbers, whom they found dispersed in the plain ; besides four Cohorts, under the conduct of the Lieutenant *Vargonteius*, who having stragled in the March by night, fell into their hands enclosed in a strait, where having valiantly defended themselves, they were all cut in pieces, except only twenty Soldiers, who with their Swords in their hands opened themselves a passage through the midst of their Enemies ; and whose courage the Enemies themselves admiring, suffered them to pass at an easie rate to *Carres*, without pursuing them. Mean while false intelligence was brought to *Surena*, that *Crassus* was escaped with all the considerable Persons in the Army, and that those who were retired into *Carres*, were only a company of wretches not worth any consideration. Which was the reason that not thinking his Victory perfect, and desiring to have more certain news, he quitted his design of pursuing *Crassus*, and sent one of his people, who understood both Languages,

before the Walls of *Carres*, to ask in Latin either for *Crassus* himself, or *Cassius*, as if *Surena* desired a conference with them, which being heard, and told to *Crassus* and his Friends, displeased them not. A little while after, came on the part of the Barbarians certain Arabs, who knew the faces of *Crassus* and *Cassius*, having frequented their Camp before Battel. These knowing *Cassius* upon the Wall, told him that *Surena* would grant Peace to the Romans, provided they would be friends to the King, and depart out of *Mesopotamia*, and that they believed they had better accept of that condition, than reduce things to the last extremities; whereupon *Cassius* demanded a time and place for a Conference betwixt the Generals, and they promising to let *Surena* know it, went their way; *Surena* rejoicing that he had now these two Men now shut up, sent next Morning under the City Walls some Parthians, who injuriously reviling *Crassus* and *Cassius*, demanded them to be delivered up, if the Romans had a mind to Peace. And now the Chiefs of the Roman Army knowing that they were betrayed, fell into despair; but yet consulting what was best to do, they resolved on a sudden flight, beseeching the Consul to give over those vain and distant hopes he placed in the assistance of the Armenians. This design was not to have been communicated to any of the Inhabitants of *Carres*, before the time of its execution, and *Crassus* discovered it to the most perfidious of them all, called *Andromachus*, to whose Faith he committed himself, taking him for the Guide of the Army: So that by the means of this Traytor, all the Roman designs were presently known to the Parthians. And because these were not accustomed to fight in the dark, as not easie for them to do, *Andromachus* to retard the Romans March, and by that means give the Enemy time to overtake them, placed himself at the Head of them, going sometimes on one side, and sometimes on another, till such time as he had engaged them in deep Marishes, and places full of Ditches, whose high Banks sorely perplexed the Army, who yet followed this Traytor; insomuch, that they were often forced to go a great way about to find a passage. This begat a distrust in some, who imagining by the many twinings and windings, that *Andromachus* had an ill intention, refused to follow him, of which number was *Cassius*, who returned to *Carres*: And when his Guides, who were Arabs, urged him to advance before the Moon had passed *Scorpio*: For my part, said he to them, *I am much more afraid of* * Sagittary. However, parting from *Carres*, he took the way towards *Syria*, with five hundred Horse; and having found faithful Guides, gained the Mountains, called *Synaces*, where before day, there rallied together about five thousand Soldiers, conducted by *Octavius*, an excellent Man. As for *Crassus*, day surpris'd him, as he followed *Andromachus* with incredible labour. He was accompanied with four Cohorts with Bucklers; some few Horse, and five Lictors or Serjeants, with whom having with all the pain and labour imaginable, overcome the difficulty of the way; the Enemies now drawing near, he went and possessed himself of an Eminence, distant about * twelve Furlongs from that, to which *Octavius* was retired, but nothing so strong of situation, nor of so difficult approach for the Horse, but it lay under the *Synaces*, to which it was joyned with a long neck, that crossed the Plain. So that *Octavius* could not be ignorant of the danger in which the Consul was; wherefore himself ran first to his assistance with a few people, and soon after the rest of his Forces, reproaching each other with cowardise, followed. They altogether drove the Enemy from the Hill, and drawing up round about *Crassus*, and lining their whole Body with their

* Sagittarius
signifies an
Archer.

* A Mile and
half.

their Bucklers, bravely protested, that no Arrow of the Parthians should reach their General's Body, so long as one of them remained alive. Wherefore *Surena*, who saw the Parthians gave ground, and that if night came on, the Romans, who had already gained the Mountains, would escape him, assaulted *Crassus* with cunning, he let go some Prisoners, who had heard some of the Barbarians of purpose saying, *That the King would not be dissatisfied to have Peace with the Romans, but desired their Friendship, and that if he might obtain it by Crassus means, he would treat him favourably.* In the mean time, causing the fight to cease, he after by little and little drew near to the Hill, and unbending his Bow, presented his hand to *Crassus*, desiring him to consent to an accommodation, he told him that the King having taken up Arms much against his will, the Romans had made trial of his Strength and Power, and that now he would make them taste of his Goodness and Clemency, by showing them his Favour, and granting security for their Retreat. Not only the Soldiers, but the Leaders glad to hear these fine words of *Surena's*, easily believed them. *Crassus* was the only man was not deceived. Indeed he saw no reason for so sudden a change, wherefore he would not presently consent, but stood thinking what answer to return, when the Soldiers began to cry out with one voice, that they would have Peace, and withal to revile him, for exposing them to men, he durst not himself approach disarmed, as they were; he endeavoured first to persuade them by entreaties and reasons to have patience the rest of that day, since at night they might easily make their retreat, by gaining the Mountains, he showed them the way they should take, begging them not to loose all hopes of safety, which was now so nigh; but when he saw that the Soldiers enraged, threatned him, and smote upon their Bucklers, he was afraid of them, and at parting said only these words to those about him:

The Oration of *Crassus*.

Octavius, and you *Petronius*, and all you Gentlemen of Quality here present, you see how I am forced to go, you are witnesses of the violence done me; yet tell all the World, when you have gained a place of safety, that *Crassus* lost his life deceived by his Enemies, but not delivered up to them by his Citizens.

However, *Octavius* and the rest staid not upon the Hill, but went down with the Consul, who would not suffer the Lictors to follow him. As they were going down, two Mongrels or half Greeks came to meet him, and alighting, made their Reverence to *Crassus*, intreating him to send some of his people before to view *Surena* and his Train, and espie if they were not armed. To which the Consul made answer, That if he had yet the least desire to live, he would not have come to put himself into their hands. However, he sent the *Riscones* Brothers to spie into their designs, and discover their number; but *Surena* caused them to be arrested; and forthwith advancing with the Chief Men of his Army all mounted on Horse-back towards *Crassus*: And how (said he, coming near him) a Roman General on Foot, and we on Horse-back; and at the same

instant commanded a Horse to be brought him. *Crassus* having answered, That neither one nor the other did amiss in that, since each came to the Conference, after the manner of his Country. *Surena* said, That the Peace was already concluded between *Orodes* and the people of *Rome*, and that there wanted nothing but putting the Articles in Writing, which they would do on the River side: *For you Romans* (said he) *do not usually remember your Treaties very well*; and at the same instant he gave him his hand: Thereupon the Roman called out to bring his Horse: To which *Surena* said, there was no need of it: *For see*, added he, *one which the King has sent you*; and forthwith one was brought ready Bridled with a Bitt of Gold, upon which the Footmen mounted him, and placed themselves on both sides to make him advance forward: whereupon *Octavius* first of all laid hands upon the Horse Bridle to stop him, and one of the Tribunes called *Petronius*, and after him all the rest placed themselves about the Consul, to hinder his going farther, and to pull away from about him those that would have led him forward: Infomuch, that thus pushing and shoving one another, they came at last to blows, *Octavius* drawing his Sword, slew one of the Barbarian Horsemen, but another slew him with a blow behind. *Petronius* had no offensive Arms, but having received on his Cuirsas the thrusts made at him, withdrew himself from the bustle without any wound. As for *Crassus*, he was slain by one *Maxarthes* a Parthian, though some say it was done by another, and that *Maxarthes*, as soon as he was down, cut off his head and his right hand: but all these are conjectures, for of all those that were present, some were slain upon the place, and the rest nimbly regained the Hill, before which the Parthians appeared, and called out on the part of *Surena*, that since *Crassus* was punished, all the rest might come down in safety: Some yielded themselves, others fled away by night, of which few escaped, being most taken and slain by the Arabs. 'Tis said that in this expedition there were twenty thousand Soldiers slain, and ten thousand taken Prisoners.

- XII. *Surena* sent *Crassus* Head and Hand to *Orodes* into *Armenia*; and himself having beforehand caused a Rumour to be spread abroad at *Seleucia*, that he brought *Crassus* alive, he prepared a certain ridiculous Entry, which in Mockery he called a Triumph. To this purpose he took one of the Prisoners, called *Caius*, who much resembled *Crassus*, and having clothed him in a Womans Robe, and taught him to answer to those, who called him either *Crassus* or Emperour, made him enter on Horseback into the City, before him marched, mounted on Camels, Trumpets and Lictors carried Rods with Purles fastned to them; and Axes, to which were tyed the Heads of Romans newly cut off: He was followed by the Curtisans of *Seleucia*, playing on Instruments, and singing infamous and ridiculous Songs of the faintheartedness and cowardice of *Crassus* more becoming a Woman than a Man. Such was the publick Spectacle: but having in particular assembled the Senate of *Seleucia*; he exposed to them the lascivious Fable of *Aristides* the Milesian, which indeed had been found among *Rustius* his Baggage, from whence he took an ample Subject to declaim against the Romans, who even in time of War could not abstain from uncleanness, but brought their Books along with them. The Seleucians upon this took occasion to admire the Wildom of *Æsop* in his Fable of the Wallet, seeing that *Surena* carried open in the Pouch before the Sensualities of the Milesians, and kept shup up in that behind the

the Sybaritick or Effeminate Wantonness of the Parthians, bringing along himself in his Train, multitudes of Coaches full of Concubines; and his first appearance being like that of Hydra, dreadful and terrible; where nothing was to be seen but Horses, and Lances, and Bows, whilst his tail ended in Cimbals, and Songs, and continual Debauches of Women; not but that *Rustius* was to be condemned: but the Parthians are in the wrong to blame what comes from *Miletum*; since most of the Family of the *Arfacides*, who have been their Kings, were born of Milesian and Ionian Curtifans. Whilst these things passed, *Orodes* was reconciled with *Artabasus*, having married his Son *Pacorus* to the Armenians Daughter, which was followed by Feasting, Rejoycing, and Debauches. They acted likewise Greek Comedies, for *Orodes* was not ignorant of the Greek Tongue, nor of Letters; and for *Artabasus*, he composed both Tragedies, Orations and Histories, part of which have been preserved to our times. When *Crassus* Head was brought to the entrance of the Court, they were at Table, and a Comedian, called *Fason* the *Trallian* was reciting some Verses of the part of *Agave* in the *Bacchides* of *Euripides*, which much delighted the Company. At the same instant *Sillaces* entred the Room, where they were at Meat; and making a profound Reverence, threw down the Head in the middle of the Hall, which being taken up by the Parthians with shouts and general rejoycing: the King commanded the Officers they should make room for *Sillaces* at the Table, which they did: then *Fason* giving one of the Players upon the Flute his part to play the Funerals of *Pentheus*; and himself taking the Head of *Crassus*, as if he had entred in a fury, began as loud as his voice would reach to sing these Verses:

*From the Chase we bring to you,
Tender Venison fat and good,
Which was taken in this Wood.*

All the Company were pleased at this Spectacle, but one accident pleased them more; for when at every Couple the Choire answered singing

'Tis to me the Honour's due.

and that one of the Actors danced to it; *Maxarthes* (for he likewise was at the Feast) leaped from the Table, and took the Head out of his hands that held it, as having more right to it than any other. Whereupon the King made him Presents according to the Custom of the Country, and gave *Fason* a Talent. Thus *Crassus* his Expedition ended in a Tragedy. However, *Orodes* received soon after a punishment equal to his cruelty, as *Surena* did first, what his so many violated Oaths deserved; for the King soon after made him away out of the Envy he bore to his Glory: and for *Orodes*, being fallen sick of the Dropsie, after that his Son *Pacorus* had been slain in fight against the Romans, *Phraates* his other Son gave him Poyson, which the force of the Distemper expelled, so that the King grew better upon it, whereupon *Phraates* would no more trust to Poyson, but taking a shorter way strangled his Father.

Sometime after the Parthian Army marched into *Mesopotamia* whither
their

their Captains sent for *Labiennus*, and chose him General, resolved under his conduct to invade *Syria*, and carry their Arms as far as *Alexandria*. He accepted the Dignity, and at the head of that Army had already pillaged and spoiled all that part of *Asia*, lying between *Euphrates* and the *Ionian* Sea, when complaints thereof came to *Anthony*, who thereupon took a resolution to make War upon the Parthians. But being recalled by the prayers and tears of his *Fulvia*, he returned into *Italy*, where having made an Alliance with *Cesar* and *Pompey*, who was in *Sicily*, he sent *Ventidius* before into *Asia* to oppose the Parthians, and hinder their further Progress, and having for himself by the favor of his Friends, obtained the Dignity of high Priest, which was held by the defunct *Cesar*, he stayd sometime in *Rome*, managing in fellowship with them the Publick affairs with great Concord. There was at this time in *Anthony's* train an Egyptian Astrologer who (whether it were to gratifie *Cleopatra*, or that it were so indeed) took the boldness to tell him, that his fortune was indeed very great and splendid, but that it was obscured by *Cesars*, counselling him to keep as far off that young Man as he could; for said he to him *your Genius is over awed by his*. This discourse displeased *Anthony*, however he followed the Egyptians Counsel, and having recommended his affairs to *Cesar*, came into *Greece*, and stayd that Winter at *Athens*, where having advice of the first success of *Ventidius* Arms, that not only *Labiennus* but *Phraates* the greatest of *Orodes* Captains were slain, he made a Solemn Feast for the Greeks, and gave them the Divertisement of Plays and Exercises. And afterward being ready to set forward to the War, he took a Crown of Sacred Olive, and to satisfy a certain Oracle, carried along with him a Jar full of the Water of the Fountain *Clepsydra*. Mean while *Pacorus* the Kings Son, being newly entred *Syria* with a powerful Army, *Ventidius* defeated him at *Cyrista*. The slaughter here was very great, and *Pacorus* himself was slain fighting in the head of his Army, so that this great Victory revenged the loss the Romans had suffered under *Crassus*, and the Parthians after having been thrice more beaten, were forced to keep within the bounds of *Media* and *Mesopotamia*. *Ventidius* would not pursue them farther, lest he should contract *Anthony's* envy, yet whilst he expected him, he reduced to obedience those Cities, had revolted and held *Antiochus Commagenes* besieged in *Samosata* so closely, that he offered a thousand Talents, and to refer himself to *Anthony's* discretion. He was not now far off, wherefore *Ventidius* thought it best that he should send Deputies to him that he himself might conclude the peace, being well content that *Anthony* should have the preheminance in this affair, lest he should think *Ventidius* assumed to himself all the Authority, but the Siege having lasted long, and the besieged out of despair resuming Courage, *Anthony* was satisfied to take up with three hundred Talents, and granted peace to *Antiochus*. Afterward having taken some order in the Syrian affairs, he returned to *Athens*, giving *Ventidius* all those testimonies of his Esteem, his Services had merited, and sent him to *Rome* to receive the Honor of Triumph, and he is the only Roman, who till these our times ever Triumphed over the Parthians. He was but of mean Birth, and mounted not to that high degree of Glory, but by the Friendship of *Anthony*, which he made such good use of, that he confirmed the opinion, that *Anthony* and *Cesar* succeeded more happily by their Lieutenants than by themselves, for *Sofius* one of *Anthony's* Captains had done Worthy Actions in *Syria*, so had likewise *Canidius* in his Station on the Confines of *Armenia*, having overcome the Kings of *Armenia*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, made his way as far as *Caucasus*, and gained to the name of *Anthony*, Fame and Honor among the Barbarians.

Phraates

Phraates having possessed himself of the Estates of his Father *Crodes* XIV: by the Parricide before spoken of, many Parthians left the Kingdom, one of which called *Moneses*, a Man of Esteem, and Power, addressed himself to *Anthony*, who comparing the Fortune of this Fugitive with that of *Themistocles*, and equalling himself to the Persian Kings both for Riches and Largeness of Mind, gave him three Cities, *Larissa*, *Arethusa* and *Hierapolis*, formerly called *Bambice*. Afterwards the King having recalled and given him security for his return; *Anthony* freely dismissed him, that he might flatter *Phraates* with hopes of peace; whilst himself out of a passionate desire he had to recover the Ensigns *Crassus* had lost, and the Captives that were yet living, sends back *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, and by the way of *Arabia*, sets forward towards *Armenia* where he had appointed the Rendezvous of his Forces and those the Kings were to bring him, for there were many Friends and Allies of the Romans of whom *Artabasus* King of *Armenia*, the most considerable, furnished him with sixteen thousand Horse and seven thousand Foot, so that at the Muster taken when his Army was drawn together, the Roman and Italian Foot, amounted to sixty thousand Men, the Spanish and *Gaul* Horse to ten thousand, and the Auxiliary Forces to thirty thousand, accounting the Light-armed Horse and Foot. 'Tis said that all this great preparation, and all these Forces, which struck terror into the Bactrians and farthest distant Indians, proved invalid, by the means of *Cleopatra* only, That *Anthony*, that he might the sooner see her, began the War without staying for a season proper for the Execution of his designs, that having as it were his understanding infatuated, he did all things inconsiderately, and was so deeply in love with this Woman that he thought not so much of overcoming as of returning speedily to her. For whereas he ought to have let his Army Winter in *Armenia*, the better to refresh it, tyred as it was with a march of * eight thousand furlongs, and in the Spring * *A the great* have fallen into *Media*, before the Parthians were in the Field, he could not *be'tis.* brook this delay, but setting forward with his Troops, and leaving *Armenia* on the left hand, and entering into *Arropacena*, spoiled that whole Country, besides having in his Train three hundred Waggon's laden with Engines for Sieges, among which there was one Ram of seventy Foot long, which could by no means be repaired if once it were broken, because in those Countries no Materials were to be found, there neither growing any trees long enough, nor Wood hard enough: to the end he might march the swifter, he left behind all these carriages under the Guard of one Officer with some Forces. After which besieging a great City called *Phraates* in which was the Wife of the King of the Medes, with his Children, he was soon sensible what a fault he had committed in leaving behind those Engines; yet he attempted to take the City by raising Tarasses against the Wall, but this was a work of labor and advanced but slowly.

Mean while *Phraates* took the Field with a powerful Army to come XV: against the Romans, and having intelligence that they had left behind the Waggon's and Engines, he sent a great Body of Horse, who cut in pieces *Stratianus* and ten thousand Foot that he Commanded. And after having taken the Engines slew a great quantity of others of which number was the King *Polemon*, which disheartned, and not without reason, those who had engaged in *Anthony's* party, dismayed at so mournful a beginning; Inſomuch that *Artabasus* King of *Armenia*, who had been the Principal cause of this War giving over all those hopes he had conceived of the Ro-
mans

mans retired with his Army into his own Country. And now the Parthians having sent relief into the City with a thousand injurious threats reviled the Romans, so that *Anthony*, that he might not let the courages of his Men cool in the Idleness of a Siege, took with him ten Legions, three Pratorian Cohorts and all his Cavalry to go and gather in Provisions and Forrage, hoping the Enemy would come to oppose him, and so he might gain an opportunity to Fight. After his first days march the Parthians appeared, and he seeing that they began to enlarge their Battail round about the Roman Camp with design to cut off his way of return, he Commanded to Sound a March, and to pack up the Tents, as if he were preparing to discamp, and not to Fight, which done he caused his Army to March before the Enemies in form of a Crescent with Orders to the Cavalry to charge as soon as the Vanguard was advanced, that so the Legions at the same time might come to the Charge. The Parthians mean while admired the Excellent Order of the Roman Army, seeing the Soldiers pass along, keeping their Ranks, and Brandishing their Piles without making the least noise, but as soon as the Signal was given, and the first shout made, the Roman Horse pressed forward to Charge the Parthians, and came in so close to them, that they could no more make use of their Arrows. Yet they stood their ground for some time till the Legionary Soldiers running in with their shouts, and the noise of their Bucklers, so horribly affrighted the Horses of the Enemy, that they turned Tail without striking blow. *Anthony* hoping that this battel would end the War, or at least give a good stroke towards Victory, pursued them hard. But when the Infantry had driven them before them * fifty furlongs, and the Horse had followed them, thrice as far, and that they found but thirty Prisoners, and not above fourscore slain, their courages fell at the consideration of how few they had destroyed in this victory in comparison of the Numbers they had lost at the defence of the Carriages. Next Morning they advanced to go and force *Phraates* his Camp, but meeting in their march at first with a few Parthians, after that with a greater Number, and at last with the whole Army, who as if they had not been beaten the day before, came to the charge and assailed them on all sides, they with much pains and difficulty recovered their Camp, where the *Medes* whom they besieged, having stormed the Palisado, and driven off those that defended it, *Anthony* fell into such a passion that he decimated all those had quitted their Posts, he drew them off by Decuries or Tens, and making them draw Lots, condemned the unfortunate to death, and instead of Wheat gave only Barley Bread to the rest. This War was troublesome to both parties, and each feared more grievous consequences. For *Anthony* could no longer go abroad to seek Provision or Forrage without having some of his People slain or wounded, and *Phraates* who knew well that the Parthians would rather endure any thing than to keep the Field all Winter out of their own Country, was afraid lest if the Romans continued the War his People would forsake him, the Air already growing cold by reason of the Autumnal Equinox. Wherefore he made use of this Artifice. Some Parthians known to the Romans, meeting them foraging treated them kindly, letting them go away with their burthens and praising their valor which their King himself admired, and that with reason, for indeed they were the most valiant Men in the World, and then by degrees drawing nearer they blamed *Anthony*, that he would not make peace with the King, and spare the lives of so many brave people, whom he only suffered to lose time, and without giving them opportunity of Fighting made them wait for two

cruel

* About 2
Miles.

cruel Enemies, Famine and Winter, and that in such places as their March would be difficult, though the Parthians themselves were their Guides. This being several times reported to *Anthony*, he began to be more tractable; yet he would not send to the Parthian, till he had caused inquiry to be made of these honest Barbarians, whether it were by their Kings Order they had spoke to the Roman Soldiers: which when they had assured it was, conjuring them not to have the least fear or jealousy, he dispatched one of his Friends to the King, to demand the * Ensigns and the Captives, that he might not seem to be content with an honourable Retreat only; to which answer was returned, That he should not speak of that, but that Peace, and a safe Retreat should be granted him, on condition he would speedily depart, which he did few days after.

* Taken in
Crassus War.

Though he were very Eloquent in all Assemblies, whether Civil or Military, yet shame and sadness would not let him now speak to his Army himself. He gave Commission to *Domitius Enobarbus* to take his place, and to exhort the Soldiers to be courageous; some took it ill, thinking he did it in scorn; but the greater part knowing the cause, the easier composed themselves to his thoughts. As he was designing with himself to return the way he came through the naked Deserts, a certain Mardian, of whose Courage and Fidelity the Romans had trial in the Fight for defence of the Engines, and who knew the manner of the Parthians living, came to him, and advised him to take his March by the Foot of the Mountains, which lay on the right hand, and not to expose his Army loaden with Arms, to such infinite numbers of Archers on Horse-back in Plains so vast, and without any covert; for that *Phraates* had no other design, but to fall upon him, when by fair words he had made him leave his Trenches; and therefore he offered himself, both to lead them a shorter way, and in which they should find abundance of whatever was necessary for the Soldiers. *Anthony* proposed this in Council, not seeming to distrust the Peace agreed on by the Parthians, but telling them he should be well satisfied to take a shorter way, by which they should find good Villages, and that nothing else was to be done, but to take good security of the Mardian: And he of himself desired he might be bound till they had reached *Armenia*; and thus bound, put himself at the Head of the Army, and led them two days without any alarm: but on the third, whilst *Anthony* thought of nothing less than the Parthians; and that upon the assurance of the Peace, the Army marched without standing on their Guard, the Mardian espying the Bank of a River newly broken, and the way, by which they were to pass, full of Water; he judged the Parthians had done it to put a stop to the Romans, by making difficult the passage, and showing it to *Anthony*, advised him to prepare to receive the Enemy. The Roman General presently Martialled his Army, leaving between the Ranks spaces for the Darters and Slingers to make their discharges. At the same time the Parthians appeared, persuading themselves they should now compass in the Army, and defeat them; but the light-armed Foot drawing off to receive them, charged them so briskly, that after many wounds given and taken they retreated; yet for several times they renewed the skirmish, till the Gaul Horse marched against them in a Body, and treated them so severely, that the remainder of that day they durst attempt them no more. *Anthony*, by this assault, knowing what he had to do hereafter, made the Army March in Battalia on four Fronts, lining not only the Rear, but likewise the Flanks with

XVI.

Q

Darters

Darters and Slingers, and giving Order to the Horse to repulse the Enemy, if they came to attack them, but not to pursue them too far, after they had chased them back; so that the Parthians, after having thus followed them four days with equal loss, began to give it over, and making the ground of their departure to be the approaching Winter, disposed themselves on the morrow to leave off the pursuit.

XVII.

The day before they were to be gone, one of *Anthony's* Captains, called *Flavius Gallus*, a Valiant and Worthy Man, requested a greater number of the Light-armed Foot, for defence of the Rearguard, and some part of the Cavalry from the Wings, as if he had some brave exploit to put in execution. Having obtained his desire, he set himself to chase back the Enemies, that came to skirmish, not as before, retreating in his Body, as soon as he had made them give ground; but charging them home, and obstinately maintaining the Fight, which being observed by those who maintained the Rearguard, they recalled him for fear lest being divided from the Army, the Enemy should encompass him. 'Tis said farther, that *Titius* the Questor staid the Ensigns to make him return, reproving him for losing so many brave Men; but that *Gallus* quarrelling with him, and bidding him meddle with his own Affairs, he left him, and joyned with the main Body. *Gallus* charging forward on the Enemy, with two much heat, found himself beset in the Rear, and on all sides oppressed with Showers of Arrows, so that he was forced to send for aid; in which the Colonels of the Legions, and among the rest *Canidius*, who had much power with *Anthony*, seem to have committed a great fault; for whereas they ought to have marched with all their Force thither, they sent only some few Cohorts; and as those were defeated, others, not observing that by this means the Army would by little and little be put to the rout, and had been so, if *Anthony* himself had not speedily made in with all the Vanguard; but now the third Legion advancing athwart the Flyers, and standing the shock of the Enemy, stop'd them short, and hindred their passing farther. There were no less than three thousand men slain in this Engagement, and five thousand brought off wounded, among whom was *Gallus* thrust through and through with four Arrows, of which he dyed not long after. *Anthony* went among the Tents to visit the others, comforting them, and weeping himself out of grief and compassion; but they rejoycing to see him, took him by the hand, and pray'd him to take care of his own health, and not afflict himself any more. They called him their Emperour, and told him their wounds were all healed, whilst they saw him well. And indeed, there appears not in all that Age to have been any General that had an Army so vigorous, so brave, and so patient; and if we have regard to the respect and obedience they bore him, as well great as small, Officers as Soldiers, and the high account they made of his favour, preferring it before their own safety, or their very lives; certainly he yielded to none of the Ancient Romans, and surely they were disposed to it by many Motives, by his Nobleness, his Eloquence, his Uprightness, his Liberality both frequent and great; and by the sweetness of his familiar Conversation: but above all his tenderness and compassion for the afflicted, and the care he took to see them furnished with all things necessary, made the sick and wounded almost as well satisfied, as if they had been well. Now this Victory had so raised the Enemies hearts, before almost tired and despairing, that they passed that night near the Camp in hopes e'er long to be plundering

ring the Publick Treasure and find the Tents deserted. On the morrow they assembled in far greater Numbers, so that it is thought they could not be less then forty thousand Horse; for the King sent those of his own train one after another, as to an evident and assured victory (for as for himself he never engaged in person.) In the mean time *Anthony* designing to make an Oration to his Soldiers would have put on a sad coloured habit to move the more Compassion, but his Friends diswading him from it, he came to the Assembly in the Habit of General, he praised those had behaved themselves well, and declaimed against those that fled, of whom the first desired him to be of good Courage, and the last having given reasons for their flight offered themselves to be decimated or what other punishment he pleased, so that he would forbear to afflict himself, and to look ill upon them. Thereupon lifting up his eyes to heaven, he besought the Gods, that if any Divinity were jealous of his past happiness, they would let all the miseries wherewith he was threatned to fall upon his own head, and give Victory to the rest of the Army. The next day they again set forward in better Order, so that the hopes of the Parthians who assailed them began to decay, for they thought they were come to Pillage and Plunder and not to fight; but finding themselves stiffly beat back by the Roman Piles, which the Soldiers now discharged with a wonderful Alacrity, they once again were forced to give ground. Yet ceased they not from following the Roman Army, and one day as they galled them with their Arrows, whilst they were descending a little Hill, the Targetiers faced about, and after having received the light Armed Foot into the Ranks, set their Knees to the ground, and Ranging their Bucklers one above another, formed a * Testudo, where the Bucklers rising by degrees Resembled in some measure the Seats of a Theater. And indeed this was an Excellent Rampire against the Arrows for they slid away on both sides the Testudo. The Parthians thinking the Romans were thus set down out of weariness, giving over their Bow's came to charge them at Push of Pike, but they Rising all at once and giving a great shout, with their Piles broke the foremost Ranks, and forced the rest to Flight.

* So called because of its resemblance to a Tortoise shell.

But in the mean time Famine began sorely to oppress the Army, for the Soldiers being continually in Fight, could not range abroad for Provisions, besides there wanted Mills, the greatest part being left behind because either Beasts of Carriage were dead, or imployed to carry the sick and wounded, so that 'tis said a Bushel of Wheat, *Athens* Measure, was sold for fifty Drams, and Barly Bread for its weight in Silver, they were forced at last to eat Roots and Herbs, and because they found but few that were known they were necessitated to make experiment of all they met with, and unhappily fell upon an Herb that caused Madness, and in the conclusion proved death, for as soon as any had eaten of it, they lost their Understanding and Memory, and fell to turning upside down, and removing all the Stones they met with, believing they were at work upon some very serious matter, so that all the Camp was filled with People rooting up, and removing Stones from one place to another, who at last died vomiting of Cholor. Wine was the Cure for this Distemper, but it was not to be had, insomuch that 'tis said *Anthony* seeing so many of his People die, and the Parthians still at his heels, often cryed out, *Oh the ten thousand!* Admiring those ten thousand Men who under the Conduct of *Xenophon* marched a much longer way making their retreat from the Plains of *Babylon* to the Sea without loosing so much as one Man though in their way they

XVIII.

were often assaulted by far greater Numbers of Enemies. The Parthians seeing they could not hinder the Romans March, nor engage them to divide one from the other, and that they had been often beaten, began again to talk civilly to those, went abroad for Corn and Forrage, showing them their unbent Bows and telling them that now they might freely go, and indeed there appeared only some *Medes*, who passed a day or two's march farther, without committing any Act of Hostility, but only under pretence to secure the Towns distant from the great Road. After these Civilities and Fair words, the Romans were somewhat more hearty. *Anthony* himself grew a little pleasant and began to have some inclination for the way of the plain, because it was told him, that there was greater conveniency of Water then in the Mountains. As he had resolved it, one of the Enemies called *Mithridates*, Cousin to that *Moneses* who had fled for refuge to *Anthony*, and to whom he had given three Cities, came to the Camp, and asked for any one that could talk with him, either in the Syrian or Parthian Tongue. *Alexander* of the City of *Antioch* a trusty Friend of *Anthony's* presenting himself, the Parthian after having told him, that what he did was for *Moneses* sake, asked him if he saw far afore those high Mountains that touched one another. He making Answer he saw them well. The Parthians (said the other) lie there in Ambush with all their Forces (for this Plain extends it self as far as those Mountains) and there they wait for you out of hopes that giving credit to their fair words, you will leave your Road to Cross the Plain. In the other way you have nothing to suffer but Labor and Thirst to which you are already accustomed, but if you engage in this, *Anthony* will scarce come better off then *Crassus*. And having said thus much he departed. This being reported to *Anthony* he was afraid, and conferred with his Friends, and with the *Mardian*, whom he found of the same judgment, for he knew that the way of the Plain though there were no Enemy to be feared, was hard to find, and many difficult passes whilst all the inconvenience of the other was want of water only for one days march. Determining therefore to take the way of the Mountains and to depart the same night, Orders were given to the Soldiers to furnish themselves with water, and because the most part wanted Vessels, they filled their Head-pieces and certain skins sewed together. The Army was already set forward, when the Parthians having intelligence of it, contrary to their custom followed them by night. About break of day they came up with the Rearguard, and fell upon them, tired as they were with Travel and want of sleep, for that night the Romans had marched * two hundred and forty Furlongs, and did not believe the Enemy could be so soon upon them, which made them almost loose their Courage, besides their thirst encreased with their Fight, being forced to fight and march together. Mean while the Vanguard met with a River clear and cool, but whose salt and venomous waters, ulcerated the bowels as soon as they were drunk, and provoked an intolerable thirst. The *Mardian* had given notice to the Soldiers of it, but that could not hinder them, though he forbade it never so much from drinking. *Anthony* himself came amongst them, and conjured them to have yet a little patience, shewing them that they were not far from another River where they might drink, and that henceforward the way was craggy and unaccessible for Horse, and therefore the Enemy must of necessity retire; at the same time he caused the Retreat to be Sounded, that at least the Soldiers might a little refresh themselves in the shade.

* Forty Miles, a thing almost incredible though so good as History write it.

As

XIX.

As they pitch'd their Tents, and that the Parthians were retired, according to their Custom. *Mithridates* came again, and *Alexander* going out to meet him, he advised him to raise the Camp, after the Army had never so little refreshed themselves, and to march with all the speed they could past the other River, for that was the bounds of the Parthians, beyond which they would not go. This advice being brought to *Anthony*, he sent to the Parthians by *Alexander* Cups and Vessels of Gold, of which he took as much as his Coat would cover. The rest of this days March was without any Alarm, but the night following was troubled by the Romans themselves, who made it both hurtful and dangerous; for they killed those who had any Gold or Silver to rob them, plundered the publick Treasury loaden on the Beasts of Carriage, and at last, *Anthony's* own Equipage, even to his necessary Vessels and Tables of inestimable price, which the Thieves broke in pieces, and divided amongst them, that occasioned so great a tumult, and so strange an affright (for they thought the Enemy already master of the Baggages) that *Anthony* having called to him one of his Guards, named *Ramnus*, who was his freed Man, he forced him to promise him upon Oath to run him through with his Sword, as soon as he should command it, and to cut off his Head, lest he should fall into the power of the Enemy, or be known when he was dead. This discourse having drawn tears from *Anthony's* Friends: The Mardian came to intreat him to take Courage, by telling him, that by a certain moist and fresh Wind very pleasant to the Nostrils, he knew well they were not far from the River, which he guessed besides by the length of the way they had gone; and the time (for the night was far spent) At the same time they brought him word, that all the Tumult was occasioned by the avarice of the Soldiers, who had plundered one another; wherefore that he might put in order this troubled and dispersed multitude, he made a halt; about break of day, the Tumult being quite calmed, every one began to fall into his Rank, when on a sudden the Rearguard felt the Parthian Arrows; the Light-armed Foot was presently commanded out, and the Targetiers, as before, formed a Testudo against the Enemies shot, who durst not approach them too nigh. At last, having fought in this manner for some little way, the Vanguard perceived the River, where being arrived, the Horse was sent out against the Parthians, and they began to pass over the sick. The Fight by little and little grew colder, for the Parthians at the sight of the River unbent their Bows, telling the Romans they might pass without any fear, and highly commending their Courage: When they were got on the other side, they reposed themselves at leisure, then set forward on their March, not confiding too much in the words of the Parthians; and six days after their last Fight, they arrived on the Banks of *Araxis*, a River which divides *Media* from *Armenia*, they thought it both deep and rapid; and there was a rumour spread, that the Enemy was coming to encounter them at their passage: but after they had happily crossed it, and saw themselves in security, in the Territories of *Armenia*, as if they had gained a Port after a Storm; they adored the Earth, embracing one another, and weeping for joy; yet it happened, that coming into a Country abundant in all things, after so long a scarcity, they so overcharged their Stomachs, that many of them fell sick, either of the Dropsie or Colick. *Anthony*, out of danger, took a Muster of his Army, and found that he had lost in this Expedition twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, of which more than half dyed of sickness. Since his

his departure from about *Phraates* till this time, he had made seven and twenty days March without resting, during which he had fought eighteen times against the Parthians with advantage: But these Victories were to no purpose; for not being able to pursue the Enemies far after he had routed them, they remained imperfect. Now it is firmly believed, that *Artabasis*, King of *Armenia*, was the cause that *Anthony* gained not an absolute Victory; for had he had with him the sixteen thousand Horse armed after the manner of the Parthians, and accustomed to fight with them, which that King led back out of *Media*, the Parthians so many times overcome, could never have rallied, because that after the Romans had routed them, the Armenians following the chase, had made it a perfect Victory. Wherefore all men advised *Anthony* to punish *Artabasis*; but he thought he did more prudently, not to reproach him with his perfidiousness. On the contrary, he remitted nothing of the Honour and Civility he usually shewed him, because he saw his Army weak, and in a tyred condition: but making another Voyage into *Armenia*, he obliged him by fair words to come and meet him; and having arrested him, led him Captive to *Alexandria*, whither he entred in Triumph, which much displeased the Romans, who were vexed that he communicated the Honours of their Cities to the Egyptians: but this happened in the time of the Declination of the Republick. After this, the Kings of the Medes and Parthians quarrelled about the Roman Spoils; wherefore the Median seeing himself the weakest, and fearing to loose his Kingdom, sent to *Anthony* to engage him to begin the War afresh, offering him to that effect his Forces, and his Alliance. Upon these offers the Roman conceived great hopes, because he believed that to have subdued the Parthians, he wanted nothing but Archers and Horsemen, which now offered of themselves: he was therefore resolved to pass into *Armenia*, with design to make a conjunction of his Forces, with those of the Mede on the Banks of *Araxes*; and so go together to make War upon the Parthians; but being prevented by the dissensions of *Octavius* and *Cleopatra*, he referred this Expedition to another Season, though 'tis said the Parthians were at this time divided among themselves. He notwithstanding once afterwards returned to *Media*, where having contracted an Alliance and Friendship with that King, he demanded one of his Daughters, whom he married to one of his Sons he had by *Cleopatra*; and that done, he returned, because of the Civil Wars, which now began to break out into a flame.

The End of the Parthian War.

A P P I A N
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Roman Wars
WITH
MITHRIDATES.

PART I.

BOOK IV.

The Argument of this Book.

- I. **T**he importance of this War, and the Power of Mithridates. II. The Foundation of the Kingdom of Bithynia. III. Foundation of the Kingdom of Cappadocia, and the cause or pretence of the Roman Wars against Mithridates. IV. Mithridates sends Pelopidas to the Roman Commissaries to complain of Nicomedes. V. Mithridates sieges on Cappadocia

padocia for his Son, and Pelopidas in vain remonstrates the State of Matters to the Roman Commissaries. VI. The beginning of the War by the first Battel between Nicomedes, and the Lieutenants of Mithridates, wherein Nicomedes is defeated. VII. Sundry successes of Mithridates Arms. VIII. The Commission of this War given to Sylla, and the Massacre of the Italians in Asia. IX. The Siege of Rhodes by Mithridates, who is forced to raise it. X. The Siege of the Port of Piræum, and of Athens by Sylla. XI. The City of Athens taken and sacked, and after it the Port of Piræum. XII. The Battel between Sylla and Archelaus, near Cheronea, where Sylla defeats Archelaus. XIII. Mithridates cruelty to the Tetrarchs of Asia, and Inhabitants of the Island of Chios. XIV. The fight between Sylla and Archelaus near Orchomene, where Archelaus is beaten. XV. The Actions of Fimbria, and the second sacking of Troy. XVI. The first accommodation betwixt Mithridates and the Romans. XVII. The death of Fimbria; Sylla's settlement of Asia, and return to Rome. XVIII. The second War with Mithridates by Muræna, which soon ends with a second Peace. XIX. The beginning of the third War of the Romans against Mithridates, wherein he at first hath the advantage. XX. Lucullus being Consul, hath Commission for this War, raises the Siege of Cyfica, and besieges Mithridates, to the loss of his whole Army. XXI. Many Fights between Lucullus and Mithridates, who is at last forced to retire to Tigranes. XXII. Lucullus makes War on Tigranes, and Mithridates together, and after many Victories is revoked. XXIII. Pompey's War against the Pirates. XXIV. Pompey's actions against Mithridates, who forsakes his Kingdom. XXV. Pompey's Conquests in Asia. XXVI. Mithridates returns with new Forces, and prepares to renew the War. XXVII. His Son Pharnaces conspires against him and his Death and Elogy. XXVIII. Pompey settles the Asian Affairs, returns to Rome, and enters in Triumph.

I.

Mithridates being dead, after having maintained War against the Romans for two and forty years; they added to their Empire *Bithynia*, *Caspodocia*, and all the Neighbouring Nations bordering on the *Euxine* Sea: and as the putting an end to this War, raised their Courage; so they subdued, as a consequence to it, all the rest of *Cilicia*; the Provinces of *Syria*, which are *Phœnicia*, *Cœlesyria* and *Palestine*, with all the Upland nigh the *Euphrates*, which were never possessed by *Mithridates*: They imposed Tributes presently on some of these people, but subjected not others to it, till some time after. As for *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, *Phrygia*, the *Mysia* contiguous to it, together with *Lydia*, *Ionia*, *Caria*, and other parts of *Asia*, which depended on the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, with the old *Greece* and *Macedon*, of which *Mithridates* was seized, they reduced them under their obedience, and imposed Tributes on several Nations, that had never before paid them any. 'Tis for these Reasons (as I imagine) they esteemed this War of such importance to them, that they termed this Victory so Magnificent; and that they gave (which remains to this our age) that General, under whose Conduct they had performed all these brave Actions, the surname of Great, because of the great numbers of Provinces, he either restored to their Empire, or added by Conquest: besides, also for the length of this War, and the Generosity of *Mithridates*, who was both powerful and indefatigable, (as he sufficiently made appear) for he had more than four hundred Ships of his own, and

and hath sometimes had in Arms fifty thousand Horse, and two hundred and fifty thousand Foot, with all Engines of War, and Arms necessary for so great a Multitude. He was likewise supported by the Kings and Sovereigns of *Armenia*, *Scythia*, and all those Nations inhabiting from *Pontus*, and the *Palus Maeotis* to the Thracian *Bosphorus*. He was sent likewise to make Alliance with some of the principal men of *Rome*, who were then engaged in a troublesome Civil War, and some of which had sided on *Spain*, he treated with the Gauls, that on that side he might disturb *Italy*. He likewise filled the Sea from *Gallicia* to the Pillars of *Hercules* with Pyrates, who disturbing Navigation, and hindring Traffick between the Cities, caused for a long time great scarcity of Provisions. In short, he did and attempted all that was possible. Insomuch, that all the people, from the East to the West, found themselves concerned in these Commotions; for either they were in Arms themselves, or sent Auxiliary Troops, or were tormented by the Corsaires, or by their Neighbours, or else for their Neighbours sakes: So many different interests there were in this War. The Romans alone gain'd advantage by it: For after it was finished, they extended their Empire from the West, as far as *Euphrates*. I could not possibly divide by Provinces what passed in each, because the most considerable Actions were done at the same time, and are link'd one within another: But I have treated of them apart where ever they would admit of a separation.

The Greeks are of opinion, that the Thracians, who went to the Wars of *Troy* under *Rhesus* (their Captain being by night slain by *Diomedes*, as *Homer* says) retired themselves to the Mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, where there is but a small strait to pass over into *Thrace*; but for want of Shipping, a part of them staid there, and called the Country *Bebrycia*; and the rest pass'd over above *Byzantium*, to the place where the Bithynian Thracians inhabit, near the River *Bithyas*; from whence being forced by Famine, they returned to *Bebricia*, whose name they changed, and called it *Bithynia*, from the name of the River they had left, and that name did perpetuate in their Descendants, there not being very great difference between *Bithynia* and *Bebricia*. This is the opinion of some: Others say that *Bithys*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Thrace*, was the first King of *Thrace* and *Bithynia*, who gave names to these Regions. I was willing to say thus much of *Bithynia*, by way of Preface; and I believe it likewise necessary, being writing the Roman History, to say somewhat of the nine and forty Kings that Reigned in this Kingdom, before the Romans became Masters of it. *Prusias*, surnamed the Hunter, had married the Sister of *Perseus*, King of *Macedon*. However, when the War happened between the Romans, and his Wives Brother, he remained Neuter; and yet after *Perseus* was taken Prisoner, he went and presented himself before the Roman Captains, (in his Gown and Slippers, with a Hat on, and his Head shaven, just like those Slaves, to whom their Masters had given liberty by will; and to all this ridiculous dress, he had a villanous aspect, and was very low of stature) when he came near the Captains, he told them in Latin, *I am the freed man of the people of Rome*: at which they burst out in a laughter, and sent him to the City, and he appearing the same ridiculous Creature at *Rome*, obtained favour. Not long after, being fallen at variance with *Attalus*, King of that part of *Asia*, which lyes about *Pergamus*, he in hostile manner invaded his Country; which being come to the Senates knowledge, Deputies were sent to him, forbidding him to proceed any far-

farther in a War against *Attalus*, Friend and Allie of the people of *Rome*; and when he seemed somewhat unwilling to obey the Deputies, vigorously charged him, either to comply with the Orders of the Senate, or come only with a thousand Horse upon the Frontier, where *Attalus* expected him with a like number to decide the difference by Combat; he despising the small numbers that were with *Attalus*, and hoping by this means easily to defeat him, sent some of his before to give notice, that he would be suddenly at the place appointed with his thousand Horse: but he came with his whole Army, as if he were to give Battel. *Attalus*, and the Roman Commissaries, who had intelligence of it, escaping several ways, he came and took their Baggage, which they were forced to leave behind, and went and besieged a City, called *Nicephoria*, took it, rased it, and set fire on their Temples. After which he pursued *Attalus* so close, that he block'd him up in *Pergamus*. Hereupon the Senate sent other Commissaries, who ordered him to pay all the damages *Attalus* had sustained in this War, which so terrified him, that he obeyed, retired, and for interest delivered up immediately to *Attalus* twenty Ships with Decks, and agreed to pay him at a certain day, five hundred Talents of Silver, according to the Order of the Commissaries. He was very cruel, and therefore hated by his Subjects; but his Son *Nicomede* was extremely beloved, wherefore his Father growing jealous, sent him to sojourn at *Rome*; from whence, hearing that he was there likewise in good esteem, he gave him Commission to demand of the Senate a release of the money he still owed to *Attalus*. He had sent *Menas* to assist him in the soliciting the Affair, with private Order to say nothing to his Son, if it were granted; but if it were denyed, to kill him in the City; and to favour his retreat, after the Murder, he caused to lye ready near unto *Rome* some Ships with two thousand Soldiers. *Menas* seeing the release would not be granted, (because *Andronicus* sent by *Attalus* to oppose the Demand, had made it appear that the sum adjudged came far short of the damages he had sustained) and that on the other side *Nicomedes* was much esteemed at *Rome*, knew not what to resolve on. He durst neither undertake to kill him, nor to return into *Bithynia*. In short, he staying at *Rome* after his Commission was expired, the young Prince came to see him, at which he was not at all displeased. They conspired against *Prusias*, and associated in the conspiracy *Andronicus*, the Envoy of *Attalus*, to the end he might perswade his Master to assist *Nicomedes*, and to put him in possession of the Kingdom of *Bithynia*. They came to this end together to *Bernice*, a little City of *Epire*, where meeting together on board by night to consult what they had to do, after the Conference they parted every one to his own Ship. Morning being come, *Nicomede* appeared on the Hatches, in a Purple Robe, with a Diadem round his Head, after the manner of Kings. *Andronicus* goes to him, and salutes him in the Quality of King, and with five hundred Soldiers he had there, joyns himself to his Train. *Menas* seems surpris'd, as if he had not known of *Nicomedes* being there, and conferring with his two thousand Soldiers, seems at first extremely enraged; but after some discourse, Of two Kings which we have (said he) the one is at home, the other is abroad, wherefore consider what you are to do for the future, and consider well, since on this opportunity depends your safety. I am of the opinion we ought to stick to him, who is likeliest to become Master; one is old, the other young; one is hated by the *Bithynians*, they desire the other; the most considerable persons of *Rome* love the young Man; *Andronicus*, who has joyned with him, promises the assistance of King *Attalus*, the next Neighbour

bour to Bithynia, a powerful and ancient Enemy of Prusias. To this he added the cruelty of the old King, the violences he had committed, the indignities he had done to an infinite number of people: and in short, the publick hatred. And perceiving that the Soldiers did, as well as himself, abhor his Crimes, he led them to *Nicomedes*, and was the next after *Andronicus* that saluted him King, and submitted to him with his two thousand Men. *Attalus* gladly received this young Prince, who went forthwith to him, and sent to summon *Prusias* to give his Son some Cities for his Residence, and some Lands for his Maintenance. He made answer, That he would e'er long give him all *Attalus* his Kingdom, to the Conquest of which, he was already come into *Asia*: And therewithal sends to *Rome*, to make complaint of *Nicomedes* and *Attalus*, and to cite them to judgement. But *Attalus* entred immediately into *Bithynia*, with those Forces he had in readiness, where by little and little, all the people declared for *Nicomedes*. As for *Prusias*, not trusting in any person, and hoping the Romans would disengage him of this Affair, he obtained from *Digilles* the Thracian, his Father-in-law, five hundred Soldiers, with whom he confided the guard of his person, and shut himself up in the Fortrefs of *Nicea*. The Deputies of *Prusias* being come to *Rome*, the Pretor of the City, for some time, delay'd their Audience, because he favoured *Attalus* his concerns. At length having introduced them into the Senate, he had Orders to make choice of three Commissioners to put an end to this War. He chose three, of which one having formerly received a blow on the Head with a Stone, the Scars still remained, which made his Visage deformed; the second was lame of his Feet; and the third was little better than a Fool; which made *Cato*, scoffing at this Deputation, say, That it had neither Head, Feet, nor Soul. The Commissaries being gone to *Bithynia*, ordered the Kings to lay down their Arms, upon which *Nicomedes* and *Attalus* made a shew of yielding to the Authority of the Senate: but the Bithynians, whom they had suborned, loudly declared, That they should never be able to undergo the cruelty of *Prusias*, especially now he had known their aversion to him: wherefore, because the Senate had yet heard nothing of these complaints, and so the Commissaries could have no Orders concerning them, they returned without doing any thing. *Prusias* seeing himself frustrated of the Romans assistance, on the reliance of which he had made no preparations, retired to *Nicomedia*, a very strong place, where he resolved to sustain a Siege; but the Inhabitants betrayed their King, opening the Gates, and letting in *Nicomedes* and his Army; and *Prusias* taking Sanctuary in the Temple of *Jupiter*, was slain by orders of his Son. Thus *Nicomedes* began to Reign in *Bithynia*, instead of his Father. After him his Son *Nicomedes*, surnamed *Philopator* succeeded, and was confirmed in his Kingdom by Decree of the Senate. Such was the State of Affairs in *Bithynia*; and if any desire to know more, the Grand-child of this last, called likewise *Nicomedes*, by his last Will and Testament, appointed the people of *Rome* Heir to this Kingdom.

As for what concerns *Cappadocia*, I cannot certainly say upon whom it depended before the time of the Macedonians, whether it had particular Kings, or were a Province of *Darius* his Kingdom: But it is likely that *Alexander*, going to War against *Darius*, left these people Tributary under their own Princes, because we find that he restored *Amisa*, a City which had been a Colony of the Athenians, to a popular admini-

iii.

stration, according to the Custom of the Ancestors. The Historian *Hieronymus* says, He did not so much as come near these Nations; and that to encounter *Darius*, he took his March nearer the Sea by *Pamphilia* and *Cilicia*. *Perdiccas*, who commanded the Macedonians after *Alexander*, took *Ariarathes*, Governour of *Cappadocia*, and hanged him; whether it were for revolting, or to reduce that Country under the Macedonian Dominion, I know not. He gave to *Eumenes* of *Cardis* the Government of that Province, who having been slain for shaking off the Macedonian Yoke; *Antipater*, who had the Administration of the Affairs of *Macedon* after *Perdiccas*, sent *Nicanor* *Satrapas* into *Cappadocia*. Some time after dissension happening among the Macedonians themselves, *Antigonus* drove *Laomedon* out of his Government of *Syria*, and seized it. Now he had for his particular Friend, *Mithridates* of the Blood Royal of *Persia*, and once sleeping, he dream'd that he sowed Gold in a Field, and *Mithridates* gathered it, and carryed it to *Pontus*, upon which he made him Prisoner, and would have put him to death, but he escaped, accompanied only with six Horsemen, and fortifying himself in a certain Village of *Cappadocia*, many others came in to him, and whilst the Macedonians were engaged in other Affairs, made himself Master of *Cappadocia*, and all the Nations neighbouring on *Pontus*. At length having mightily extended his Dominion, he left to his Children a great scope of Country, over which they Reigned one after another, till this *Mithridates*, who had War with the Romans. But both the Kingdoms of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, having been jointly possessed by the Successors of the first *Mithridates*; it is of importance to know how they came divided, and who were Kings of *Pontus*, and who of *Cappadocia*. The first, under whom the change began, was *Mithridates Euergetes*, who only stiled himself King of *Pontus*, hating the *Cappadocians*, and treating them like a conquered Country. He had made an Alliance with the people of *Rome*, and did effectually send them Auxiliary Shipping against the *Carthaginians*. There succeeded him his Son of the same name, with two surnames, *Eupator* and *Dionysius*, whom the Romans commanded to quit *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, who had put himself under the protection of the people of *Rome*, and seemed to have more right to that Kingdom than the other. It's possible too, that being jealous of the greatness of *Mithridates* Monarchy, they were glad of this pretence to divide it. However it were, the King obey'd. But *Socrates*, surnamed *Chrestus* (Brother of *Nicomedes*, the Son of the first *Nicomedes*, and Grandchild to *Prusias*, the same that had been confirmed in his Kingdom of *Bithynia* by the Decree of the Senate) having some controversy with his Brother, was assisted by *Mithridates*, who sent him with an Army into *Bithynia*, where he seized on the Kingdom, and at the same time *Mithraas* and *Bagoas*, having driven *Ariobarzanes* out of the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, wherein the Romans had established him, placed *Ariarathes* in his stead. So that the Romans found themselves obliged to restore *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* each to his Kingdom. To this purpose they sent their Commissaries, of whom *Manius Aquilius* was the Chief, and gave Orders to *L. Cassius*, who commanded in that part of *Asia*, with a little Army to assist them; and likewise gave the same commands to *Eupator* himself: but he, who had still a pretence to *Cappadocia*, and remembered that not long since the Romans had despoiled him of *Phrygia* (as we have said in our History of the Affairs of *Greece*) would not concern himself. However, *Cassius* and *Manius* with those Forces *Cassius* had, and what they could raise in *Phrygia*, re-established *Nicomedes* in *Bithynia*, and *Ariobar-*

Ariobarzanes in *Cappadocia*, and afterwards counselled them both to make incursions into *Mithridates* his Country, and to pick with him any occasion of War, assuring them that the Romans assistance should not be wanting; yet neither of them durst attempt so powerful an Enemy: but when the Commissaries again pressed them to it; *Nicomedes*, who owed a great sum of Money to the Commissaries, and the Captains, by the agreement made for his re-establishment; and had likewise formerly taken up great sums at interest from the Romans settled in *Asia*, who now called them in, invaded (as it were whether he would or no) the Territories of *Mithridates*, pillaging all as far as the Gates of the City of *Amestris*, without any opposition. For though the King of *Pontus* had very good Forces ready, yet he still gave ground, that he might make his tale the better.

But *Nicomedes* being returned with a booty of inestimable value, *Mithridates* sent *Pelopidas* to the Roman Captains and Commissaries, and though he knew they wished for the War, and had been the cause of this invasion, he took no notice of it, expecting greater and more worthy causes of the War that was preparing. He gave him in charge only to speak of that Friendship and Alliance he and his Father had with the People of *Rome*. But (said *Pelopidas*) instead of Protecting him, you have taken from him *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*, of which this last was the inheritance of his predecessors, and left to him by succession from his Father; and the other the recompense of his Victory over *Aristonicus*, a recompense he received from your General, or rather which he bought with his money; and now you suffer *Nicomedes* to stop up his passage from *Pontus*, and spoil all his Country as far as the Gates of *Amestris*. Not but that the King was as you know sufficiently powerful, and too well prepared to resist him, but he would have you eye witnesses of what has passed. And now you have seen it, *Mithridates* your Friend and Allie, begs you in quality of his Friends and Allies (for those are the Terms of the Treaty) to succour those *Nicomedes* thus wrongs, or at least impeach his farther violence. To this the Deputies from *Nicomedes* made Answer. That it was not at this instant only, that *Mithridates* had laid Ambushes for him, that he had made *Socrates* his Brother to enter in Hostile manner into his Kingdom, who but for him had been quiet, and yielded to the right of Primogeniture in his Elder Brother. 'Tis most true Gentlemen (said the Chief of this deputation) *Mithridates* alone stirr'd up that young Man to make War against him, whom the Senate and People of *Rome* had made King of *Bithynia*; To whom do you think this injury was meant more than to you? and though by your Edict the Kings of *Asia* are forbid to meddle with *Europe*, he with the same injustice has seized several places in the *Chersonesus*; all these Actions are but Signals of the violence he intends to you. You may if you please wait for the effects; for what mean his great preparations as if the War were already Declared? Why so many Auxiliary Troops of *Thracians*, *Scythians*, and so many other Neighboring Nations? He allies himself with the King of *Armenia*, sends Agents into *Egypt* and *Syria* to solicit the Alliance of those Kings, has already three hundred Ships of War fitted, and is still building more, having fetcht from *Phoenicia* and *Egypt* Mariners and Pilots; such mighty preparations are never made against *Nicomede*, but against you. He is exceeding angry too, that having bought *Phrygia* of one of your Generals, that suffered himself to be over-reacht, you have commanded him to restore it as goods unjustly got. And as much vexed he is that you have given *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, and fearing lest your power should encrease from day to day, the complaints he makes to you, serve him

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him only for a pretence to Arms, and assault you as soon as he shall find an occasion, but it will be your wisdom not to stay till he openly declares himself your Enemy. Consider more his actions, than his words; and for pretences of feigned friendship, do not forsake your true friends, nor suffer those ordinances you have made concerning our Kingdoms to be scorned, and made invalid by one that is a common Enemy to us both.

After the Deputy had thus spoken, *Pelopidas* again desired the Romans to be judges of the complaints made by *Nicomedes*. And for what remains (said he) you see the present State of Affairs, how *Mithridates* Dominion is lessened, the entrance of the Sea stopt against him, infinite Spoils carried off his Lands. But we intreat you a second time Gentlemen, either hinder *Mithridates* from being thus wrong'd, either defend him from oppression, or suffer him to defend himself without perplexing your affairs. *Pelopidas* spoke this so sternly, that though before they had resolved to support *Nicomedes*, yet now they would heark to them both as Judges, and because they had some respect for *Pelopidas* words, and could not reproach *Mithridates* with any breach of Alliance, they stuck at it a little, but after long Consultation they at last Answered in these terms; *We will neither have Nicomedes to offend Mithridates, nor suffer any to make War upon Nicomedes, for we judge it the interest of the Commonwealth not to suffer him to be wronged.*

V. After they had pronounced this sentence, *Pelopidas* would have rejoined, as not thinking it reasonable; but they made him depart the Assembly. Wherefore *Mithridates* manifestly wrong'd by the Romans sent his Son *Ariarathes* with a Powerful Army to seize upon the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, who presently drove thence *Ariobarzanes*, and settled himself in his place. Whereupon *Pelopidas* going once more to the Commissioners, spoke to them in this manner.

The Oration of Pelopidas.

YOU have lately been told, Gentlemen, with what patience *Mithridates* suffered *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia* to be taken from him contrary to all Reason: You made no account of the injuries done by *Nicomedes*, even in your sight; and when we had recourse to your Friendship and Alliance, you Answered us rather like Men accused than Accusers, That your Republique would not have any injury done to *Nicomedes*, as if any one had done it. You then are the cause, if there hath lately passed any thing in *Cappadocia* to the prejudice of your Republique; for the disdain wherewith you treated us, and your scornful Answers obliged *Mithridates* to what he has done, and he is now sending Deputies to your Senate to complain of you. Therefore if you please, find some body to plead your cause; but he conjures you not to attempt any thing which is not resolved on by the common consent of the Senate and People of Rome, and to think of the importance of this War. Consider that the Kingdom he holds by Succession from his Father, is * twenty thousand Furlongs in length, and that he hath added to it, many Neighboring Nations, and among others *Colchis* full of Warlike People, of Greeks that inhabit on the Euxine Sea, and of Barbarians confining on them. That he has Friends ready at his Service, *Scythians*, *Taures*, *Basternes*, *Thracians*, *Sarmatians*, and in short all

* 2500 miles.

all the people near Tanais, Ister, and the Palus Mæotis; that Tigranes King of Armenia is his Son in Law, and Arsaces King of the Parthians, his Friend: in conclusion, that he has a mighty power of Shipping, all either fitted or almost ready with all their Gang: Besides, the Bithynians told you no lie in what they said of the Kings of Egypt and Syria, for it's very likely if the War once begin, they will declare for us, and not only they, but your Provinces of Asia, Greece and Africa. As for Italy, the most part of it not able to suffer your boundless Avarice is already revolted: and certainly it is matter of amazement to all the World, that not being yet able to suppress that War, you undertake Mithridates by setting on Foot intrigues, sometimes with Nicomedes, sometimes with Ariobarzanes, whilst yet you make profession to be our Friends and Allies; but it is only in appearance you are so, for in effect you treat us like Enemies. And if what has past displease you, give better Orders for the future, prevent Nicomedes from farther offending your Friends; which if you do, I promise you on the behalf of King Mithridates, his Arms and Assistance against your Allies in Italy which have revolted. If not, break off that specious and vain Friendship, or let us go to Rome and plead our Cause.

After Pelopidas had finished this Discourse, the Romans thinking it too insolent, Replied, That they forbade Mithridates from attempting any thing against Nicomedes, and ordained him to quit Cappadocia in which they would take care to reestablish Ariobarzanes. As for Pelopidas, they enjoined him a speedy departure, no more to return unless the King disposed himself to do what they desired.

With this Answer he was sent away, but under a good guard, that by the way he might not corrupt any Person; and forthwith without expecting from the Senate and People of Rome, their advice upon a War of such Importance, the Romans assembled all the Forces they could draw together in Bithynia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and * Gallogrecia of Asia. The * Galatia: Army which P. Crassus commanded and designed for the guard of Asia being in a readiness, and all the Auxiliary Troops drawn to a head, they divided themselves into three bodies. Cassius went and encamped on the Confines of Bithynia and Galatia; Manius in the passage by which Mithridates might enter Bithynia; and Q. Oppius on the Frontiers of Cappadocia: being all together about forty thousand Men Foot and Horse. They had likewise a Fleet commanded by Minucius Rufus and C. Popilius to guard the mouth of the Pontus. Besides, Nicomedes was likewise in Arms, to second them with fifty thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, all in good order. As for Mithridates, his Army alone consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand Foot, and forty thousand Horse. He had three hundred Ships of War, and three hundred Gallies, with all Stores, and Ammunition necessary for so great a Fleet and Army. Two brothers called Neoptolemus and Archelaus had the Command of all these Forces in quality of his Lieutenant Generals, but the King had his eye upon all, and did many things himself. As for the Auxiliary Troops, Archathias his Son brought him ten thousand Horse out of Armenia the Less. Dorilaus Commanded the Phalanxes, and Craterus one hundred and thirty Chariots armed with Scythes. Such were the preparations on both sides, when at first Mithridates and the Romans Armed against each other, which was about the hundred sixty sixth Olympiad. The first Engagement was near the River Amnis, in a spacious plain, where Nicomedes, and Mithridates Generals met:

met. As soon as they discovered one the other, they drew into Battalia. *Nicomædes* had all his Forces; but *Neoptolemus* and *Archelaus* had only their light Armed Souldiers, and *Arcthius* Horse, with some Chariots: for the gross of the Army was a great way distant, wherefore they espying a Rock in the middle of the plain, sent to possess it; that they might not be inclosed by the Bithynians, who were much the greater number. Those they sent being driven back, *Neoptolemus* was more then ever in fear of being encompassed, wherefore he posted in with all speed possible making *Arcthius* do the like. *Nicomædes* who knew him came to meet him, and now began a bloody battel, wherein the Bithynians proved the stronger, and put their Enemies to the Rout; but as they pressed home upon them, *Archelaus* wheeling about from the left Wing, came and charged those in the Rear, who thought they had been Victorious, and as soon as he had made them face about, gave ground, that *Neoptolemus* might have time to Rally, as soon as he knew he was again in a Posture, he renewed the charge, and the Chariots Armed with Scythes being violently driven into the Enemies squadrons, caused a strange disorder, some they cut through the middle of the body, and tore others in quarters, which extreamly terrified the Bithynians: for they saw the one half of Men still breathing, the trunks of bodies and other members hooked fast, and drawn along by the Chariots, so that the horror of these spectacles daunting them more then the fight it self, fear sieled them, and begot a wonderful hurly-burly in the Ranks. However though *Archelaus* pressed upon them on one side, and *Neoptolemus* and *Arcthius* were rallied on the other, they took heart, and facing both ways defended themselves generously for a good space, till such time as *Nicomædes* after a dreadful slaughter of his Men fled with the rest to *Paphlagonia*. After this Victory (in which *Mithridates* Phalanx was not concern'd) *Nicomædes* Camp fell into the Victors power who found therein good store of Silver, and took a great Number of Prisoners, whom the King treated kindly, sending them home to their houses, and giving them Money to bear their charges that he might make his Clemency known to his Enemies themselves. But if *Mithridates* rejoiced at this first success, the Roman Generals were no less startled at it. They began to perceive they had kindled this important War without the Senates Orders, with more Rashness then Prudence; They observed how great Numbers of theirs had been defeated by a handful of Men, who had neither assistance from any advantage of ground, or any miscarriage in the Bithynians, but only by the vertue of the Leaders and Valour of the Soldiers.

VII.

After this, *Nicomædes* retired into *Manius* Camp; and *Mithridates* encamped on Mount *Scoroba*, which separates *Pontus* and *Bithynia*. One day his Scouts which were a hundred *Sarmatian* Horse, met with eight hundred of *Nicomædes* Men, of whom they took many Prisoners, whom *Mithridates* sent likewise into their Country, after furnishing them with wherewithal to live by the way. Another time as *Manius* retreated, *Nicomædes* being gone to find out *Cassius*, *Neoptolemus* and *Nemanes* the *Armenian* pursued him, and about the * seventh hour overtook him at a Village called *Pachia*, and forced him to fight: he had four thousand Horse, and ten times as many Foot of whom they killed ten thousand, and took three hundred prisoners whom *Mithridates* caused to be brought before him, and then dismissed as he had done the others, that he might gain the hearts of his Enemies. *Manius* lost all his Baggage, and flying along the side of the River

* or a little.

River *Sangara* passed over it by night, and escaped to *Pergamus*. *Cassius*, *Nicomedes*, and all the Roman Commissaries, seeing themselves every where thus ill-handled, went and posted themselves at *Leontecephalus* the strongest place in *Phrygia*, where they began to make new Levies of Souldiers, they Enrolled the Artificers, Laborers and Plough-men, and all Men of what sort soever that could be found in *Phrygia* capable to bear Arms, whom for a while they began to exercise, but finding them so unhandy and improper for War, that they could never be made serviceable, they forbore any longer tormenting those poor People, and after having dismissed them, retired, *Cassius* to *Apamea*, *Nicomedes* to *Pergamus*, and *Manius* towards *Rhodes*. Those who had the Guard of the mouth of *Pontus*, hearing this News, not only quitted their Station, but likewise *Nicomedes* his Ships as a prey to *Mithridates*. Thus the King of *Pontus* being by one only blow become Master of all *Bithynia* went through all the Cities settling necessary Orders; from thence he passed into *Phrygia*, where lodging his Army in the same place where *Alexander* had lodged, he took it for a happy presage, to have spent one night in the place where that Great Conqueror had once encamped. Proceeding forward he overrun the rest of *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, and all the Provinces which the Romans had newly Conquered in *Asia*, and sending abroad his Captains several ways he subdued *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, and all that stood in his way as far as *Ionia*. There was only *Laodicea* near the River *Lycus* that opposed him, because that *Q. Oppius* was retired thither with his Horse, and the Mercenary Soldiers. But when a Herald sent from the King told the inhabitants that the King promised Indempnity to all those of *Laodicea*, provided they would deliver *Oppius* into his hands, they sent away the Mercenary Soldiers, and carried *Oppius* to *Mithridates* with Lictors marching before him in derision. The King did him no injury, but causing him to be unbound, carried him every where along with him, well-pleased to see a Roman General his Prisoner. Sometime after *Manius Aquilius*, Chief of the Commission and Principal Author of the War, was taken, but he was not treated so kindly, they carried him about mounted on an Ass, from City to City, and forced him to proclaim aloud as he went that he was *Manius*, and at last at *Pergamus*, poured melted Gold into his mouth to reproach the Romans of Corruption and Covetousness. *Mithridates* having placed Governors in all places, as he went, passed along to *Magnesia*, *Ephesus* and *Mitylene*, where he was received with so great applause, that the Ephesians threw down the Roman Statues that were in their City, for which they were not long after chastized. Then returning into *Ionia* he took *Stratonicea*, where he made the inhabitants pay a great Sum of Money, and placed a Garrison. Here he fell in love with a very beauteous Virgin whom he took into the Number of his Wives, if any desire to know her name, she was called *Monima* the Daughter of *Philopæmen*, he likewise by his Lieutenants made War against the Magnesians, Paphlagonians and Lycians who would not yet wholly submit.

Whilst *Mithridates* was doing these things, the Senate and People of *Rome* having intelligence of the first Irruption into *Asia*, decreed that an Army should be sent against him, though they were embroiled with intestine seditions, and had then a War with their Allies, which lay heavy upon them by reason that almost all the People of *Italy* revolted against them one after another. The Consuls drawing the Provinces by lot; *Asia* fell to *Cornelius Sylla*, together with the Commission of the War against *Mithridates*,

VIII.

dates, and because there was no Money in the Treasury, it was Decreed by the Senate that all which *Numa Pompilius* had consecrated to the Gods to make Publick Sacrifices, should be sold. So much was the publick honour considered in this necessity. However they sold but a part, from which they raised nine thousand pound weight of Gold, which sufficed for the expence of this War, for as great as it was they made use of no more. *Sylla* was detained a long time by the seditious, as we have related in the History of the Civil War. Mean while *Mithridates* slept not. He made ready a great Number of Ships to send against those of *Rhodes*. He wrote private Letters to all the Governours of his Provinces, and the Magistrates of all his Cities, by which he ordained that on the thirtieth day from the date the whole multitude should fall upon all the Italians they could find, with their Wives, Children and Household-servants that were Italians, and after having cut their throats, throw them out upon the Dunghills without Burial, Confiscating their goods, one half for the King, and the other for those that slew them. He likewise commanded at the same time to publish by sound of Trumpet, strict prohibitions to all persons, under the penalty of a great fine, either to bury the dead or conceal the living, with a recompence to such as should discover any that were hid, that the slave who slew his Master should be free, and the Debtor that slew his Creditor released of one half of his Debt. This Private Order being dispatched to all parts, and the day appointed come, all *Asia* was filled with infinite Examples of horrible Cruelty, some of which we will relate, The Ephesians after having pulled by force from the Statues on which they hung those that had fled for Sanctuary into the Temple of *Diana*, slew them upon the very Altars. Those of *Pergamus* when they could not make those wretches, fled into the Temple of *Esculapius*, quit the place, shot them with Arrows as they hung upon the Statues. The Adrumetans pursued into the Sea, those who thought to save themselves by Swimming, and sent those miserable people with their Children to the Bottom. The Caunians, whom the Romans after having vanquished *Antiochus* had put under the Dominion of *Rhodes*, and whom the Senate soon after had released and made free, pluckt from the Altars those Italians which had fled for refuge into the Sacred Palace of their City, first cut the Childrens throats before their Mothers Faces, then Massacred the Mothers in the sight of their Husbands, and threw the Mens dead bodies upon those of their Wives and Children. Those of *Tralles* that they might not defile themselves with the blood of their Guests, employed a certain cruel fellow a Paphlagonian called *Theophilus*, whom they hired to that purpose, who having shut up the Italians in the Temple of *Concord*, made so cruel, and horrible a Butchery, that he cut off the hands of those that hung upon the Images. In short, all the Romans and Italians that could be found in *Asia*, Men, Women and Children, even to the very Freedmen and Slaves were all involved in this General Massacre; which was sufficient evidence that the People of *Asia* were transported to these Cruelties, not out of fear of *Mithridates*, but out of hate to the Romans; But however, they were doubly chastised, first by *Mithridates*, who treated them with all sorts of indignities, and afterwards by *Cornelius Sylla*, who put them to exemplary punishment.

- IX. After this the King went into the Isle of *Coos*, where being willingly received he found there the Son of that *Alexander*, who had reigned in *Egypt*, him he took and caused to be Royally brought up, sending to the Kingdom

Kingdom of *Pontus*, vast Riches taken out of the Treasures of *Cleopatra's* precious moveables, Jewels and magnificent Habits, together with great store of Silver Money. Mean while the Rhodians repaired their Walls and Gates, fortifying them with Engines, by the Assistance of some *Telmiffians*, *Lycians*, and all the *Italians*, who escaping out of *Asia*, had fled for refuge to *Rhodes*, among whom was *L. Cassius* Proconsul of *Asia*. *Mithridates* being come to besiege them, they destroyed their Suburbs for fear the Enemy should possess them, they likewise drew up their Ships in Order of Battel, one part to Fight in Front, and the other to defend the Flanks. Whereupon *Mithridates* Rowing round his Fleet in a Galley of five Banks gave Orders to his Fleet to extend themselves as much as they could in form of a Crescent, that so by force of Oars they might encompass in their Enemies Ships, who were much fewer in Number. The Rhodians who were fearful of it, began by little and little to give way, and at length turning their Prows fled and got into their Port, whose Booms having shut, so that the King could not enter, he was forced to retreat because of the Shot made at him from the Walls. He came to an Anchor hard by, and after having several times in vain attempted the Port, resolved to stay till his Army came out of *Asia*. Mean while they were perpetually skirmishing, in which the Rhodians always had the better, which much heightened their Courage. On a time as all their Ships were in a readiness, and they wanted but an opportunity to go and charge the Enemy, a laden Ship of the Kings passing by the Port was Boarded by a Rhodian Gally of two Banks, which being on each side assisted by those of their party who Rowed in, in great Numbers, there happened a considerable Engagement, *Mithridates* transported with anger, and pestered with too great a Number of Ships, could not give Orders Necessary. But the Rhodians more experienced in Sea affairs, made nimble turns about the Kings Ships, whom charging on the broad-side, they bilg'd many of them, and took and brought into the Port a Galley of three banks (boarded on the quarter by one of theirs) with all the Gang, and great quantity of Arms and Plunder. However they mist one of their Gallies of five Banks, and not knowing any thing of it's being taken by the Enemies, they sent their Admiral *Demagoras* with six of their nimblest Vessels out to Sea in search of it. *Mithridates* sent five and twenty after him, *Demagoras* got into the open Sea without their being able to reach him, but when night drew on, seeing the Kings Galley's were about to make their retreat, he fell on and sinking two pursued two others into *Lycia*, and after having spent that night at Sea, came and joyned the rest of the Fleet. This was the success to that Sea-fight, as much unhop'd for by the Rhodians by reason of their few Ships, as unlooked for by *Mithridates*, because of his great Numbers, and indeed it was all but a confusion. In the heat of the Engagement, an Auxiliary Ship of the Isle of *Chios*, run so full on Board the Ship the King Commanded, that it broke her to pieces, at which he was so offended that he put the Pilot and the Mate to death, and ever after bore a secret Malice to the Inhabitants of that Island. Sometime after as *Mithridates* Land Army came upon Laden Ships and Gallies, a sudden Storm arose which brought all the Fleet towards *Rhodes*. The Rhodians presently came out with their whole Force, and finding the Enemies Ships, still in disorder, sunk some, burnt others, and brought in four hundred Prisoners. Wherefore the King prepared once again to Fight them by Sea, and withal to storm their City: causing to that intent a *Harpe* to be built, which is a great Engine, raised upon two Ships. And

having understood by the Runaways that it was easie to take the Town on that side where stood the Temple of *Jupiter Tabyrinus* by Scaling the Wall, which was in that part very low, he caused some of his Soldiers to Embarque on the Ships, and giving Scaling Ladders to others, ordered them all to keep silence, till they saw a signal of fire given them from the place, and that then raising as great a shout as they could, some should fall in at the Port, others at the Wall. As they were going to put this design in execution, without making the least noise, the Guards of the City who had notice of it, shewed a fire, which they taking for the signal to be given from the place called *Tabyrus* broke silence; and both Soldiers and Mariners began to make the Air ring with Shouts of Joy; but being answered with the same Notes, by those of the City that stood upon the Walls, the Royalists attempted nothing all that Night, and in the Morning were forced to retreat; It is true that the *Harpe* which they drew nigh unto the Wall opposite to the Temple of *Isis*, extremely terrified the inhabitants, for it cast at the same time mighty quantities of Darts and Arrows, there were likewise upon it Rams which battered the Walls, and besides multitudes of Soldiers ran out of the Ships with their Scaling Ladders to mount the Walls, but the Rhodians made a resolute resistance, till the Engine broke with its own weight, and the Statue of the Goddess *Isis*, was seen to dart flames of fire against it. Whereupon the King after this last trial, losing all hopes of taking the Town, raised his Siege. After this he went and besieged *Patonia*, where as he was about to cut down a Forest (consecrated to *Latona*) for building of Machines, he was frightned by a dream from touching those sacred trees. Whereupon leaving *Pelopidas* in *Lycia*, to continue the War, he sent *Archelaus* into *Greece*, to draw what Cities he could to his side either by good will or constraint. And henceforward easing himself of the Labors and Toils of War, which he committed to his Generals, he did nothing but leavy Soldiers, and make provision of Arms, passing away his time with that Woman of *Stratonicea*, and in giving judgment upon those who were accused of having plotted against his life, done any thing against his Service, or favored in any kind whatsoever the Roman party. Whilst he busied himself in these matters, affairs in *Greece* passed in this manner. *Archelaus* going with a Fleet, well appointed took by force the Island of *Delos*, which had revolted from the Athenians, together with some places which he gave to that Republick, after the slaughter of twenty thousand Men the most part Italians, and rendring by these Actions the Power of *Mithridates* formidable in those parts, he gained him the Friendship and Alliance of that People; he sent to them, likewise the consecrated Treasure at *Delos* by *Aristion* one of their City, to whom he gave two thousand Men for a Guard of that Mony; but he imploy'd them to another purpose, for seeing two thousand Men at his Command he lived like a Tyrant in his Country, putting to death many of his Fellow Citizens, and delivering up others to *Mithridates*, under pretence they were of the Roman Faction. Yet he made Profession of being a Philosopher of the Sect of *Epicurus*, but he was not the only Philosopher that has tyrannized in *Athens*, *Critias* and his Companions who professed the same Philosophy, plaid the Tyrants before him. The followers of *Pythagoras* did the same in *Italy*. Nor were there any of those who were called the seven Wise-men of *Greece*, and had any hand in the Government of the Commonwealth but exercised their Authority with more Tyranny then an unlearned Man would have done. So that it is not without reason that some have doubted whether the other Philosophers

Philosophers followed the Study of Wisdom so much, out of the pure Love of Virtue, as to be a comfort to their Poverty, and an excuse for their Sloath. Since even to this Day we see many leading a close and necessitous Life, who cloak their Poverty under a pretence of Wisdom, furious by railing at all rich men and Magistrates, which they do not so much out of contempt of Riches, as out of envy to those which possess them, wherefore I think those much wiser then, who know how to slight and contemn their Invectives. Thus much by the way against *Aristion*, who gave occasion to this short digression. To proceed, *Archelaus* drew to his Party the Acheans, Lacedemonians, and Beotians, all but the City of *Theſſia*, to which he laid Siege: At the same time as *Metrophanes* whom *Mithridates* had likewise sent into Greece with another Army, made havock in the Isle of *Eubea*, *Demetriada* and *Magnesia*, who had refused to declare for the King, *Brittius* came out of *Macedon* and falling upon his Fleet, with a very small force beat them, sunk a great Ship and a Foist, and slew all the Mariners, and this in the very face of *Metrophanes*, which put him in such a fear that he fled. *Brittius* when he could not overtake him, went and besieged *Sciatha* a nest of barbarous Pyrates, and having taken it hanged the Slave, and cut of the Masters hands, from thence he went to *Bæotia*, whither a recruit of a Thousand men, as well Horse as Foot being come to him out of *Macedon*, he gave Battle to *Aristion* and *Archelaus*, which lasted three days without knowing which had the better, till such time as the Lacedemonians and Acheans having sent relief to the Enemy finding himself then too weak he went and encamped near *Pyraum*, which *Archelaus* coming afterwards with his Fleet to seize, took him there Prisoner.

Sylla, to whom the Senate had given the Commission for the War against *Mithridates*, not able before to leave *Italy*, now passed over into Greece, with five Legions, some * Cohorts, and a few Horse; whither Money being sent him, and Auxiliary Troops come together, with Provisions of Victuals out of *Etolia* and *Theſſaly*, finding himself sufficiently prepared, he advanced into *Attica* against *Archelaus*. He took his march through *Bæotia*, which almost all yielded to him, not the great City of *Thebes* which out of giddiness of temper had before preferred *Mithridates* to the Romans, durst now make Tryal of his Arms, but in its turn deserting *Archelaus* and his Party, declared for the Romans. The Consul being arrived in *Attica*, divided his Forces into two Bodies, one he sent to Besiege *Aristion* in the City, and with the other marched directly to the Port of *Pyraum* where *Archelaus* had engarrisoned himself, confident in the strength of the place, the Walls of which were near forty Cubits high and all of hewn stone. It was indeed a mighty work which had been raised by *Pericles* in the time of the War of *Peloponnesus*; who when all the hopes of Victory consisted only in this Port, had fortified all he could. Yet the height of the Walls amused not *Sylla*, who presently clapt to his scaling Ladders; but the Cappadocians bravely defending themselves, after giving and receiving many Wounds he gave over and retreated to *Eleusina* and *Megara*, where he fell to building Engines, resolved to take the *Pyraum* by raising Platforms or Terraces higher then the Walls. *Thebes* furnished him with Workmen and Materials, as Iron Instruments for Battery and such like things, he cut down Timber in the Academy to frame his great Engines, and beat down all those long Walls which joyned the Port with the City, that their Ruins might serve to raise his Platforms. There were in *Pyraum* two Athenian Slaves, who whether they were affectionate to the Romans or

X.

* Or Regiment
of Guards.

to provide for their own security, in case they succeeded, writ on Bullets of Lead what passed within, and threw them with Slings into the Roman Camp. *Sylla* observing that they continually flung them, and examining the matter more narrowly, found writ on one of the Bullets. *To-morrow the foot will sally out on the Labourers in Front, while the Horse charge the Roman Army in Flank.* Whereupon he laid an Ambush for them and when they thought to surprize the Romans they were themselves surprized by the Romans, who after a great Slaughter drove the rest into the very Sea. *Archelaus* seeing the Platforms advanced in height, caused towers to be erected directly opposite to them, from whence with Darts he sorely vexed the Workmen, and having caused Forces to come from *Chalcis* and other Isles, he arrived not only the Marriners but the Galley-Slaves, seeing himself in such an extremity of danger. Thus he who before much exceeded the Besiegers in Numbers, seeing his Forces encreased by these new Recruits, made the Night following about the second Watch a vigorous Sally, wherein carrying lighted Torches he burnt one of the Testudo's with all its Engines. The Consul soon repaired the loss, and in ten day's rebuilt and planted others in their stead, against which *Archelaus* opposed a Tower he erected on the Wall. After this *Dromichetes* whom *Mithridates* had sent with new Recruits being arrived, *Archelaus* drew out the Kings Army in Battel, intermixing the Slingers and Archers and drawing them all up so close under the Wall, that those who had Guard might from thence annoy the Enemies at distance with their Bows and Slings, whilst a Party he had placed near the Gates sallied out upon a signal given, with Torches in their hands, to set fire on the Machins. The Fight was fierce and continued a long time doubtful, sometimes one giving Ground, and sometimes the other, the Barbarians were the first that turned their Backs, but *Archelaus* soon forced them to stay and return to the Charge, which so startled the Romans that they themselves fled, till *Murena* coming to the head of them forced them to turn again upon the Enemy. At length some Companies of Souldiers returning from the Wood (to whom those who had been branded with Infamy for their flight joyned themselves) and arriving in the heat of the Fight, they charged so furiously upon *Mithridates* Battel, that after having slain two thousand, they forced the rest to save themselves in the Port, in spite of all the resistance of *Archelaus*, who did all he could to stop them, and was so obstinate in it, that the Gates being shut before he could get in, they were forced to draw him up the Walls with Ropes. Thus *Sylla* had the honour of keeping the Field, who discharged of the Infamy those had been noted for it, because of their good service upon this occasion, and honoured the other with military Recompences. And because Winter was coming on, he went and encamped near *Elenfina*, and that he might not be annoyed by the Excursions of the Enemys Horse, he caused a deep Trench to be dug from the Mountains to the Sea. Whilst they wrought at it, there happened daily Skirmishes, some or other continually either going from the Trench or coming from the Wall, and throwing Darts or shooting Arrows, Stones or Bullets of Lead. This Work finished, *Sylla* who stood in need of Shipping, sent to Rhodes to furnish himself, but the Rhodians who could not pass the Seas, which were covered with *Mithridates* his Fleets, advised *Lucullus* a man very considerable among the Romans and one of *Sylla*'s Lieutenants, to embarque privately for *Syria* and *Alexandria*, to demand of the Kings and the Maritime Cities Ships to joyn with the Rhodian Fleet. He took their advice, and fearless of any thing embarqued himself on a pittiful passage Boat, and often changing Boats that he might not be known, came to *Alex-*
andria

andria. About this time the two Slaves cast from the Walls Bullets of Lead on which they had written, that the next Night *Archelaus* sent to *Athens* (where the people were very much oppressed with Famine) some Souldiers laden with Corn, upon which advice *Sylla* laying an Ambush for them, took both the men and the Corn. The same day *Munatius* engaging with *Neoptolemus* the other of *Mithridates* his Generals, wounded him, killed him fifteen hundred of his men and took a far greater number Prisoners : Some time after, whilst the Guards of the Port yet slept, some Romans cast Ladders from their Engines upon the Walls, and being got up slew the first they met with, which so surprised the Barbarians, that some believing all was taken by the Enemy, leaped from the Top of the Walls, but others more resolute put themselves upon their defence, slew the Captain of those were got up, and threw the rest headlong down. And some of them were so bold as to sally out of the Gate with Torches in their hands, with intent to set fire to one of the Romans Towers ; And they had done it, had they not been prevented by *Sylla* who after a Fight which lasted all Night and next Day, forced them to retreat within their Walls. After this, *Archelaus* caused to be raised on the Wall a great Tower opposite to the greatest of the Romans, where they fought without intermission with shot from their Arbalists or Cross-bow's, till such time as *Sylla* discharging from his greatest Cross-bow's twenty large leaden Bullets at a time against the Enemies, slew a great Number of them, and shook the Tower in such manner, that it cleaving almost asunder, they were forced to draw it under their Walls, that they might not have the discouragement to see it tumble down in pieces. Mean while Famine from day to day increasing in *Athens*, *Archelaus* was designing to send them Provisions by night, of which the leaden Bullets soon gave notice. But that General doubting that some one advertised the Romans of his designs gave order that at the time when the Corn was to be sent, there should be a Party ready at the Gates to Sally out with Torches in their hands upon the Romans at the same instant that *Sylla* assaulted those which carried it, and indeed it happened that *Sylla* took the Souldiers that carried the Corn, and *Archelaus* burnt some Engines. Whilst these things passed *Arcathias* the Son of *Mithridates* being entred *Macedon* with another Army defeated some Roman Forces, left for the Guard of that Province, became Master of all *Macedon*, dividing it into Satrapies, and being on his March towards *Sylla*, to cause him raise his Siege, dyed of Sickness near *Tidea*. The news of his death being come to the Consuls he caused Forts to be raised quite round the City of *Athens*, which was heavily oppressed with Famine, to the end that no person being able to get out, the Famine should encrease so much the more among so vast a Multitude. That done, he began to batter the Walls of *Pyraum* with his Engines, raised on the Platforms, but *Archelaus* had with long labour privately undermined them, so that they beginning to sink ; the Romans discovering the Mine readily drew off their Engines, and filled up the Hollows with Earth and other Rubbish. Then in imitation of the *Barbarians* they began to undermine the Wall, till their Mines coming to meet, there happened a Skirmish between the Miners underground, such a one as could be maintained in the Dark. All this while they battered the Wall more then ever with their Rams planted on the Terrasses, till such time as one part being beaten down, *Sylla* caused fire to be cast into a Tower hard by, with intent to burn it, at the same time commanding all the brave men he had to storm the place, both Parties fought valiantly, but the Tower was at last burnt, and the Romans became Masters of one part of the Wall upon which they lodged themselves.

Almost

Almost at the same instant, another part of the Wall undermined by the Romans, the Foundations of which they had underpropped as they went, after that the stanchions which they had set on fire with store of Pitch, Flax, and Brimstone, were burnt, began to tumble with all those that defended it, making the Crash the more terrible, because so unexpected. In-
 somuch that those who had the Guard of the Walls were utterly daunted, every one trembling for himself, as if he were presently to be crushed in pieces by a like ruine, wherefore those who were planted in any suspected places, ran fearfully down in Crouds, taking more care to preserve their own lives, then repulse the Enemy. *Sylla* the more fiercely pursued the assault, relieving his wearied Souldiers with fresh men, continually encouraging them and mingling Threats with Prayers, assuring them that upon this Brunt which could not last long, depended the whole Victory. *Archelaus* showed no less courage: He opposed *Sylla* with fresh men in the place of those whose fears had made them useless, renewed the heat of the fight, pressing forward and heartning all his people; by telling them they had but this shock to sustain, and after it there was nothing to be feared. Thus both Parties returned to the Charge with wonderful Alacrity, they fought and slew on both sides, with equal loss. Yet at last *Sylla* taking Compassion of his Soldiers, so tyred that they were able to do no more, and admiring their bravery caused the retreat to be sounded. The night following *Archelaus* set to work to repair the two ruined places, making re-trenchments within in form of a half Moon. *Sylla* thinking these fortifications yet moist would easily be beaten down, went presently to assault them with all his Forces, but he was soon forced to give it over, for being lock'd up in that half Circle very close together, his men could not fight, but were both in Front and Flank exposed to the Enemy's shot, which indeed annoyed them on all sides.

XL.

Therefore he resolved no more to attempt *Pyraum* by storm, hoping at last to reduce the besieged by Famine. But first understanding that the City was at the last gasp, that they had eaten all their Horses, and after having boyled the very Hides for sustenance, had been forced at last feed on dead Carcasses, he caused a Trench to be drawn round about it, to the end that none might previly escape. And having finished that work, he raised his Batteries and planted his scaling Ladders, upon which the Souldiers mounted with such a furious violence that those weak and feeble people betaking themselves presently to flight he became master of the Walls. The whole City was presently filled with Slaughter, for there was none had strength enough to escape, and no quarter was given, nor either Sex or Age spared. For *Sylla* incensed that so readily and without any cause they had taken part with the Barbarians, and so obstinately defended themselves against him, had given Orders to put all to the Sword, which made many who had heard his voice, that proclaimed this Ordinance, come and offer themselves voluntarily to death. As many as could, made their retreat into the Castle, among whom was *Aristion*, having first of all set on fire the Theatre for Musick, for fear least *Sylla* should make use of the Wood, in the assault of the Fortrefs. The Consul having taken the City, would not let it be set on fire, but he gave the Plunder to the Souldiers, who ranlaking every where, found in many Houses Humane Flesh ready drest to eat. On the morrow he sold all the Slaves at outcry, and declared that he left at liberty all the free people, who had escaped the nights slaughter, of whom but few were found, yet those he deprived of any suffrage or jurisdiction, as being

being Enemies, but promised to restore it to their posterity. This done *Sylla* besieged the Fortress, wherein *Aristion* and those fled for Refuge with him, were so sore oppressed with hunger and thirst that they were constrained to surrender, of whom he put to death *Aristion* with his Guards, and all that had born Commission under him during his Tyranny, or in any manner whatsoever had acted contrary to the Ordinances left them by the Romans since they first became Masters of *Greece*; He pardoned all the rest, and left them under almost the same Laws they had received from the Romans, and in conclusion carried out of the Citadel forty pound weight of Gold, and six hundred of Silver. The City thus taken, *Sylla* believed that holding only the Port of *Pyraum* invested, it would be a long time before he should starve the Barbarians. Wherefore he again applied himself to his Batteries and Engines, and caused to be made Galleries and Mantelets, to go under Covert up to the Walls, and undermine them. But *Archelaus* had made provision against him, for he had raised many Walls, one behind another, all after the same manner, so that *Sylla* saw no end of his labor, having no sooner taken in one Wall, but he found another of the same Fabrick, yet he indefatigably attempted all the Walls he met with, causing his Soldiers to relieve each other by turns, and going sometimes to one party, and sometimes to another encouraging them to labor, and assuring them of the great recompences prepared for them, when they had overcome these difficulties. And indeed the Soldiers promised themselves an end of their labors, after this Victory, and hoped to gain so much the more praise, the more they incountred with danger and difficulty, wherefore they did all they could to gain these last Walls, till such time as *Archelaus* astonished at their obstinacy deserting them, retired into the strongest part of the *Pyraum*, which being on all sides begirt with the Sea, the Consul who had no Ships could attempt nothing against him. From thence he took his march by *Beotia* to go into *Thessaly*, and being got to *Thermopylae*, he rallied the remains as well of those Troops which himself had brought into *Greece*, as of those which came under the Conduct of *Dromichefes*, He sent likewise for all that Army which had followed *Arcathias* the Kings Son into *Macedon*, which were all fresh Men that wanted nothing, and besides all these *Mithridates* had sent him some new Recruits, for he was continually sending. *Sylla* in the mean time burnt the *Pyraum* which had given him so much more trouble then the City, sparing neither Arsenal nor Dock, nor in short any thing that was considerable.

This done he took the Field to follow *Archelaus*, taking as well as he the Road of *Beotia*. As he was upon his March, those Troops lately assembled at *Thermopylae* came forward to meet him as far as *Phocida*; Thracians, Pontique Scythians, Cappadocians, Bithynians, Galatians, Phrygians and others came from the Provinces, newly Conquered by *Mithridates*, amounting in all to sixscore thousand Men, under several Generals, over whom *Archelaus* was Generalissimo. *Sylla's* Forces were composed of Romans and Italian Allies, together with such Greeks and Macedonians as had come over from *Archelaus* to him: And possibly some Auxiliary Troops of the Neighboring Countries, but all these amounted not to a third of his Enemies; when they were encamped close by each other, *Archelaus* every day drew out his Army to invite *Sylla* to a battel, but he considering the Nature of the place; and the great Number of his Enemies, thought it best to temporize; At length they retreated towards

XII.

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Chalcis;

Chalcis, whither he followed them waiting for a favorable opportunity, and a convenient place. And at last perceiving that near to *Cheronea*, they were encamped in a place environed with Cragged Rocks, which were very difficult to pass, he posted himself hard by in a spacious plain, and drawing up his Army resolved to force *Archelaus* to a Battel, whether he would or no: He found the place was advantagious for him, either to charge or retreat in, whereas *Archelaus* was shut up among the Rocks, which would not permit him to fight with all his Forces together, nor could he well form his Bodies or draw in Battel among those uneven Cragged Stones, where if any misfortune happened, those Rocks themselves would hinder his Escape. In short having according to his desire met him in a place where Numbers would be useless, he advanced to engage him; He who thought of nothing less than Fighting had fortified his Camp with Negligence enough, nor had he taken notice of the disadvantage of the place till the Romans furiously advanced to the Charge. He then commanded a party of his Horse to make head against them, but they being defeated and driven into the Precipices, he sent next sixty Chariots to endeavor to break the Ranks of the Legions, who opening to the Right and Left, gave them way quite through, till they had past the Rearguard, where before they could turn, the Horses and Drivers were all slain by the Darts thrown at them from all sides. *Archelaus* defended as he was by the Rocks, might have staid in his Post, but receiving Intelligence that *Sylla* was at hand, he chose rather with all speed possible to draw up those vast Multitudes into Battel in those straits: and then pressing forward with the Horse of his Vanguard he broke quite through the Battel of the Romans, dividing it into two, and then easily surrounding each part because of their small Number, these two half-bodies seeing themselves inclosed cast themselves into an Orb and bravely defended themselves, but that where *Galba* and *Hortensius* commanded was sorely put to it, because *Archelaus* himself being at the head of his Men pressed on them extreamly, and all the Barbarians Fighting in his presence strove to show their General some signal Marks of their Valor. At last *Sylla* coming with a Gross of Horse, *Archelaus* who guessed by the Cornets, and by the dust arising from the Horse-feet, that it was he, gave over this manner of Fighting to regain his Order of Battel, but the Roman Charging home (with all the Flower of his Cavalry and two Regiments of Foot, which he had laid in Ambush) amongst the thickest of the Enemies, yet astonished, and not able to recover any Order, over-pressed them, broke them, put them to the Rout, and gave them Chase. The Victory thus begun on this part. *Murena* did wonders to advance it on the Left, for after having pricked forward those about him by reproaches, he violently led them on upon the Enemy, and put them likewise to the Rout. Thus *Archelaus* two Wings being defeated his Main Body stood not long, but all equally took their Flight, nor was *Sylla* deceived in the Judgment made of the Success of this Enterprize, for the Enemies intangled in those streits, could not fly, or if they did, threw one another down the Precipices, and if they turned head fell into the hands of the Romans, wherefore the wisest of them returned to their Camp, but *Archelaus* who could not believe the discomfiture so great, stoppt their entrance, and sent them back upon the Enemy, which they obeyed though they had no Captains to put them in order, nor saw no Ensigns, which every one in the Rout had thrown here and there, and besides they had neither Room to Fight, nor to Retreat. Thus in this extremity they were slaughtred like Sheep, either by their Enemies, on whom they

they could not revenge themselves, being too close crouded, or by their own Comerades, as it often happens in a too close and disordered Battle, wherefore they returned in throngs to the Gates of the Camp, complaining to those had shut them out and reviling them, that adoring the same Gods, and being tyed by so many bonds one to the other they contributed more to their destruction, then the Enemies themselves. At last *Archelaus* opened the Gates, but too late. They entred in confusion and disorder, and the Romans encouraging one another threw themselves Pell Mell among the Flyers, where they gave the last push to the Victory. *Archelaus* and all those that escaped from the Slaughter met together at *Chalcis*, where of one hundred and twenty thousand Men, they found but ten thousand. The Romans believed they had lost fifteen Men, but two of them afterwards returned. Thus ended this battel fought between *Sylla* and *Archelaus* General under *Mithridates* near to *Cheronea*, the Success whereof was as well deserving of the Prudence of *Sylla*, as of the foolish rashness of *Archelaus*.

Sylla seeing himself Master of a great Number of Prisoners, of great Booty and vast quantity of Spoils, caused to be heaped together, all that was useless in one place, and having made due preparation according to the Custom of the Romans, offered them in Sacrifice to those Divinities that preside ore War, he himself first kindling the fire. Soon after, having refreshed his Forces with a little rest, he marched with his Light Armed Foot towards *Euripus*, hoping, he might there meet with *Archelaus*; But he had made no stay there, but because the Romans had no Fleet at Sea, went about overrunning the Islands and plundering the Sea-coasts. He was likewise so bold as to land upon *Zant*, and to besiege the City, but some Romans that came against him, having set upon him in an Ambush by Night, he hastily reembarked his Men, got out to Sea, and returned to *Chalcis*, doing things all along rather becoming a Pyrate then a Man of War. *Mithridates* hearing of this great defeat was amazed as indeed he had reason, however he began to make new Levies of Soldiers in all the Countries under his obedience, and growing jealous, that after his being thus beaten, there would be some People, that either at present, or as soon as they had opportunity would make attempt upon his Person, before he would renew the War he assembled all that he had the least suspicion of, such were the Tetrarchs of *Galatia*, and all those who attended on his Person as Friends, but yet owned him not as Subjects. All these he put to death with their Wives and Children, some by surprize, others at a feast by night, only three escaped and fled, for he thought that if *Sylla* came nearer, none of them would continue faithful to him. After this he sieged upon their goods, placed Garrisons in their Citics, and sent *Eumachus* Satrap or Governor into *Galatia*, whom the Tetrarchs that had escaped, assisted with some Forces of their Vassals raised in the Country, drove thence with his Garrisons; so that of all the Goods of that Nation, *Mithridates* enjoyed only the Mony. Having likewise born a secret hate to the Inhabitants of *Chios*, since one of their Gallies unawares ran aboard the Admiral at the Fight of *Rhodes*, he first confiscated all their Estates, who were gone into *Sylla's* Army, then he sent Commissioners to inform themselves of all those who were of the Roman Faction, and at last *Zenobius* landing there as it were in his passage for *Greece* sieged by night on the Walls, and most advantageous places of the City, and after having placed Guards at the Gates he caused Procla-

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mation to be made that all the Guests and Inmates should take their repose, and that all the Inhabitants should assemble themselves to know the Kings Pleasure. That done, he told them that the King was Jealous of their City, because some of their Inhabitants took part with the Romans, and that there was no way to remove that suspicion, but by surrendring up their Arms and delivering such Children, as should be chosen out of their best Families for Hostages. They seeing their City in his hands, yielded both to one and the other, whom *Zenobius* sent immediately to *Erytbres*, telling them, that as to what was farther to be done the King would write. And indeed his Letter came containing matters to this purpose.

Mithridates Letter to the Inhabitants of Chios.

YOU Favor the Romans, many of your Citizens being at this present in their Army, and your selves enjoy Lands they have given you in Fee, without paying any Tribute to us. Your Galley likewise ran on Board mine in the Fight at Rhodes, which fault I had only imputed to those had the Government of it, could my Clemency have made you wise, but you have privately sent the Chief Men of your City to Sylla, and have not discovered to me any of those who without the consent of the whole City were guilty of this crime, which you ought to have done, had you not all been complices. I might according to the advice of my Friends punish you with death as Enemies to my self and my Estates. However I have chosen rather in reparation of these crimes to condemn you in a Fine of two thousand Talents.

After having heard this Letter read, they desired *Zenobius's* permission to send Deputies to the King, which being refused them, disarmed as they were, and tyed up by those Hostages they had given, and besides seeing a great Army of Barbarians, ready to cut them in pieces, they began to weep, and were forced to sell the Ornaments of their Temples, and their Wives Jewels to raise the two thousand Talents. When they had paid it in, *Zenobius* under pretence that it wanted weight, caused them to Assemble in the Theater, and there encompassing them with Soldiers, and lining the Streets leading to the Sea-side with Guards, all with drawn Swords, he caused them to be led out of the Theater, one after another, and put them on Shipboard, the Men on one side, and the Women and Children, on the other, whilst the Barbarians, as they past affronted them with a thousand indignities; thus he took them all out of their Country, and sent them to *Mithridates* in the *Euxine* Sea. Those of *Chios* being treated in this manner, *Zenobius* came before *Ephesus* with all his Forces, but the Ephesians made him leave his Arms at the Port, and would not let him enter the City but with a very small train. He submitted to it, and went and lodged at *Philopæmens* (Father of *Monima*, *Mithridates* Mistress, to whom the King had given the Government of that place) and soon after proclaimed an Assembly off the City, but the Ephesians, who expected nothing but mischief from him, put off the business till next morning. Mean while they assembled in the night, and mutually encouraging

ging each other, clapt *Zenobius* in Prison, where they put him to death. At the same time they planted good Guards on their Walls, armed the people, made Provision of Victuals, and became Masters of their City. Those of *Tralles*, *Hypapa* and *Misopolis* and others, whom the Calamity of the Inhabitants of *Chios* had terrified, hearing the news, follow the Example of the *Ephesians*: So that *Mithridates* was forced to send an Army against these Rebels, severely punishing those who returned not to their obedience till they were forced. And to hinder others from revolting, he declared all the *Grecian* Cities free, and all Debtors released from their Creditors, and gave the Inmates freedom of Burgeses in all places where they inhabited, and set the Slaves at liberty. Hoping (as it happened) that the Debtors, Inmates and Slaves engaged by these benefits, would employ all their force to maintain the Royal Power. Mean while *Minio* and *Philotimus*, Natives of *Smyrna*, and *Clysthenes*, and *Asclepiodorus* of *Lesbos*, all well known to the King, *Asclepiodorus* himself having sometime commanded his Mercenary Troops, conspired against him, but the conspiracy being discovered by *Asclepiodorus*, (who to give a manifest Proof of it ordered matters, so that the King hid behind a bed heard it from *Minio's* one mouth) the conspirators ended their lives in torments. Many were afterwards suspected of the same crime, fourscore of the Inhabitants of *Pergamus*, being thereupon arrested, besides many others in other Cities, the King sending Spies into all parts, under his obedience, to find out the Criminals, every one of which making discovery of his Enemy, there perished about sixteen hundred men; but the Accusers soon received their Chastisement: for of them, some were punished by *Sylla*, others slew themselves, and others fled with *Mithridates*, to the Kingdom of *Pontus*.

Whilst these things passed in *Asia*, the King had raised an Army of fourscore thousand men, which *Dorilaus* carried into *Greece* to *Archelaus*, who had still ten thousand men, the remainder of his former Forces. When *Sylla* who now lay encamped within sight of him, near to *Orchomene* beheld so vast a Multitude of Horse arrive, he caused several Ditches to be dug through the Plain, ten foot wide, and when *Archelaus* advanced towards him, put his Army in a posture to receive him, but perceiving the Romans fought but coldly, against such numbers of Horsemen, he rid himself through the Ranks, stirred them up, threatened them, and at length not being able to provoke them, leaps from his Horse, takes a Colours in his hands, and advancing with his Guards in the midst between two Battels, cries out. *If any asked you fellow Soldiers, where you left your General Sylla, tell them it was fighting near Orchomene.* Hereupon the Officers moved by the danger in which they saw him, advanced from their standing, and ran to his assistance, the Soldiers urged with shame followed, and all together made the Enemy give ground who before put them hard to it: *Sylla* perceiving this entrance towards Victory, mounts again on Horse back, shows himself every where, praises his Soldiers, encourages them, and at last remains Master of the Field; After having slain fifteen thousand men, the most part Horsemen (among whom was *Diogenes*, the Son of *Archelaus*,) and driven the Foot into the very Camp of the Barbarians: At the same instant for fear lest *Archelaus* should save himself at *Chalcis*, as he had done the time before, he disposed Guards throughout the whole Plain, to keep Watch that night, and in the morning caused to be drawn before the Camp a Trench not above a Furlong distant from it. *Archelaus* in the

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mean

mean time kept within his Trenches, but *Sylla* after having exhorted his Soldiers to make an end of the remain of this War, since the Enemies durst not appear, undertook to force them, and marched directly to the Assault. Upon this great change, and in this pressing necessity, the Enemies began by Speeches, to encourage their Troops: Each Captain showed his Solders the danger they were in, if they did not defend themselves, representing to them how cowardly a thing it would be, if they should not have Heart enough, to drive from their Trenches an Enemy, they far surpassed in number. Whereupon there presently arose a great noise, on both sides, each Party was set on fire, and did actions wonderful. At last the Romans leaped into the Ditch and stormed an Angle of the Camp, out of which they plucked the Palisado's. The Barbarians who perceived it, lined the Angle close, with their Swords drawn ready to fight nearer at hand, in so much that no person durst enter, till *Basilus* the first Tribune of a Legion, leaped up and overturning him he first encountred with, the whole Army thereupon followed, and made a mighty slaughter of the Barbarians. Some they slew in the Chase, others they drove into a Lake hard by, and some who could not swim, cryed out for Quarter, but in vain, for their Language not being understood, they were cut in pieces, *Archelaus* hid himself in a certain Marsh, and having there found a little Boat, escaped to *Chalcis*, where he speedily drew together all the remains of *Mithridates* Forces. Next Morning *Sylla* gave a Crown to the Tribune, and distributed Military Recompences to the others. After which he went and spoiled *Beotia*, because those people were perpetually changing Parties, and from thence passed into *Thessaly* where he took up his Winter Quarters, expecting *Lucullus* with the Shipping, of whom receiving no certain intelligence, he set to building of others.

XV.

Whilst he was doing all these things, *Cornelius Cinna*, and *Cajus Marius* his particular Enemies declared him at *Rome* Enemy of the Commonwealth, pulled down his Houses, seized his Lands, and put to death his Friends. Yet ceased not he to do all he could, having a most obedient Army, composed all of valiant Soldiers. Now *Cinna* having drawn to his Party, his Colleague *Flaccus* sent him into *Asia*, with two Legions, to Command in the Province, and make War on *Mithridates*, in the place of *Sylla*, who was declared Enemy, and because he was not very expert in War, *Fimbria* one of the Senate in good esteem with the Soldiers, went along with him. They embarked at *Brundisium*, to cross the Sea, a good part of their Ships were lost by Storm, and those who gained the other side were taken and burnt by the new Army, sent by *Mithridates*. *Flaccus* was proud, covetous, cruel in punishing, and therefore hated by the Soldiers, which made some Troops that were sent before into *Thessaly*, to go over into *Sylla's* Camp, and it was only *Fimbria*, (whom they esteemed the better Captain, and more merciful than *Flaccus*) that prevented the others from doing the like. There happened by chance some difference between the Quæstor and he about encamping, wherein *Flaccus* who was Judge, not having duly considered the Quality of *Fimbria*, he threatened him to return to the City. *Flaccus* presently named a successor in his charge, and forthwith embarked for *Chalcedon*: Whereupon *Fimbria* taking the opportunity of his absence, took away the Rods from *Therinus*, whom he had made Propretor, saying the Army had given him that Dignity, and *Flaccus* thereat offended, returning to punish him, he put him to flight, and forced him to hide himself in a private House, from whence

escaping

escaping by night over the Walls, he got to *Chalcedon*, and from thence to *Nicomedia* where he caused the Gates to be shut. But *Fimbria* was presently there, and drawing him out of a Well where he had hid himself, slew him though a Roman Consul, and more then that his General, whilst he was but a private man, who had followed his friend of greater Quality then he, at his coming into the Province. He cut off his Head, which he threw into the Sea, leaving the rest of the Body unburied, and having made himself General of the Army, fought afterwards successfully, in several Engagements with *Mithridates* Son. At length having to deal with the King himself, he drove him to the very Gates of *Pergamus*, whence he flying to *Pisane*, had been there besieged had he not taken shipping and escaped to *Mitylene*. After this *Fimbria* going through the Province, ill intreated those who favoured the Party of the Cappadocians, and spoiled their Lands, who refused to open their Gates to him. The City of *Ilium* he besieged, whose Inhabitants having recourse to *Sylla* he promised to come, and sent to *Fimbria* not to do any injury to those who had yielded to him, praising them for being returned into the friendship and alliance of the Roman people. Notwithstanding he required to be likewise received into their City, being likewise of *Rome*, and telling them I know not what of that ancient Kindred of which the *Ilians* boast. At last he entred by force, slew all he met with, set on fire the City, and particularly put to several sorts of death, those who went to *Sylla*, on the behalf of the City. He had neither respect to the sacred places nor to those had fled thither for refuge, but burnt the Temple of *Minerva*, with a great multitude of people, who had retired thither, as to a Sanctuary. He rased the very Walls, which he went round about next day, to see if any part were left standing. Thus was that City worse treated, by a Man who took thence his Original, then it had formerly been, by *Agamemnon*, for he left not a house, nor a Temple, nor a Statue standing. Some there are that believe, that the Image of the Goddess, which is called *Palladium*, was now found whole, after the removal of the Rubbish, wherewith it was covered, but there is more reason to believe it was taken away by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* in the time of the *Trojan* War. This Massacre of the *Ilians*, happened about the end of the hundred and third Olympiad, and it is thought to be about one thousand and fifty Years between this sack of *Troy* and that of *Agamemnon*.

Now *Mithridates* receiving advice of the defeat at *Orchomene*, and considering that, since his first sending an Army into *Greece*, he had lost such vast Multitudes in so short a time, wrote to *Archelaus*, that he should conclude a Peace, upon the fairest terms he could get. He therefore demanded a conference with *Sylla*, which being granted, he told him; *Sylla*, the King *Mithridates* your Fathers friend, and yours, was forced by the avarice of those who had the Command before you, to make the War: But having now experienced your Valour, he demands a Peace, provided what you shall desire of him, be just. Whereupon *Sylla*, who had neither Fleet nor Money, receiving nothing from *Rome*, since his Enemies had declared him Enemy of the State, and having already spent all the Silver of the Temples of *Pythia*, *Olympia* and * *Epidaurum*, for which he had engaged * Ragulz. half the Lands confiscated from the *Thebans*, because of their continual Rebellions, and who besides all this, was impatient, to transport that Army fresh and every way compleat to *Rome* against his Enemies, consented to his Peace, by telling him; *Archelaus*, *Mithridates* should have sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, to complain of the injuries he had received, but instead

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stead of that be himself injured others, entering in hostile manner into their Territories, plundering their Treasures as well Publick as Sacred, seizing on the Goods of those he had put to death, and showing no more faith nor goodness to his own friends than to us, destroying many of them, and murdering the Tetrarchs, his familiars who had all their throats cut in one night, with their Wives and Children, though they were not guilty so much as of a design. As for what regards us, he rather made appear his inveterate hatred, than any necessity he had to make War, when he let loose his rage against the Italians in Asia, by a thousand sorts of Torments, sparing neither Age, Sex nor Quality. So much hate does this man bear to the Latin Name, who calls himself my Fathers Friend, but never remembered that friendship till I had slain him a hundred and sixty thousand men. Wherefore we have no reason to trust you any more. However for your sake I promise he shall obtain favour from the Senate and People of Rome, if it be in good earnest that he ask it, but if he still feign, I advise you Archelaus, to consider the present estate of his affairs and your own, how he treats his Friends, and how we have dealt with Eumenes and Massinissa. At these words Archelaus interrupted him, angry that he should tempt him, and telling him he was not a man to betray Forces intrusted to his charge, but that he really hoped for peace if Sylla demanded only just things. Whereupon Sylla, after some moments Silence: *Provided* (said he) Archelaus, that Mithridates put into our hands all the Fleet he has, restore the Generals Deputies, and other Prisoners, deliver up the Runaway's and fugitive Slaves, send back to their Cities those of Chios, and others transported to the Euxine Sea, withdraw his Garrisons from all places where he has planted them, save only those he had before the Peace was broke, pay the Expence of this War, which he has been the cause of, and content himself with the Kingdom of his Ancestors. I hope to prevail so far that the Roman people shall forget the Offences they have received. Archelaus hearing these conditions, began presently to withdraw his Garrisons, and about the rest wrote to the King. Sylla, that he might not in the mean while loose any time; went and spoiled the Countries of the Henetians, Dardanians, and other Neighbouring Nations, who made delay incursions into Macedonia, by that means exercising his Soldiers. Mithridates Deputies returning some time after, agreed to all, save only about Paphlagonia, but added that they could have had better terms from the other General Fimbria. Whereupon Sylla offended at that comparison, made answer, that that word should cost Fimbria dear, and that as soon as he came into Asia, he would see whether Mithridates stood in need of Peace or War. Whereupon he caused his Army to take their March through Thrace, that he might bring them to Cypselas, having sent Lucullus before to Abydos, for he was now returned, having often very narrowly escaped falling into the hands of Pyrates. However he had brought with him a kind of Fleet of Ships, which he had been furnished with at Cyprus, Phœnicia, Rhodes, and in Pamphilia, with which he had pillaged all the Coast as he came along, and skirmished with Mithridates his Fleet: Sylla therefore parting from Cypselas, and Mithridates from Pergamum, met together, and began a new conference, being drawn out into the Field, with few followers in the sight of both Armies. Mithridates began his discourse with the alliance which he and his Father had with the people of Rome, complained of the injuries he had received from the Roman Generals and Commissaries, who had established Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia, taken from him Phrygia, and favored by their dissimulation the Violences of Nicomedes. And all this (said he) for Money which they received sometimes from me, and sometimes from my Enemies, for there is nothing, you Gentle-

men of Rome may so justly be reproached with as love of Money. In short, your Generals being come to make War against me, whatever I have done in my own defence, ought rather to be attributed to necessity than to any deliberate purpose. Mithridates having only said thus much, Sylla answered in this manner. Though this be not the business, we are met for, but only to conclude a Peace on the conditions by me already proposed, yet I will likewise in few words satisfy you in what you reproach us with. When I commanded in Cilicia, I reestablished Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia, by the Senates order, and I did it because you yielded to the Authority of the People, for you ought either to have opposed it and shewed your reasons in Judgments, or after having suffered it, acquiesce in the Decree of the Senate. As for Phrygia, Manius gave it you, corrupted by your gifts, which made it a common crime betwixt you, and by saying you got it by corruption, you own the possession unlawful, and indeed Manius being convicted of having done many things of like nature for Money, the Senate declared them all null. Wherefore Phrygia being granted to you unjustly, they would not make it tributary to Rome, but set it at liberty. And when we dispense with our dominion, over a Country which by right of War belonged to us, as Conquerours of it, what reason have you to siesse on it? As for Nicomedes, he complains that by your perswasion Alexander who designed to kill him, wounded him, and Socrates Chrestus invaded his Kingdom. He confesses that thus injured, he entered armed into your Territories, but if you thought your self injured without cause you should have sent your Deputies to Rome, and expected the answer of the Senate. Yet granting that in the assault of Nicomede, you only repelled force by force, what had Ariobarzanes done, that you should drive him out of his Estates? Therefore the Roman Generals that were upon the place, were obliged to reestablish him, and by resisting them, you kindled a War long time premeditated, and to begin which, you sought only an opportunity, out of the hopes to become Masters of all the World, if you could overcome the Romans. We have manifest Proofs of this, since before any War was begun, you entred into alliance with the Thracians, Scythians, and Sarmatians, solicited the Kings your Neighbours by your Embassadors, caused Shipping to be built, provided your self with Pilots and men of War; but above all, the Time you chose for the Execution of your Designs is your conviction, for as soon as you knew that our Allies in Italy were resolved against us, you made use of that opportunity while we thus were embroyled to assail Nicomedes, and Ariobarzanes, and one after another, Galatia, Paphlagonia, and our own province of Asia. What cruelties have you not acted? Whether to the Cities which you have submitted to Slaves and Debtors, the first of which you freed from Servitude, and the last from the Power of their Creditors: Whether to the Greeks of whom you put to death sixteen hundred for one sole crime. Whether to the Tetrarchs of Gallogrecia, whom you murdered eating at your table. Or whether to the Italians, whom in the same day you put all to the Sword, or drowned them in Water with their Wives and Children, without respect to the sacred places, or the Temples, whither they had fled for Sanctuary. What Inhumanity did you not manifest in this occasion? What Impiety, what furious hate against us? In conclusion, after having seised the Treasures of all these people, you sent over great Armies into Europe, contrary to our Edict, by which it is expressly forbid all Kings of Asia, to enter there. That done you foraged Macedonia, one of our Provinces, deprived the Greeks of their liberty, and never repented of all this, nor made any use of the Intercession of Archelaus till after I had recovered Macedonia, and delivered the Greeks from your violence by slaying one hundred and sixty thousand of your men, and taking two of your Camps, with all their Munition. And now I cannot but wonder,

that you should excuse your self of the same matters for which you asked pardon by Archelaus, unless it be that when I was far off, you were afraid of me, and now seeing me near, you think I am come to plead; but pleadings are in vain when Arms are once taken in hand. We do make War upon you, and have defended our selves bravely hitherto, and will defend our selves to the end.

Sylla pronouncing these words in Anger, the King was afraid, accepted the conditions proposed to Archelaus, and after having surrendered up his Shipping, and executed all that was contained in the Articles of Peace, he returned into Pontus, reduced to the Kingdoms of his Father only. Thus was the first War against Mithridates appeased.

- XVII. Sylla after this went and encamped within two Furlongs of *Fimbria*, and sent to summon him to deliver into his hands, the Army which he commanded contrary to the Laws, to which he in raillery returned answer, that Sylla himself had no very legitimate command. Sylla thereupon besieged him in his Trenches, and many publicly forsaking him, he assembled the rest to beseech them to stay, but they told him they would not fight against Roman Citizens: He thereupon rent his Robe, addresses himself to every one in particular, begging with Tears in his eyes, but they having an aversion for such a meanness of Spirit, the greatest part went over into Sylla's Army. Then he ran from Tent to Tent to sollicite the Tribunes, part of whom having gained by Money, he once again assembles the Soldiers to renew the Oath. Upon which the *Henetians* crying out all with one voice, that the Soldiers should be called out and sworn man by man, he gave Orders first to call out those who had received kindneses from him, and particularly *Nonius* the Companion of all his Crimes, who refused to swear, he drew his Sword, and had thrust it into his belly, had not a great shout suddenly raised throughout the whole Army, stopt his proceeding farther. After this he suborned a Slave with Money and promises, to go into Sylla's Camp as a Runaway and to kill him, but he not having been able to bear up with constancy enough, his trembling made him suspected, so that being taken, he confessed the whole matter. This attempt inflamed all Sylla's Army with just anger, and made *Fimbria* so despicable, that the Soldiers going to the Ditch of his Camp, reviled him, calling him *Aristion*, after the name of one of those fugitive Slaves in *Sicily*, who for a few daies was King. Wherefore *Fimbria* lost to all hopes, advanced to his Rampart, and demanded to speak with Sylla, who sending *Rutilius* in his stead, put *Fimbria* quite in despair, seeing a conference would not be granted to him, which had not usually been denied even to Enemies. Yet he spoke to *Rutilius*, and told him he desired pardon for the faults he might have committed, through the imprudence of his Age. To which *Rutilius* answered, that if he would depart out of *Asia*, where Sylla was Proconsul, he would give him pass-port as far as the Sea, he replied he knew a way more convenient, and at the same time returning to *Pergamus*, and entering the Temple of *Æsculapius*, he thrust himself quite through the body with his Sword, but the wound not being mortal, he desired the assistance of one of his Slaves, who dispatched him, and afterward slew himself. Thus ended *Fimbria*, the second Plague of *Asia*, next to *Mithridates*. Sylla gave his body to his freed men to bury it, saying he would not imitate *Cinna* and *Marinus*, who had deprived many in the City, not only of life, but Burials; he received likewise the Army of the defunct, which came to yield themselves up to him, and joyned them with his own. After this he commanded *Cnio* to reconduct *Nicomachus* and *Ariobarzanes* into their Kingdoms

doms, and wrote to the Senate of all that he had done, without taking the least notice of his having heard that he was declared Enemy of the State, then he proceeded to settle Necessary Orders in the Province, he enfranchized and placed in the Number of the Allies of the people of *Rome* those of *Ilion*, *Chios*, *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Magnesia*, and some other people in acknowledgement of the good services they had done the Commonwealth of *Rome*, or the better to comfort them for the miseries they had undergone for taking part with the Romans. And after having sent Parties of Soldiers to all the other Cities, he caused an Ordinance to be proclaimed by which all Slaves were enjoined to return under the Power of their Masters, but because that many would not obey, and that many Cities likewise revolted, the publishing of this ordinance caused a multitude of disorders, and was followed by strange Slaughters, as well of Slaves, as free people, besides the ruine of several Cities whose Inhabitants were sold at outcry. He likewise severely chastised all those who had taken part with the Cappadocian as well in general as particular, especially the Ephesians, who out of a base complacence for *Mithridates*, had shamefully taken out of their Temple, the gifts presented by the Romans. After this Heralds were sent to all the Cities, to give notice to the principal Inhabitants, to appear upon a certain day before *Sylla* at *Ephesus*. Where being assembled he took his seat on the Tribunal, and spoke to them in this manner.

The Oration of *Sylla*.

THe first time we passed with an Army into Asia was when Antiochus King of Syria spoiled your Province, whom we drove beyond the Tanais and Mount Taurus, and though after that we might have kept you under our Dominion, we left all at liberty, save some few people, whom we gave to Eumenes and the Rhodians, our Allies, rather as Subjects than as Tributaries, which is manifest because when the Lycians complained against those of Rhodes, we freed them from their obedience. These benefits we have done, you observe now your acknowledgment. After that Attalus Philometor had left us his Kingdom by Will and Testament, you assisted Aristonicus against us for the space of four Years, till such time as he being taken Prisoner, some of you returned to your duty either through necessity or fear. After which remaining in Peace four and twenty Years together, you in that time became so prodigiously rich, as well Commonwealths at private persons, that the repose and delights which you enjoyed revived in your Spirits your animosities and aversion against us, and taking occasion from the differences we had with our Allies, some invited Mithridates to make War against us, and others joyned with him, as soon as they saw him in the Field. But that which is most heynous, you conceived no horror to murder, by his order on the same day all the Italians with their Wives and Children, not sparing those who had fled for refuge into the Temples, consecrated to your Gods. 'Tis true you have in some measure been chastised by Mithridates himself, who violating the Promises he had made you, gave you over to the Plunder of his Soldiers, and filling your Province with Blood and Slaughter, despoiled you of your Lands, discharged your Creditors of the Money they ought you, gave liberty to your Slaves, and set Tyrants in many places over you, and encouraged the Retreats of Thieves, and Pyrates in all places, both by Sea and Land.

Land. So that it was long ere you made tryal of the difference between the Protectors you had cast off, and those you had chosen; We have likewise inflicted some punishment on the Persons of the Authors of these disorders, but that is not enough; It is but just to impose some publick penalty that may be agreeable to your crime; But fear not from the Roman Clemency Massacres, rash confiscations, insurrections of slaves, or other barbarous actions of that Nature. We allow something to the Gracian Name, to the glory of Asia, and to our Ancient Friendship. I therefore condemn you only in the advance of five years tribute which you owe, together with the money expended in this War, and a certain Sum to be employed in the affairs of the Province. I my self will appoint the contribution of each City, and the time of payment, and take notice whoever will not obey I shall treat them as Enemies.

Having said these words he Assessed the several Sums, sent the Rolls to the Deputies, and appointed Commissioners for Collecting of the Moneys. Now they being Poor and already very much in Debt, and besides sorely oppressed with the quartering of Soldiers, were constrained to Mortgage to the Usurers, some their Theaters, others their places for Exercices, others their Forts or Gates or some Publick Building; Thus great Sums of Money were brought in to *Sylla*, and *Asia* groaned under its Calamities; for besides all this the Pyrates kept the Sea with such great Fleets, that they might almost compose so many perfect Armies, with which they publicly pillaged the Sea Coasts. *Mithridates* sent them first to spoil those places, the Dominion of which he was like to loose, but they were extreemly increased and grown formidable, not only to those that sailed on the Sea, but likewise to the Ports, Castles and Maritime Cities. So that *Fassos*, *Samos*, *Clazomene* and *Samothracia* were taken and sackt before *Sylla's* face, and 'tis said they took out of the Temple of *Samothrace*, Riches to the value of a thousand Talents. He would not relieve them, whether he thought them unworthy because of their infidelity, or because he hastned his return to *Rome*, by reason of the seditious, wherefore he passed into *Greece*, and from thence into *Italy*, with the greatest part of his Army. We have writ what he did there in the History of the Civil Wars, proceed we now to set forth how the second War began between *Mithridates* and the Romans.

XVIII.

Murena whom *Sylla* had left with *Fimbria*s two Legions to settle the remaining orders necessary in the province, sought only some occasion of war, out of a Passion to obtain the Honor of Triumph, and *Mithridates* being returned into his Kingdom made War upon the Colches, and the Bosphorans who had revolted against him. As for the Colches they only demanded *Mithridates* Son for their King, and having obtained it returned to their obedience. But the King having a suspicion that what they had done was by his Sons solicitation, sent for him, fettered him in chains of Gold, and soon after made him away, though he had served him well in *Asia* against *Fimbria*. As for those of *Bosphorus*, *Mithridates* set forth a Fleet and raised so powerful an Army, that such great preparations gave occasion to believe they were not made against the Bosphorans but against the Romans. For the King had not yet so absolutely quitted the possession of *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, but that it was with the reserve of some places. He had moreover entertained a suspicion that *Archelaus*, when he was in *Greece* had granted to *Sylla* conditions beyond what was reasonable, which

which that Captain perceiving was afraid, and fled to *Murena* for protection. He animated him so far against *Mithridates* that he presently took the field to be beforehand with him, and entering his Country by the way of *Cappadocia*, foraged as far as the Gates of *Comanes* the greatest City of the Kingdom, Celebrated for a famous and rich Temple, where having defeated some Horse of the Kings, the Deputies on his behalf came to him, remonstrating that by this Action he broke the Articles of Peace, to which he answered that he saw no Articles, and indeed, *Sylla* had drawn no writings, but only contenting himself with the Execution of the conditions, was departed out of the Province. *Murena* giving only this short Answer, pursued his Enterprize, and after having pillaged even the Consecrated Monies, returned to take his Winter quarters in *Cappadocia*. The King sent Ambassadors to the Senate, and to *Sylla* to make his complaint of *Murena*, who in the mean time forbore not crossing the River *Halis* (though very broad, and at that time extremely swollen by reason of the Rains) and sacking four hundred Villages of *Mithridates* Kingdom, without receiving any opposition from the King, who expected the return of his Ambassadors. So that the Roman General returned into *Phrygia* and *Galatia* with a great booty, where *Callidius* sent from *Rome* because of *Mithridates* complaints, came to meet him. He showed him no Ordinance of the Senate, but only told him before a great company there present that the Senate forbade him to do any injury to a King, with whom they had contracted a Peace, and after having said those words in publick, he entertained him a good while in private. *Murena* forbore nothing of his former Violence, but on the contrary presently caused his Army to March towards the Frontiers of *Mithridates* Kingdom, who seeing now it must of force come to an open War, commanded *Gordius* to possess himself of the Neighboring Villages. That General forthwith made provisions of beasts for burthen and munitions, and gathering together all the Country, and as many Soldiers as he could, went and encamped on the River, directly opposite to *Murena*, but neither one nor the other put themselves in a posture to fight, till such time as the King being come with a more powerful Army, there hapned a great Engagement: For the King having passed the River, notwithstanding all the Resistance of the Enemy forced *Murena* to give ground, and to secure himself on an eminence naturally fortified, from whence taking the byways of the Mountains, he recovered *Phrygia*, after having lost many of his people, either in the flight or in the Battel. The Fame of this great Victory, gained so suddenly, and as it were in passing, being soon spread abroad, in all places drew Multitudes of people to *Mithridates*. And he to return his thanks to *Jupiter Militaris*, after having driven out all the Garrisons *Murena* had left in *Cappadocia*, sacrificed to him according to the custom of the Country. The place where this Sacrifice is made is on a high mountain, on the top of which they raise a mighty pile for the Victims, to which the Kings bring the first Wood, then they raise another smaller Pile on the top of that, whereon they pour Milk, Honey, Oyl and Wine, and all sorts of Odoriferous Drugs. At the foot of the Pile is a Feast made for the Assistants, like to those the Kings of *Persia* were accustomed to make at *Pasargada*, and after all they set fire to the Pile, the flame of which rises so high that it is ordinarily seen a * thousand Furlongs, and the fire so heats the Air thereabout, that the place is not to be approached for some days after. Thus Sacrificed *Mithridates*. But *Sylla* judging that it was a blemish to his Honor to have the War still continued against a King, with whom he

* An hundred
twenty and five
Miles.

himself had concluded a peace, prevailed to have *Gabinus* sent to *Murena*, to order him positively to give over this War, and to reconcile *Mithridates* with *Ariobarzanes*. They met therefore together in a place where *Mithridates* delivered to *Ariobarzanes* in Hostage one of his Sons of four years old, to the end, that part of *Cappadocia* where he had placed Garrisons, might remain to him with some augmentation, and that being agreed he made a feast for all the company, where he proposed a reward for those who excelled either in Drinking, Eating, Jestings or Singing, and in short all sorts of Divertisements, from which only *Gabinus* excused himself. Thus ended the second War between *Mithridates* and the Romans, after having lasted three years. Sometime after the King finding himself at peace, subdued the Bosphorans. And made King of that Nation one of his Sons called *Machares*. After that, he invaded the Acheans, which are on the Frontiers of the Colches, and who as some say, are the remainder of those who returning from the Wars of *Troy*, were brought by chance to that Coast. But having lost one half of his Army partly by Ambushes, partly in set battel, or by the Extremity of the Cold, he returned into his Kingdom, from whence he sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, to ratifie by writing the Articles of the Peace. *Ariobarzanes* for his part whether of his own motion, or set on by some other, sent likewise to complain against him, that he had not restored to him *Cappadocia*, for *Mithridates* still withheld a good part. Whereupon *Sylla* ordained that *Mithridates* should absolutely quit *Cappadocia*, which he did, and then again sent Ambassadors to *Rome* to demand a Ratification of the Treaties. But because *Sylla* being dead, no person would move it in the Senate, he underhand engaged his Son in Law *Tigranes* to make an irruption into *Cappadocia*, as done of himself, which yet was not so closely carried, but the Romans had knowledge of it. The Armenian however entred violently into *Cappadocia*, and carried away into *Armenia* three hundred thousand men whom he imployed with other Country People in Tilling the Land. He had not yet taken the title of *Armenia*, but now he assumed it, and caused *Tigranocerta* to be called by his own Name, that is to say the City of *Tigranes*; these things passed in *Asia*.

XIX. But *Sertorius* having sieged upon *Spain*, not only made an insurrection in that Province, but among all the Neighboring People, against the Romans, and composed a kind of Senate of those of his Faction; of the Number of his Senators, there were two of the name of *Lucius*, the one *Manius* the other *Fanius*, who gave advice to *Mithridates*, that if he made an Alliance with *Sertorius*, he might soon become Master of the greatest part of *Asia*, and the Nations thereunto confining. The King suffered himself to be perswaded, and sent Ambassadors to him, whom he caused to be brought into his Senate to receive Audience, and after having spoken advantageously of his own glory, the regulation of which had reached even to the Kingdom of *Pontus*, so that he beheld himself in a Condition to make War upon the Romans, both in the East and West, he made an Alliance with *Mithridates* in favor of which he gave him in *Asia*, *Bithynia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, and sent *M. Varinus* to be his General, and the two *Lucii* to serve him as Counsellors. And indeed they counselled him to undertake this third War; wherein he lost all his Empire, *Sertorius* being dead in *Spain*, and the Romans having sent against him two Generals, first *Lucullus*, who commanded the fleet under *Sylla*, and after him *Pompey* under whose Conduct all the Estates of *Mithridates*

thridates fell under the Roman Power, and with them all the Neighboring Nations as far as *Euphrates*, *Pompey* taking from this way opportunity to reduce them. *Mithridates* then who had already made trial of the Roman Arms, and hoped for no favor, began this War, with great Gaiety and Courage, laboring might and main in his preparations, as one resolved to overcome or perish. He employ'd the rest of that Summer, and all Winter in cutting down Materials, and building of Shipping, and forging of Arms, and sent into his Sea Ports two Millions of *Minæ's* of * Wheat; besides his old Troops he had presently great Numbers of Auxiliaries. Those he raised in *Asia*, were composed of Chalybes, Armenians, Scythians, Taurians, Achæans, Heniochiens, Leucosyrians and those people inhabiting on the Banks of the River *Thermodoon* called *Amazones*. Those he leaved in Europe were Sarmatians, Basilides, Jaziges, Coralles, of all the People of *Thrace*, near the River *Ister*, and the Mountains *Rhodope* and *Hemus*, and likewise the Basternes the most Valiant Nation of all. Thus comprizing the *Europeans*, his whole force was found to amount to one hundred and forty thousand Foot, and sixteen thousand Horse, besides Multitudes of Pioneers, Sutlers, and Merchants that followed the Army: Spring being come he took a review of his Fleet, sacrificed to *Jupiter Militaris* according to Custom, and caused to be cast into the Sea a set of white Horses Harnassed, as an offering to *Neptune*, and after all that marched into *Paphlagonia* with his Forces, under the command of *Taxiles* and *Eumocrates* his Lieutenant Generals; being arrived there, he made an Oration to his Army, speaking proudly of his Predecessors and of himself, how from a little Kingdom he had made it a mighty Empire, without ever having been overcome by the Romans, where himself was in Person. In conclusion he declared against their unsatiable and unlimited ambition, which had even reduced *Italy* it self, their Native Country to Slavery. Then he began to speak of their Infidelity towards him, refusing to ratifie the Peace by writing, that they might be at liberty upon the first opportunity to renew the War; and then after having laid down the reasons that induced him to the War, he began to talk wonders of his own preparations, and to speak with contempt of the Roman affairs, whom *Sertorius* overpressed in *Spain*, and which in *Italy* were become deplorable by domestick Seditions. 'Tis for these reasons, said he, that though the *Pyrates* have so long reigned at Sea, they have not been able to take any Course with them, for they have no Allies that assist them, nor no Subjects but those they keep in awe by force of Arms. See you not here said he (pointing to the two *Lucii*) their most considerable Citizens, who have declared themselves Enemies of their Country to make an Alliance with us. Having encouraged his Army by these words, he made an Irruption into *Bithynia*, which *Nicomedes* lately deceased without Issue had given by will to the Roman people. *Cotta* was at present Governor, but being a heartless Man he fled to *Chalcedon* with all his Forces. Thus *Bithynia* fell once more under the power of *Mithridates*, the Romans being all retired with *Cotta* to *Chalcedon*. The King advancing to assault that City, *Cotta* who was nothing of a Soldier durst not come to an incounter with him, but his Admiral called *Nudus*, drew into the field with one half of the Army, and posted himself in an advantageous place; yet he was driven thence, and forced to fly towards one of the Gates of the City, where every one pressing to enter, the Enemies that pursued them, threw no dart in vain upon a Multitude so crouded together, those which guarded the Walls being in fear for themselves, let down the Portcullis, and drawing up *Nudus* and some

Some other Officers by ropes, left the rest to mercy, who were slain in the midst, between Friends and Enemies, stretching out their hands in vain to one and the other. *Mithridates* thinking it best to pursue his good fortune, cauled his Fleet the same day to come about to the mouth of the Port, and having broken the Iron Chain, that crossed it, burnt four of the Enemies Ships, and Tow'd out the rest, about sixty in Number, at their Sterns, whilst neither *Nudus* nor *Cotta* endeavored to prevent them, not daring to stir out of the Circuit of their Walls. There died three thousand Romans amongst whom was *L. Manlius* a Senator, *Mithridates* lost only twenty Soldiers of his Balternes, who were most forward in the assault of the Port.

XX. Soon after *Lucius Lucullus* sent to this War, brought with him one Legion from the City, to which those two of *Fimbria's*, and two others being joyned, so that he might have about thirty thousand Foot, and sixteen hundred Horse, he went and encamped near *Mithridates*, who besieged *Cysica*, where having understood by the Runaway's that the King had about three hundred thousand Men, and that what Provisions he had were partly brought by Sea, and the remainder by those that went out on Forrage, he turned himself to his people, and said he would soon have his Enemies at discretion, bidding them remember what he now told them. He observed after this a mountain very proper to encamp on, of which if he could possess himself he might have abundance of Victuals, and on the contrary the Enemy would want. Wherefore he designed to post himself there, thinking it of infinite importance to overcome without danger. There was only one very narrow avenue to it, of which *Mithridates* was sieled and had placed there a strong guard, according to the advice of *Taxiles*, and his other Captains, but *Lucius Manius*, who had been Arbitrator of the Alliance betwixt *Mithridates* and *Sertorius* after the last was dead, sent privately a man to *Lucullus*, and having got his word for himself perswaded the King to let the Romans pass, and incamp where they pleased, because *Fimbria's* Legions who had fought under *Sertorius* had a design to yield themselves to him, and would do it in few days, and that there was no need of the expence of blood or sweat, when they might vanquish without fighting. Whereupon *Mithridates* doubting nothing, accorded very imprudently to this advice, suffering the Romans to pass in all security by the strait, and fortifie against himself a high mountain, of which being once Masters, provisions might freely be brought to them from behind, whilst a Lake, Mountains and Rivers hindring the bringing of any by Land to *Mithridates*, it soon began to grow scarce; besides he had no way left to make a retreat by, nor could he by force draw *Lucullus* from his post, having let go his advantage, and to all this Winter approached, when no more Provision could come by Sea. Now *Lucullus* remembered his friends of the promise he had made them, showing them the thing almost done. Not but that *Mithridates* possibly might, having such a Multitude of Men, have forced his passage through the midst of his Enemies: but he chose rather to employ his power against *Cysica*, believing that the taking of that City would prove a remedy both against the difficulty of the way out, and the scarcity of Provision; And because his Army was so vastly numerous he undertook at the same time all manner of ways to storm it. He inclosed the Port where Ships were with a double Wall, drew Lines of Circumvallation about the rest of the City, raised a great Number of Platforms, Built Towers of Wood, and Batteries covered with Testudoes and

and other Engins, of which one which was the greatest was called *Hellepolis*, one hundred Cubits large, on which was a tower furnished with instruments to cast stones, and darts of all sorts. He likewise drew up close to the Port, two Gallies joyned together, which bore a tower from which they might lay a bridge to the wall. Things thus prepared he caused three thousand Cylicenian prisoners, to be embarked upon Vessels, and sent under the walls, who when they came near, stretched forth their hands to their fellow Citizens, beseeching them to have compassion of them in the danger wherein they were. But *Pisistratus* Governor of the place caused them to be told from the wall, that being now reduced under anothers power, they ought to resolve with themselves, and with constancy undergo their misfortune. This way not succeeding, *Mithridates* caused to advance towards the wall, the Engine built on the two Gallies, and having presently let fall the Bridge; four Soldiers leaped upon it and gained the wall. The Cylicenians surpris'd at this Novelty, seem'd at first to give a little ground, but seeing no more hastned to follow them, they took heart, and made those four leap from the top to the bottom. Then pouring pitch on the Gallies, and casting fire on it, they forced the besiegers to retire; and get off their Engine. Thus the assault from the Seaward proved unsuccessful. The same day a third attempt was made, they brought at the same time, all the Batteries up to the Wall on the Land side, but the inhabitants bravely defended themselves running from side to side, and from one place to another, so wherever the Assault was most violent, they crash'd in pieces the Engines with great Stones which they let fall upon them, or turned off their blow with Cords, wherewith they intangled them, or rendred them ineffectual by placing before them Sacks of Wool hung over the wall, quenching their flaming Darts with Water and Vinegar, and breaking off the force of the others by placing before them bundles of Cloths, and Coverlids. In short, they put in practice all that the wit of Man could invent to defend themselves; yet all the pains they took could not prevent one part of the Wall, to which the besiegers had applied fire, from falling before night, but the fury of the flame being then so great that they durst not attempt to enter, and the besieged the same night built up another Rampart from which they defended themselves, till such time as there arose a mighty tempest, which utterly broke to pieces all the Kings Engins, and made them useles. 'Tis said that *Jupiter* gave this City in Dower to *Proserpina*, whom the Cylicenians adore above all other Divinities, and that during the siege, her Feast day on which they used to Sacrifice to her a Black Cow being come, and they having none of that hair had made one of Paste to offer in Sacrifice to her, when behold at the same time a Black Cow coming from the Sea, and cutting through the waters, pass'd over the booms that were drawn cross the Port, and entering into it, ran through the City directly to the Temple, and stopt before the Altar, on which the Inhabitants sacrificed it with hopes of Relief. *Mithridates* Friends upon this, advis'd him to raise his siege from before this Sacred City, but he would not be moved. He got up to Mount *Dindymus* which is above the City, from whence he caused to be continued a Terrass or Platform directly to the Walls, upon which he made Towers to be erected, he likewise wrought hard to undermine the Walls, and having many useles Horses, some too lean for want of Forrage, and others lame for want of Shoo's, he sent them back to *Bithynia*. *Lucullus* pursu'd them, and overtaking them at a passage of the River *Rhyndace* made a great slaughter, took fifteen thousand Prisoners, six thousand

land Horses for Service, and a great Number of Beasts for Burthen. Whilst these things passed at *Cisica*, *Eumachus* one of *Mithridates* Generals making inroads into *Phrygia*, with a flying Army, slew a great Number of Romans with their Wives and Children, subdued the Pisidians the Isaurians and *Cilicia*, till such time as *Deiotarus* one of the Tetrarchs of *Galatia* drawing into the Field to pursue him, at last overtook him, defeated him, and slew a great quantity of his people. Mean while Winter being come, *Mithridates* found himself deprived of those few Provisions that came by Sea, so that Famine surprised his Army, some dyed, and others lived on dead Carcases, after the manner of the Barbarians, others again feeding on nothing but Herbs, contracted mortal distempers, besides the stink of the Corps that lay in the Fields unburied brought the Plague amongst them. Yet for all this *Mithridates* courage failed not, for he hoped at last to take the City by the Terrass he was rayfing from Mount *Dindymus*. But when the Inhabitants had undermined that and burnt all his Engines, and that knowing his Soldiers were weakned by Famine, they began to vex him with continual Sallies, he resolved to raise his Siege, he therefore embarqued by night to go with his Fleet to *Para*, and his Land Army took their march towards *Lampfacus*, but because the River *Æsopus* was more swoln then ordinary, *Lucullus* overtook them at the Passage, slew a great Number, and pursued the rest as far as that Town, to which having laid Siege, *Mithridates* sent Shipping thither, and brought away both Soldiers and Inhabitants by Sea. After this he left in one part of his Ships, ten thousand chosen men, commanded by that *Varinus* whom *Sertorius* had sent to him. *Alexander* the Paphlagonian, and *Dionysius* the Eunuch, and himself went towards *Nicomedia*, with the rest which where the greatest Number, but the greatest part of the one and other, perished by storm: Thus the Cisiceniens so powerfully assailed saved themselves, by their own Valour, and by the assistance of *Lucullus*, who starved the Enemies Army. Wherefore to this day they exhibit solemn Plays in memory of him which they call Lucullians.

XXI.

Now the Consul after having so well succeeded by Land, by means of the Famine, distributed those Ships he had caused to come from *Asia*, to his Lieutenants, of whom one called *Triarius* made a descent at *Apamia*, forced the City, and made a horrible Slaughter of the Inhabitants who had taken Sanctuary in the Temples. The other called *Barba* made himself Master of *Nicea*, and *Prutiade* seated on a Mountain, both deserted by *Mithridates* Garrisons, and then keeping the Sea, went and took thirteen of the Enemies Ships out of the very port of the *Achaens*. And having met near *Lemnos* with *Varinus*, *Alexander* and *Dionysius* in a desert Isle, where is to be seen the Altar of *Philoctetes*, tyed about with a brazen Serpent, a Bow and a Corflet, tyed about with Bands, which are the Monuments of his misfortune. He made directly towards them, without knowing who they were, but seeing they stood firm, he sent off only two Ships to draw the Enemies to a Battel, who would not quit the road, but were content to defend themselves from the Land, he therefore sent other Ships about, who putting ashore some foot on the other side of the Island, he by that means forced them again to betake themselves to their Ships, but they not daring to venter out to Sea, for fear of *Lucullus*, but coasting along, were beaten both by Sea and Land, with a great slaughter, and a strange discomfiture. The three Commanders were taken, hid in a Cave. *Dionysius* having drunk poison he had with him dyed instantly. *Varinus* was slain by *Lucullus* his order,

order, who thought it improper to lead a Roman Senator in Triumph, but *Alexander* was reserved for that Pomp. This done *Lucullus* gave advice to the Senate by letter, which he sent with Laurels, according to the custom of the Victorious, and took his march towards *Bithynia*. As for *Mithridates* as he sailed towards *Pontus*, he was twice battered by Tempest, whereby he lost ten thousand men, and sixty Ships, the rest being dispersed as the Wind carried them, and he, the Admiral being split, contrary to the advice of his Friends, embarked in a Pirates Vessel, which brought him to *Sinope*, from thence he went to *Amisa*, and there dispatched away into *Armenia* to his Son in law *Tigranes* and into *Bosphorus* to *Machares*, his Son, to levy speedily Auxiliary Forces; and deputed *Diocles* to the Neighbouring Scythians with presents and a great Sum of Money. But he went both with Presents and Money, and surrendered himself to *Lucullus*, who in the mean time pursuing his Victory still, advanced with his Army, subduing and plundering all as he went, so that being entered into a rich Country, and which for a long time had known no War, he found every thing so extraordinary cheap, that a Slave was sold for four Drachms, an Ox for a Drachm, and Goats, Sheep and Cloths at a proportionable rate. At length he besieged *Amisa* and *Eupatoria*, which *Mithridates* caused to be built near *Amisa*, calling it by his own Name, and designing it for the residence of the Kings. He assaulted it with Towers, Terrasses, and Mines so vast, that they oftentimes fought underground, besides the besieged having met with their Works, and opened them from the City side, did with Hives of Bees drive against the Labourers, Bears, and other Wild Beasts: But yet he found more difficulty at the siege of *Amisa*, for the Inhabitants defended themselves gallantly, making frequent Sallies, and provoking the Besiegers to fight man to man. Besides *Mithridates* supplied them with as much Provision, Arms and Soldiers as he pleased, which he sent from *Cabires*, where he spent the Winter, in gathering together another Army, which he soon found to amount to forty thousand foot and four thousand Horse. About the beginning of the Spring *Lucullus* took the Field, and took up towards the Mountains to march against the King, who to hinder the Consuls passage had placed there very good Troops, with orders to give him notice by fires of whatever passed. They were commanded by *Phanix*, a man of reputation, and of the Blood Royal, who soon gave the Signal of *Lucullus* coming according to appointment, but went and delivered up himself and his Forces to him, so that having securely passed the Mountains he descended to *Cabires*, where being defeated in a Battel of the Horse, he again recovered the Mountain, *Pompey* Colonel of his Cavalry was wounded and brought before the King, who asking him what he would do for him, if he gave him his life. *Much* (said he) *provided you become a Friend to Lucullus, but as long as you are his Enemy, I have nothing to say.* Upon this answer the Barbarians would have killed him: but the King prevented them saying he would never injure Valour forsaken by Fortune. After this he several times drew up his Army in Battel in the Plain, and seeing that *Lucullus* would not descend, he observed on all sides how he might gain the Mountain. Mean while a certain Scythian called *Olcab*, who had sometime before fled out of the Kings Army to *Lucullus*, and had saved a great part of his Forces in the last Battel of the Horse, and therefore eat at the Generals Table, and was of his Counsel, and had knowledge of his secrets, came to his Tent, as he reposed in the heat of the day, and would needs enter, having no Arms about him, but a little Dagger which he usually wore; But when the Guards stopped him he grew

angry telling them that there was a necessity to wake *Lucullus*, but they told him again, that nothing was more necessary for *Lucullus* as life. Whereupon he mounted on horseback, and went and surrendered himself to *Mithridates*, whether it were that he believed himself suspected, or that he was angry at the injury he imagined he had received, he presently discovered to the King another Scythian called *Sobadacus*, who being arrested, was accused of a design of going over to *Lucullus*, who stayed still on the Mountain; for he would not descend into the plain, because the Enemies were stronger in Horse, so that seeing no other way to go to *Mithridates* he found in a Cave a Huntsman, who knew all the ways, under whose Conduct he came, by unknown passages just over the head of *Mithridates*, from whence he descended, and without entering the plain where the Enemies Horse lay, he went and pitched his Camp, behind a certain Channel full of Water; being there encamped he would soon have been in want of Provision, but he sent for Corn as far as *Cappadocia*, and was continually skirmishing with the Enemy, till *Mithridates* one day, as those of his party fled issuing out of his Camp, ran to meet them, and after having reviled them with reproachful words, forced them to turn head again, which struck such a terror into the Romans that they fled, and all in a breath run up to the Mountain, continuing their flight a long time after the Kings party had given over the chase of them, for every one took the companion of his flight for an Enemy, so much had fear distracted them. *Mithridates* put up with this success sent through all the Territories under his Dominion, news of that Victory, and drew off the greatest and best part of his Horse, giving them Order to Ranack *Lucullus* his Forragers, as they brought Corn from *Cappadocia*, hoping to reduce him to as great necessity of Victuals as himself had been at *Cysica*. And indeed it was a plausible Design to cut off *Lucullus* Provisions which could be brought to him from no other part but *Cappadocia*, but the Kings Horsemen meeting with the Vanguard of the Forragers in certain straits, where their Horses could hardly do any service, had not the patience to stay till they were come into the open plain. The Romans presently put themselves into order, and favored as they were by the advantage of the place, killed a great many of their Enemies, drove others down the Precipices, and put all the rest to the Rout. Some saved themselves by night in the Camp, and believing they only were escaped made the noise of this defeat, though truly it were great, much greater then indeed it was. And because this news came sooner to *Mithridates* then to *Lucullus*, the King judging that after the loss of his Cavalry, the Enemy would not fail to fall upon him, grew fearful, and disposed himself to remove thence, of which at the same instant he gave notice to his friends, that were in his Tent; But they without staying till he published the march, sent every one out of the Camp before day, his Equipage, with such hast that at the Gate the Baggage-horses overthrew one another. This being observed by the Soldiers who knew those that led the Horses, their fear increased their suspicion, and the whole Army thinking themselves wronged, that they had not all notice of it, in a fury flew to the Palisade, broke it down, and spread themselves in disorder through the Plain, every one flying what way he thought best, notwithstanding all their Generals and Officers could do to prevent it. The King himself could not appease this Tumult and Rage; for when he perceived it, he went out of his Tent to say something, but not being listened to by any one, he threw himself on the ground in the midst of the croud, from whence being taken up, and set on Horseback

back, he fled by the way of the Mountains, with very few in his Train. *Lucullus* having intelligence of the Victory of the Forragers, and seeing the flight of his Enemies, sent the greatest part of his Horse to give them chase, and encompassed with his Foot those who remained in the Camp prepared to receive the assault. He had before strictly forbid the Soldiers to plunder, till the Enemy were utterly defeated: but when they beheld so many Vessels of Gold and Silver, and so much costly Rayment, they quite forgot his Orders. *Mithridates* himself had been taken, had they not cut open, and straw'd abroad some Males full of Gold, wherewith a Mule was loaden, which while those that followed him, busied themselves to gather up; he escaped to *Comanes*, from whence he went with two thousand Horse towards *Tigranes*, who would not see him, but gave him some Castles for his abode, and caused him to be treated and served like a King. Insomuch, that despairing of ever entering again into his Kingdom, he sent an Eunuch, called *Bacchus*, to his Seraglio, to put to death in any manner whatever, his Sisters, his Wives, and his Concubines. They became their own Executioners, and either by Steel, Poison or a Halter ended their Lives, of which the Governours of the Garrisons left by *Mithridates* having advice, surrendred (all but a very few) to *Lucullus*.

Lucullus after this seeing himself Master of the Province, went about to all the Cities settling his orders. And causing his Fleet to come before the maritime places, he soon took *Amastris*, *Heraclea*, and all the rest except *Sinope*, which for some time generously defended it self, and got the better of him in a Sea fight. But when the Inhabitants saw they must be taken, they set on fire their largest Ships, and going on board their lighter Vessels, fled. Sometime after he restored them their liberty, being thereto advertised by his Dream. 'Tis said that *Autolycus* the Companion of *Hercules*, in his expedition against the *Amazones* being driven by tempest into *Sinope*, reigned there, and that after his death, his Statue was revered as a God, and uttered Oracles. Those of *Sinope* willing to have their God along with them, when they fled, wrapt it up in Linnen, and tyed it round with Cords, to carry it away the more secretly, but though *Lucullus* knew nothing of it, nor no one living had given him notice, he thought he saw that God calling to him, and on the morrow as some passed by him, carrying that Statue so bound up, he commanded them to unfold the Linnen that covered it, and beheld the same Image that had appeared to him. So this Dream proved advantagious to the Cittizens of *Sinope*. *Lucullus* likewise restored to liberty the Cittizens of *Amisa*, who like the others had escaped away by Sea. He had heard tell that in the same time when the *Athenians* were Masters of the Sea, they had sent thither a Colony, and established a Government of which the people had the Administration, that afterwards that City falling under the Dominion of the Kings of *Persia*, *Alexander* first restored them to that liberty which afterwards the Kings of *Pontus* had deprived them of. Whereupon he took pity on them and imitating the goodness of *Alexander*, and in favour of the *Attick* people, he made it free, and gave order that the Inhabitants as well of *Amisa* as *Sinope*, should forthwith return to their dwellings. After these two places were thus taken by *Lucullus*, and restored to liberty, one of the Sons of *Mithridates*, called *Machares* King of the *Bosphorus*, having sent him a Crown of Gold, he received him into the friendship of the people of *Rome*. Afterward he dispatched Messengers to *Tigranes*, to demand *Mithridates*, and then

XXII.

then marching towards *Assis*, which still owed one fourth part of their fruits of the fine adjudged by *Sylla*, he imposed a Tribute upon them according to the Value of their houses, and the number of their Slaves, withal sacrificing to the Gods of Victory, as if his Enemies had been already totally overcome. The Sacrifices performed, he marched forward with two chosen Legions, and five hundred Horse, to make War upon *Tigranes*, because he would not deliver up *Mithridates* to him. As soon as his Army had passed the *Euphrates* he went on without doing any injury to the *Barbarians*, save only making them pay contribution, for the people of these Countries were Enemies to War, and would not engage themselves in the differences between *Tigranes* and *Lucullus*. No one durst give advice to *Tigranes* of *Lucullus* design, for one unhappy man that adventured but to speak of it, was hanged up as a disturber of the publick Peace, but at last when he saw he came on, he sent *Mithrobarzanes* before with two thousand Horse, to oppose his march, and gave orders to *Manceus* to make hast to *Tigranocerta* to defend that place. This King (as we have said before) had caused this City to be built for the Glory of his Name, and to the intent that he might people it with Persons of Quality and Condition, had by Edict declared that all moveables were not brought thither, should be confiscated. The Walls were fifty Cubits high, at the foot of which there were Stables quite round. He had likewise in the Suburbs built a most stately Palace, with magnificent Gardens, and a great number of Channels full of Fish, with Parks for Beasts, and some distance from thence a strong and beautiful Citadel: All these things he committed to *Manceus* Guards, whilst he on all sides levyed Forces to compose an Army. Mean while *Lucullus* meeting with *Mithrobarzanes*, soon defeated him, and gave him chase; and *Sextilius* having shut up *Manceus* in *Tigranocerta*, pillaged the Royal Palace without the Walls, besieged the City, planted his Batteries, and set the Miners to work. Whilst *Sextilius* was busied at this siege, *Tigranes* had gathered together two hundred and fifty thousand Foot, and fifty thousand Horse; about six thousand of which he sent to *Tigranocerta*, who opening a passage through the midst of the Roman Army, rescued from thence the Kings Concubines, and carried them away with them. For his part he marched against *Lucullus*, with the rest of his Forces, where *Mithridates* came to him, and advised him not to come to a set battel with the Romans, but to keep the Field with his Horse, and wait all the Country round about their Army: so that, if possible he might serve him in the same manner, as *Lucullus* had done his Army before *Cisica*, and destroy them without fighting. But the Barbarian laughing at this advice, continued his March always in order of Battel, and seeing the small number of the Romans, said in a Jeer: *If they be Ambassadors, they are a great many, but if they be Enemies they are very few.* *Lucullus* having taken notice of a Hill behind *Tigranes* Army, gave order to his Cavalry to go charge the Enemy in Front, and to betake themselves to flight, as soon as they had drawn them on to a Battel, to the end, the Barbarians might break their Ranks to pursue them, whilst he with the Infantry, taking a compass, went and gained the Hill, without being perceived by the Enemy: When he saw them scattered and in disorder, in chase of his Horse, as if they had already been victorious; and their Baggage remaining at the foot of the Hill, he crying out *the Victory is ours fellow Soldiers*, went down, and first of all charged upon the Train and Baggage Horses, who forthwith betaking themselves to flight, pressed upon the Foot, and the Foot did the like upon the Horse;

so that the whole Army was immediately in a rout ; for on one side the Roman Horse turning head against those, who had separated themselves from the main Body to pursue them, cut them in pieces ; and on the other side, the Baggage Horses, as if they had been thrust forward, overthrew all they met with ; and the whole multitude pressing one upon another, by reason of their great number, without knowing the reason of the disorder, the Romans made a wonderful slaughter. Not a man stopt now to plunder, for *Lucullus* had expressly forbid it, with severe threats on the transgressors. Wherefore trampling under foot Collars and Chains of Gold, they followed the Massacre for the space of * sixscore Furlongs, *Fifty miles* till night coming on, they returned back, and spoiled the dead, by permission then given them by *Lucullus*. After this defeat, *Manceus*, Governor of *Tigranocerta*, disarmed all the Mercenary Greek Soldiers in the City, having entertained some suspicion of them : Wherefore they fearing to be likewise made Prisoners, got them Clubs, and trooped together ; so that they parted not one from another, either marching or standing still. And when *Manceus* came to charge them with some armed Barbarians, they wrapt their left Arm in their Coats instead of Bucklers ; and running desperately into the midst of their Enemies, slew a great number, whose Arms they divided amongst them ; when they thought they had Arms enough to serve their turn, they went and seized upon some Towers that flanked the Walls, from whence they called to the besiegers, and helping them to mount upon the Wall, made them Masters of the City. Thus *Tigranocerta* newly built, whither out of meer vanity Inhabitants were forced to come from all parts, became a prize, and enriched the Army with a most prodigious booty. *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, in the mean time, gave orders to set on foot another Army, of which *Mithridates* had the command, because the other thought him more capable, being instructed by the experience of so many losses ; they sent likewise to demand assistance from the Parthians ; but *Lucullus* having likewise dispatched to that King, to request him to assist him with his Forces, rather than the others, or at least to be but a looker on ; he in particular promised both parties, but kept his word neither with one nor the other. There was no City but *Mithridates* set on work to forge Arms, nor scarce a person in *Armenia* capable to bear them, but came and enrolled himself in these new Levies. But he thought it not best to employ such a multitude, he chose only seventy thousand Foot, and half as many Horse of the ablest Men, and dismissed the rest : And after having distributed them into Companies and Regiments, almost according to the Italian Discipline ; he gave it in charge to the old Pontick Soldiers to exercise them. They were no sooner in the Field, but *Lucullus* appeared resolved to fight : but *Mithridates* kept firm upon an Eminence, where he had posted himself with all his Foot, and the greatest part of his Horse ; and *Tigranes* being gone with the rest to charge the Romans, who were foraging abroad was defeated, which gave liberty to the Romans, for the future, to fetch Corn without any fear, to forrage in the very face of *Mithridates*, and to draw nearer to his Camp. At last the Kings were resolved to block up *Lucullus* in the midst between them ; to this end *Tigranes* took the Field, but the dust discovering his March, the General, who knew their design, drew off the flower of his Horse, with Orders to go as far as they could to meet the Armenian, and to charge him before he could put his people in order. Mean while he did all he could to draw *Mithridates* to a battel, he attempted the making a Ditch round about the Hill, but he could not oblige

him to descend, till Famine beginning to afflict both Armies, they all retreated without doing any thing. *Tigranes* into the heart of *Armenia*, and *Mithridates* into what was left him of the Kingdom of *Pontus*, with four thousand Men of his own, and as many of *Tigranes*. *Lucullus* followed them in the Rear; but being himself oppressed with want of Provision, he returned back again: and *Mithridates* having made a swifter March than could be imagined, surprised *Fabius*, whom the Consul had left to command there, and forced him to betake himself to flight, after having five hundred of his Men slain; yet he returned to the charge, strengthened with the assistance of all the Slaves that followed the Army, to whom he gave their liberty, and held out the fight all that day, till such time as *Mithridates* wounded with the blow of a Stone on the Knee, and with an Arrow below the Eye, was suddenly carried out of the Battel. This occasioned the passing away of some days without fighting, whether the Enemies were in pain for the Kings health, or whether their wounds required rest. However it were, the King was soon cured, being drest with medicaments composed of the Poyson of Serpents, by the *Agbares*, Scythians by Nation, who for this purpose always followed the Court. To *Fabius* succeeded *Triarius*, who brought a new Army of *Lucullus* his Forces, with which he presently marched against *Mithridates*; but as they were ready to engage, both sides were forced to part, there arising such a furious Tempest, as had never being seen in the memory of man; it threw down the Tents of both Camps, carryed the Beasts of Burthen out of the way, and likewise took up some Soldiers and threw them among the Precipices. Upon the Rumour of *Lucullus* his coming, *Triarius* desirous to do some memorable action whilst he commanded, went about break of day to make an assault upon *Mithridates* Out-guards. They fought a long time with equal Fortune, but at last the King making an onset with the Wing in which he was, began to overcome, broke the Romans and drove their infantry into a miry Valley, where the Soldiers not able to stand upright, suffered themselves to be killed without any resistance. After which pursuing his advantage he fell into the Rear of the Cavalry, to whom he gave chase with much eagerness, when a Roman * Centurion Galloping by his side as if he had been one of his Train, gave him a great wound with his Sword in the thigh, for he was doubtful if he should have struck him in the Reins he should not have pierced his Armour. The Roman was presently cut in pieces by the Guards, and *Mithridates* carried into the Rear of his Army. However they ceased not pursuing the Victory, which had been much greater, had not those who were about the King, caused the retreat to be founded. This surprised those who followed the Chase, and troubled them strangely; for they were fearful, lest some misfortune were happened elsewhere, till such time as the thing being known, they came and gathered in Throngs about the wounded King, in the midst of the Plain, where *Timothæus* his Chirurgion having stopt the blood, showed them him standing, as *Alexander* was in the *Indies* shown to the Macedonians, who were in fear for his safety. *Mithridates* himself would needs be drest upon the Arlop of a Ship, to the end every one might see him, where being somewhat recovered, he reproved those who had caused the Retreat to be founded, and the same day caused his Army to march towards the Roman Camp, which they for fear had already deserted, there were found among the dead, four and twenty Tribunes, and one hundred and fifty Centurions, nor ever did the Romans in one only defeat loose so many Officers. After this Victory, the King retired into *Armenia* called the less, carrying
along

* Centurion of an
legion.

along with him all Provisions that he could transport, and corrupting what he left, lest if *Lucullus* came into that Country, he should make use of them. At the same time a certain Roman senator called *Attilius* who for fear lest process should be made against him, had escaped to *Mithridates*, and had by him been received with all possible demonstrations of friendship, was convicted of a plot against his person. Yet he would not out of respect to his former Dignity, let him be put to the Torture, but was content to let him suffer an ordinary death: but his accomplices were cruelly tormented, save only those of his freed man, to whom he had communicated his design, whom the King let go because they had only obeyed their Master. As for *Lucullus* he soon was come up to *Mithridates*, and was now upon the point to engage with him, when the Proconsul of *Asia* sent to proclaim through all the Province, that the Senate blamed *Lucullus* for having spun out the War so long and therefore dismissed the Army, injoyning the Soldiers not to stay any longer upon pain of confiscation of their Goods. The news of this Ordinance being come to the Camp, most began to file off, there remaining only with *Lucullus* some poor Wretches who having nothing to loose, feared no confiscations. Thus *Lucullus* no more then those before him, could not make an end of this War, for the Allies being revolted in *Italy*, and the City afflicted with Famine, by reason that the Pyrates were Masters of the Sea, it was not thought proper to embroyl themselves in so great a War, till they were delivered from the present Inconveniences.

Mithridates having advice hereof entred into *Cappadocia*, and began to reestablish himself in his own Kingdom, which the Romans dissembled till such time as the Sea was cleared of Pyrates: but after the Pyrates were defeated by *Pompey*, and that he was come into *Asia*, they renewed the War against *Mithridates*, giving that great Captain Commission to be their General. Wherefore what this great man acted on the Sea before he bore Arms against *Mithridates*, making a part of that expedition, and not relating to another History, I am of the mind to make a Summary recital of it in the place. *Mithridates* at the beginning of his first War against the Romans having made himself Master of *Asia*, because *Sylla* was then imployed in *Greece* about Affairs of importance, believing that his Dominion there would be of no long durance, spoiled all that Country, and continued all those Cruelties we have related. He likewise at the same time sent forth Pyrates who at first coasting up and down with a few small Barques, only got some booty, but the War growing hot, they encreased in Number, and fitted out great Ships, and afterwards finding a sweetness in the vastness of their gain, whether the King were overcome, or whether he had made Peace, or whether he were in flight, they continued their Robberies; for they said that having lost their Goods, and abandoned their Countries by reason of the War, necessity had driven them from the Land, to seek their Fortune for the future by Sea. They elected among themselves Arch-pirates, who commanded a certain Number, as if it had been a lawful War. They assaulted weak Cities, and sometimes very strong ones too, whose Walls they either scaled or threw down. They pillaged them after they had taken them, carrying to their places of retreat all the rich men they took, to make them pay their ransom, and giving their Crimes honourable names they shook off the name of Pyrates, and called themselves Soldiers adventurers. They had likewise Artificers whom they kept in Fetters, and continually stored up Wood, Iron, Brass, and other Materials.

For their vast booty had so heightened their courages, that preferring that kind of life before any other, they imagined themselves Sovereigns, and Kings, comparing their Power to that of Armies, and esteeming themselves invincible, when ever they pleased to unite together, they built Ships and forged Arms especially in *Cilicia* called the Rough, which was the common retreat of all these Corsairs, or as we may say the principal Seat of War. Not but that they had in other places Castles and Forts in desert Islands and cunning Harbours, but they usually retired to that Coast of *Cilicia* the Rough, which was inaccessible, and bounded with Rocks reaching almost out of sight, and therefore all the World commonly called them Cilicians. This mischief which was begun in *Cilicia* infected likewise the Syrians, Ciprians, Pamphilians, Pontick Nations, and almost all the Oriental people, who tyred with the length of the *Mithridatick* War, and choosing rather to do ill then suffer it, changed their dwellings on Land for the Sea, so that in a short time they amounted to many thousands, and not only become Masters of the Sea that wets the Oriental Coasts, but spread themselves throughout all the Seas as far as the Pillars of *Hercules*, for they defeated some Roman Pretors in Sea Fights, and among others the Pretor of *Sicily*. No Ship durst appear about that Island, the very Husband-man had abandoned the Fields, because of the continual descents they made, which very much annoyed the Romans, for besides that they beheld their Provinces pillaged, want of Corn brought a Famine into the Citie. Besides it was not easie to defeat such great Forces, that spread themselves over all parts both of the Sea and Land. Who were alwaies ready either to fly or fight, whilst none knew their Country or place of retreat, nor indeed had they any residence or propriety, but what fell in their hands. Wherefore these extraordinary kind of Enemies who gave themselves a dispensation against all the Laws of War, of whom nothing clear or certain could be made out, were very formidable, and few would have accepted a Commission for this War. For *Murena* having undertaken these Pyrates did nothing memorable, no more did after him *Servilius Isauricus*. They were grown so bold as to Land upon the Coasts of *Brundisium* and * *Hetruria*, from whence they carried away some Women of Quality whom they found in the Country. And defeated two Bodies of an Army, whose Eagles they carried away. The Romans no longer able to suffer these Losses and Affronts, by Decree of the Senate, gave to *Pompey* the greatest man of that time Command of their Armies for three Years, with Authority over all the Seas, as far as the Pillars of *Hercules*, and within all the Maritime Provinces for * four hundred Furlongs from the Sea, and to Command all Kings, Governours and Cities, to furnish him with necessaries. They permitted him likewise to make new Levies, both of men and Monies, and in the mean time gave him an Army composed of standing Legions, all the Ships they had, and six thousand Attick Talents in ready Money. So difficult a thing they believed it to overcome so many Naval Armies, to pursue them in so vast an extent of Seas, and to seek them out in so many holes, having to do with Enemies, they could not get within reach of except they pleased, and who were ready to fall on, when they were least thought of. Nor indeed did ever any Roman General go to War with so large a Commission as *Pompey's*. Soon after they furnished him with six-score thousand foot, four thousand Horse, and two hundred and seventy Ships, comprizing the Brigantines, and for his Lieutenants, they gave him five and twenty Senators, among whom he divided the Seas, giving them Horse and Foot and Shipping, with the Ensigns of Pretor. Every Lieutenant

* Tuscany.

Fig. 1. 2. 3.

Lieutenant had absolute power in the Quarter he Commanded, and he like a King of Kings, went from one part to another, to disperse his Orders, and to see that every one kept in his Post without quitting it, or pursuing the Enemy far from it, if he could not gain the Victory upon the place, to the end that there being alwaies people in a readines in all places, to take up what others had not fully done, the Pyrates might find no security in flying from place to place. After having disposed things in this manner, he gave the Commission of *Spain*, and the Streit to *Tib. Nero* and *Manlius Torquatus* joyntly, of the * *Celtick* and * *Ligustique* Sea, to *Marinus Pomponius*; of *Affrica* with *Sardinia*, *Corfica* and the Circumadjacent Islands to *Lentulus Marcellinus*, and *P. Attilius*; of the Coast of *Italy* from *Sicily* to *Acarnania* to *L. Gellius* and *Cn. Lentulus*; of the *Ionian* Sea to *Plotius Varus* and *Terentius Varro*; of *Peloponesus*, *Attica*, *Eubœa*, *Thessaly*, *Macedon* and *Beotia* to *L. Cinna*; of all the *Ægean* Sea, and the *Helléspont* to *L. Cullius*. Of *Bithynia*, *Thrace* the *Propontick*, and the mouth of *Pontus* to *L. Piso*, of *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cyprus* and *Phanicia* to *Metellus Nepos*. * These were the Quarters he assigned every Lieutenant, where they were to fight, and to give them their Chase, so that saving themselves from one, they might fall into the hands of another, forbidding them to pursue beyond their Bounds, for fear lest those long Chases might be a means to delay the War, for his own part he flew (if one may so say) from one part to another, to see what passed, and having in forty days gone the Circuit of the Western part of the Sea, he returned to *Rome* from whence he went to *Brundisium*, where again taking Shipping, and running over all those vast Oriental Seas, he brought every where a dread of his Name, by the swiftness of his motion, the greatness of his Force and Power, and the opinion had of a Captain of such high reputation. So that the Pyrates who as it was thought would have assaulted him, or at least would have found ways to have made his Victory difficult, presently raised their Siege, before those Towns they had blocked up, and out of the fear they had of him, retired into their Forts, and sheltring places. Thus *Pompey* cleared the Seas without fighting, and his Lieutenants every one in their Quarter took all the Corsairs that haunted there. After this he went into *Cilicia* with a great number of Soldiers and Workmen, and store of Engines, believing he should be put to the assaulting after sundry manners those Forts built upon such high Rocks. But the renown of his name alone and the vastness of his preparations struck such a terror into the Pyrates, that they believed they should make the better composition if they yielded without fighting. Those who were in the two largest Forts, called *Crague* and *Anticrague* were the first who submitted at discretion, and after them all those who held the Mountains of *Cilicia* one after another, yielded themselves with great quantities of Arms, either already furnished, or else only begun in the Shops, besides a great number of Ships, some half built, others ready to sail, with Copper, Iron, Canvas, Cordage, and divers others Materials, which they had gathered together for their use. There were found also many Captives which they kept there, some for Ransome, others to labour in their works. *Pompey* burnt all their unwrought Materials, carried the Ships along with him and sent the Captives home; many of whom found that their Funerals had been performed, their friends believing them dead. As for the Pyrates who appeared not to have engaged themselves in this kind of life, but because they had lost their substance by the War, he assigned them for their dwellings, *Mall*, *Adane*, *Epi- phania* and such other Cities as were but thinly inhabited in the upper *Ci-*

* Gani.
* Genœua.

Note, there were
25 Lieutenants,
and but one
Commission let
for 13.

Asia, some of them likewise he sent to *Dima* in *Albain*. Thus the War against the Pyrates, which all Men thought would have been long, was ended in a few days by *Pompey*. There were seventy two Ships taken, three hundred yielded up, with sixscore Towers, Forts and others places of retreat, and about ten thousand slain of those who stood out upon their Defence.

XXIV. After this so expeditious victory, the success of which exceeded all Mens hopes, the Senate and People of *Rome*, in acknowledgement of the great Service done by *Pompey* conferred on him signal Honors. They gave him the Commission of the War against *Mithridates*, continued to him the same Power to make Peace and War, and at his own Arbitrement to declare Friends and Enemies to the People of *Rome*, those whom he should think Worthy, and over and above all this made him Generalissimo of all their Forces out of *Italy*. Never before had the People of *Rome* given so much Power to one Man at once, which possibly was the Reason, why they called him GREAT, for as to any thing else, the other Generals had before left but little to do in this War. *Pompey* then having Assembled the Forces of *Asia*, went and encamped on the Frontiers of *Mithridates* Estates, who had at present a very gallant Army, composed of thirty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse all chosen Men, raised upon his own Lands for the defence of his Kingdom. *Lucullus* had not long before spoiled all that Country, so that victuals were still scarce, which made many of *Mithridates* Soldiers run into the Roman Army, and though the King inflicted cruel punishment upon those, were surpris'd in the attempt, throwing some headlong down the Rocks, squeezing out others eyes, and burning some alive, so that fear kept many of them in their duty; yet did his Army by little and little walt, by reason of the scarcity. Which occasioned his sending Ambassadors to *Pompey*, to demand upon what conditions he might have peace, to which the Roman answered; *by delivering up the Runaways and yielding himself at discretion*. The King having reported this answer to the Revolters, and seeing them terrified at it, swore he never would have peace with the Romans, because of their cruelty, Nor would consent to any thing but what should be for the Common good of those had done him Service. Whereupon *Pompey* having laid a party of Horse in Ambush, sent the rest to skirmish with *Mithridates* Camp, with Orders to give ground after the first charge, as if they had been surpris'd with fear, till such time as having drawn the Enemy into the Ambush they charged them both together. And indeed the Romans put them to the Rout, and might possibly have entred the Camp in the Rear of those that fled, if *Mithridates* fearing the disorder had not drawn out his Foot, and placed them in Order before the Camp which forced them to a retreat. This was the first Engagement of Horse between the two parties. At length the King oppress'd for want of provisions returned into the heart of his Kingdom, in hopes that the Enemy could not subsist in that ruined Country, at least without much inconvenience. But *Pompey* presently discamped, and bringing in provisions along with him marched as far as the Eastern parts of the Kingdom where he caused a Line to be drawn of *one hundred and fifty furlongs in length fortified with many Forts, to inclose the King and cut off his passage to fetch in Corn and Forrage. *Mithridates* gave no hindrance to this work, either out of fear or out of imprudence which ordinarily precedes Calamity, and soon found himself once more reduced to such want that he was forced to kill

* Lw. 11
G. 16. 221-
J. 1. B. 27. C. 27.

port his Arms into *Asia*, which are only divided by a strait which some believe to have taken its name from *Bes* * because *Io* transformed to a Cow passed there flying from the jealous *Juno*. Though these designs were extraordinary and scarce credible *Mithridates* attempted to put them in Execution, he marched through all the Scythian Nations, whether Enemies or unknown, partly by force and partly by sufferance: He was still both respected and feared, fugitive and miserable though he were. The Heniochians willingly gave him passage, but the Achæans endeavoring to oppose his march he forced it. It is said that these people being cast by Tempest on the Coasts of the *Euxine* Sea, as they returned from *Troy*, were ill treated by the Barbarians, because they were Greeks, and that having demanded some Ships from the Cities of their Country and being refused them, they conceived such an indignation or rather such a rage, that all the Greeks they could catch they made Sacrifice of, at first, without any distinction, sometime after chusing out the fairest, and at last drawing them by lot. But let thus much suffice concerning the Scythian Achæans. Now *Mithridates* being entred into the Country bordering upon the *Palus Meotis* which is divided among many petty Kings, there was not one but out of respect to the great reputation of his actions, and of his Kingdom received him favorably, and gave him passage through their Lands, they likewise made him presents, and he ordered things so, that having drawn them into alliance with him, and given some of his Daughters in Marriage to the most powerful of them there entred into his thoughts a wonderful Expedition. He formed a design to March through *Thrace* and so through *Macedon*, and thence by the way of *Pannonia* to pass the *Alpes*, and enter into *Italy*. *Machires* his Son understanding that in so short a time he had traversed all those Salvage Nations, and those which are called the Straits of *Scythia*, where never Man before him had passed, sent Ambassadors to make his excuse, that out of fear he had made an accommodation with the Romans, but knowing him implacable, he fled towards the *Pontique Chersonesus*, after having burnt all the Ships he had to hinder his Father from pursuing him, but his Father sending a Fleet after him he slew himself. As for *Pompey* he pursued *Mithridates* as far as *Colchis*, but never imagining that he would take the way we have spoken of, or that a fugitive Prince would attempt any thing Great, he went through all that Province well-pleased to see the Country whither the Argonauts, and *Castor* and *Pollux*, had made their Voyage; and particularly the Rock, where they say *Prometheus* was chained on Mount *Caucasus*. There are in this Mountain several springs, that cast forth Grains of Gold, but so small, that they are scarce perceivable. Wherefore those of the Country, put into the streams skins covered with wooll, by which means they get the golden sands, which gather in the fleece. And possibly that famous golden fleece of *Aete* is nothing else. As *Pompey* passed through the Country to see these rarities, all the neighboring Nations came to wait on him, and be his Conductors. Only *Orestes* and *Artocus* Kings of the Albanians, and Iberians laid an Ambush for him with seventy thousand men near the River *Cyrus*, which discharges it self into the *Caspian* Sea by nine Navigable Channels, and into which a Multitude of other Rivers loose themselves among which the *Araxes* is the greatest of all. The Roman General having intelligence hereof caused a Bridge to be laid over the River, crossed it, and drove the Barbarians into the Wood, from whence they being accustomed to fight sallying out as from a fortress, and when they were least thought of renewing the charge, *Pompey* having placed People round about

about the wood, set fire to it, and as they came forth gave them chase, till such time as coming to give him presents and hostages, they served likewise as matter for his Triumph. He found among the Hostages and Prisoners many Women who had received no less wounds than the Men. They deemed them to be Amazons, whether the Nation of the Amazons, who are not far off, had sent assistance to those Kings, or whether the Barbarians by a general name call all Warlike Women Amazons.

Pompey returning after this Victory marched his Army into *Armenia* against *Tigranes*, as the Allie of *Mithridates* taking the way of *Artaxata* the ordinary Residence of those Kings. But *Tigranes* was not for War. He had had three Sons by *Mithridates* Daughter, two of which he had slain with his own hand, one for turning his back in the fight, and the other as he was hunting, because he happening to fall, his Son had not vouchsafed to help him up, but on the contrary had taken off his Diadem as he lay upon the ground, and put it on his own head. As for his third Son *Tigranes*, because he seemed grieved for his fathers fall, he gave him the Crown, yet he soon after raised War against *Tigranes*, but being defeated in a Battel escaped to *Phraates* King of the Parthians, who had newly succeeded in that Kingdom to his Father *Syntricus*. Upon *Pompey's* approach the Fugitive *Armenian* by the Advice of his Host; who for his own particular sought the favor of the General, came and submitted himself to the Romans in the posture of a Suppliant, though he were Grandchild to *Mithridates*, being the Son of his Daughter, but the reputation of the Justice, and uprightness of *Pompey* was so great among the Barbarians, that *Tigranes* himself relying upon it, without so much as sending a Herald before came to meet him, to put his cause into his hands and to complain of his Son as to a Judge. *Pompey* having sent some Officers before to receive the King in Honor of him, those who accompanied him not thinking themselves in security, because he had not sent a Herald before turned tail, but *Tigranes* continued on his way, and being come near unto *Pompey*, paid him his respects as to his Superior, after the manner of the Barbarians. Yet there are some say the Lictors brought him to *Pompey* by his Command. However it were, he came, gave an account of his Actions, made a present to *Pompey* of six thousand Talents, fifty drams to every Soldier, a thousand to every Centurion, and ten thousand to every Tribune. *Pompey* pardoned what was past, reconciled the Son with the Father, ordained that the Son should enjoy as King the Province of *Sophena* and *Gordima*, which are at this day comprised under the name of *Armenia* the less, and adjudged to the Father the rest of *Armenia*, on condition that he left it by succession to his Son, and that he quitted to the Romans the Provinces he had conquered, and indeed he quitted all *Syria*, from the *Euphrates* to the Sea, with part of *Cilicia* which he had possessed himself of, after having driven out *Antiochus* the Pious. The two Kings were not yet parted from the Roman Camp, when the Son by perswasion of those Armenians, who for fear had abandoned his Father, when he came to meet *Pompey*, designed an attempt on his life, but he was discovered and Arrested, and being afterwards Convicted, that though Prisoner as he was, he had solicited the Parthians to make War upon the Romans, he was led in Triumph, and afterwards put to death in Prison. *Pompey* believing the War was ended built a City in *Armenia* the less, in the same place where he had overcome *Mithridates*, which because of his Victory he called *Nicopolis*. He gave likewise the Kingdom of *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*

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barzanes and joyned to it *Sophena* and *Gordiana* which he had before given to the young *Tigranes*, and which at present belong to the Province of *Cappadocia*. He gave him likewise *Cabala* a City of *Cilicia*, and some others, so that *Artsbarzanes* left to a Son that succeeded him all that Kingdom, subject to many changes, till the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, under whose Empire it was, with many others, reduced into the form of a Province. *Pompey* after this passed Mount *Taurus*, and went to make War upon *Antiochus Commagene*, to whom he afterwards granted Peace with the Title of Friend to the People of *Rome*, he defeated likewise the *Mede Darius*, because he had assisted *Antiochus*, or possibly *Tigranes* before him. Afterwards he led his Army against *Abta* King of the Arabian Nabathæan, and at length against the *Jews*, who were revolted against their King *Aristobulus*, from whom he took by force their holy City *Jerusalem*, besides all this he reduced under the Roman obedience without fighting, and as it were only in passing by, the remainder of *Cilicia*, which yet acknowledged not the Roman Empire, together with all the habitable *Syria* on this side *Euphrates*, *Cælosyria*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, *Idumea*, *Ituria* and all the other members of *Syria*. Not that the Romans had any cause of complaint against *Antiochus* the Pious, who was present at all this, endeavoring to obtain the Kingdom of his Fathers by force of Prayers; but the Roman General believed that having driven *Tigranes* out of these Provinces which he had conquered, they by right of War belonged to the People of *Rome*. As he was settling necessary Orders in his Conquests, there came to him Ambassadors on the behalf of *Phraates* and *Tigranes* who began to make War on each other. The *Armenian* demanded his assistance as his friend, and the Parthians desired to be received into the friendship of the People of *Rome*, and he unwilling to enter upon a War with the Parthians, without a particular Order of the Senate, sent Commissioners who made Peace between the two Kings.

- XXVI. Whilst he was employed in all these affairs, *Mithridates* had taken the whole compass of the *Euxine* Sea, and having sieged upon *Panticapea* a Merchant City situate in *Europe* on the mouth of *Pontus*, very near the Strait, he slew his Son *Xiphares* for a fault committed by his Mother, in this manner. *Mithridates* had great quantity of Vessels of Brass bound about with Iron, and filled with Silver, hid under ground in a certain Castle, the Guard of which he had entrusted to *Stratonice* one of his Concubines or of his Wives. She only knew of it, and yet whilst the King was making the Circuit of *Pontus*, she delivered to *Pompey* the Castle, and all the Treasures, only on this condition, that if her Son *Xiphares* fell into his power he should save his life in favor of his Mother, he took the Money, promised to preserve her Son, and permitted him to retire whither he pleased with his Equipage. The King coming to know this, slew *Xiphares* on the Sea-side in the sight of his Mother, who stood on the other side the Strait, and threw the body into the water, not permitting it burial, so small account he made of paternal piety, that he might revenge himself of the Mother, who had committed the fault. After this he sent Ambassadors to *Pompey* who was in *Syria*, and knew not that he was yet living, offering to pay Tribute to the Romans if he would leave him the Kingdom of his Fathers, to which *Pompey* sending him word that he should come and meet him as *Tigranes* had done, he answered that he could not do it, for that it would be unbecoming the Person of *Mithridates*; yet offering to send his Sons, and some of his Friends. Upon this answer he began to make

make new Levies of all Men of all sorts and conditions indifferently, to cause to be made great quantity of Arms, Bows and Engins, without sparing any thing whatsoever, the very Oxen used to Labour, being killed only for their Nerves, he imposed likewise new Tributes from which the very poorest were not exempt, whilst those who had the charge of Collecting them, committed a thousand Extortions unknown to *Mithridates*. For he had got an Ulcer in his face, which so disfigured him that he let no person see him but three Eunuchs that dressed him; being recovered he found all his Forces in a condition to march being composed of sixty Regiments of six hundred Men each, besides multitudes of all sorts of People with quantity of Ships, and strong places which his Captains had sieged upon during his distemper. He therefore passed over a part of his Army to *Phanagoria*, another Merchant City situate on the other side of the Strait, to the end he might on both sides be Master of the passage. *Pompey* was still in *Syria*, but a certain Inhabitant of *Phanagoria* called *Castor*, whom *Tryphon* the Kings Eunuch had formerly put to the Torture, killed the Eunuch as he entered, and began to cry out Liberty. The people presently rose upon it, and though the Fortrefs was guarded by *Artaphernes* and other Children of *Mithridates*; yet they brought Wood round about it, and set it on fire, which so affrighted *Artaphernes*, *Darius*, *Xerxes*, *Oxathres* and *Eupator* the Kings Sons, that they yielded themselves. They were all very beautiful, but they were all but Children, except only *Artaphernes*, who might be forty years old; there staid in the Fortrefs only one of their Sisters called *Cleopatra*, who would not go out, and whose generosity so much pleased the King that he sent Brigantines which brought her off. All the Castles thereabouts, which *Mithridates* had lately surprized, followed the Example of *Phanagoria*, *Chersonesus*, *Theodozia*, *Nymphaea*, and other fortified Cities above in the Pontick Sea, did the like, insomuch that the King seeing so many revolts, and not placing any confidence in the Fidelity of an Army, most of whom went to the War by Constraint, besides the great Exactions he had made to bring this Army on foot, and his own unfortunate condition, in which Estate a Prince can have no reliance on the Faith of his Subjects, he sent some Eunuchs into *Scythia* with his daughters to give them in Marriage to the Kings of that Country, entreating them to come to his succour with all the Force they had. He had appointed these Eunuchs a guard of five hundred Soldiers, for the Conduct of these Princesses, but scarce had they lost sight of *Mithridates* but they slew the Eunuchs, who by virtue of the power they had over the Kings Spirit, had always tyrannized over them, and carried the Ladies to *Pompey*. The King though he had lost so many Children, so many strong places, nay indeed his whole Kingdom, nor had now any hopes of aid from the Scythians, abated not at all the fierceness of his courage, nor entertained any thoughts that were mean or suitable to his present Calamity; He formed a design to march into *Gaul* and stir up that people to Arms, with whom he had to that purpose before hand made a league and entered into alliance, thinking with them to cross the *Alps*, and fall upon *Italy*, where he had hopes many people would joyn with him, out of the hate they bore the Romans; for he had heard tell how *Hannibal* making Wars within *Spain* had laid the same design and succeeded, and after so daring an attempt made himself formidable to his Enemies; besides he had intelligence that almost all their allies in *Italy* were revolted against them, out of a general hate, and had a long time bore Arms against them, and likewise favored to their prejudice the Gladiator *Spartacus* a vile fellow. Upon these hopes he was ready to take his march towards

Great, if the Army terrified with such prodigious boldness, had not made abortive these magnificent Designs. The Soldiers seeing he had a mind to lead them so far off, to encounter people, they could not defend themselves from, in their own Countrey, thought that *Mithridates* despairing of his own Affairs, thought it more honourable to die generously like a King, then to lie idle and do nothing. However they said nothing but received his orders without any murmuring, for this King was a man of no mean Soul, nor despicable in the very midst of Calamity.

XXVII. Things being in this Estate, *Pharnaces* the most beloved of all his Sons and whom he had often designed his Successor in the Kingdom, laid a design against his life; whether it were that he thought this expedition might prove prejudicial to his Affairs, and blast the hopes he yet had, the Romans would grant him pardon, which he was sure they would absolutely refuse, if his Father went to ravage *Italy*, or whether it were for other reasons, or else out of an impatient desire to reign. His Complices being taken and put to torture, *Monophanes* perswaded *Mithridates* that being ready to march, it was not convenient to put to death a Son he had so tenderly loved, that such disorders would happen during the War, and would end with the War, insomuch that he suffered himself to yield and pardoned his Son. But *Pharnaces* being affrighted with some private intelligence given him, and knowing that the Army had an aversion for this Expedition, went by night, and conferred with the Principal of the Roman Fugitives, whose Tents were not far from the Kings, aggravating to them the danger they ran into (which was not unknown to them) if they went into *Italy*; and making them great Promises if they would stay with him, he prevailed with them to forsake *Mithridates*. At the same time he sent some of his people to the neighbouring Tents to make the same Proposition to the Officers, who likewise gave him their word. Morning being come, the Runaways began to shout all together, to which those who were encamped next them, answered in the same tone, after them all the Army, even to the very Fleet did the like. It's possible they were not all of the Conspiracy, but those who were not engaged followed the others, out of a natural facility men have to despise the miserable, and to affect Novelty. And some too not knowing the number of the Conspirators, believed the whole Army concerned, and believing themselves alone unable to resist such a Multitude, shouted with the rest more for fear then good will. *Mithridates* awakened by these cries, sent some to them to know what they desired, to whom they returned answer, they demanded his Son for their King, a young man for an old one, overswayed by his Eunuchs, and a Murderer of many of his Children, Captains and Friends. Having heard this return, He came out to speak to them, and in the meantime a Troop of his Guards going to join with the Runaways, they told them they would not receive them, unless to gain belief amongst them, they would do some notable action, and at the same time showed them the King. They then killed his Horse, seeing him dispose himself to flight, and then as if they had done what was desired of them, called *Pharnaces* King, and some one having taken out of a Temple a certain Band of Parchment tyed it about his head instead of a Diadem; the Old man seeing all this from a high Gallery whither he had escaped, sent several Messengers one after another, to his Son, to desire security for his retreat, but none returning he was afraid lest they would deliver him up to the Romans. Wherefore having given orders to his Friends and those of his Guards, who had not yet forsaken him, to go and submit themselves to the new King, after having extolled their fidelity, he took

took out some Poison which he alwaies carried hid in the Belt of his Sword, and began to dissolve it, but two of his Daughters lately brought to him, *Mithridatis* and *Nissa*, promised in marriage to the Kings of *Ægypt* and *Cyprus*, earnestly besought him to permit them to drink before him, and hindered him from taking it, till they had first swallowed it. The violence of the Poison soon gave them their death, but on *Mithridates*, though he walked up and down a great place on purpose to heat himself, the Poyson had no effect, because of the Preservative he had used dayly to take for fear of being poisoned, which to this day is called *Mithridate*, seeing therefore near him a certain Captain of the Gauls, called *Bituitus*. *Your hand* (said he) *has done me many excellent Services in War, but the most excellent of all would be to kill me now, lest I should be led in Triumph, after having so long reigned in so great a Kingdom. I cannot die by Poyson, because I have been too cautious against it, insensible that I was to have taken so much care of what I eat, and not to foresee that cruel and domestick Venome to all Kings, the Treason of my Children, my Friends and my Armies.* *Bituitus* moved with this discourse performed for the King this last Office he desired of him. Thus dyed the sixteenth Descendant from *Darius* the last King of the Persians, and the eighth Successor to that *Mithridates*, who shaking of the Macedonian Yoak, made himself King of *Pontus*, the sixty eighth or sixty ninth Year of his Age, and the fifty seventh of his Reign, for he was but an Infant when he took Possession of the Kingdom. He subdued all the neighbouring Barbarians, and a great part of *Scythia*, he maintained War against the Romans forty Years space, during which he several times made himself Master of *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, made several Inroads into *Asia*, *Phrygia*, *Paphlagonis*, *Galatia*, *Macedon*, besides many memorable Actions in *Greece*. He had likewise the Empire of the Sea from *Cilicia* as far as *Ionia*, but he quitted it when *Sylla* forced him to confine himself with the Bounds of the Kingdom of his Father, after the loss of one hundred and sixty thousand men. Yet after that mighty loss, he forbore not to renew the War, and did it without much difficulty, having besides always had to do with great Captains. 'Tis true that *Sylla*, *Lucullus* and *Pompey* overcame him, but he had likewise the advantage ore them in many Encounters, and withal he took Prisoners *L. Cassius*, *Q. Oppius* and *Manius Aquilius*, carrying them about Captives with him, till he put one of them to death, as the Principal Author of the War, and delivered up the others to *Sylla*. He defeated likewise *Fimbria*, *Murena*, *Cotta* Proconsul, *Fabius* and *Triarius*. He appeared always great, always constant, even in the midst of Calamities, and vanquished though he were, omitted nothing that might be attempted against the Romans, even to the allying himself with the *Maotiques* and *Gauls*, sending Ambassadors to *Sertorius* into *Spain*. Notwithstanding all the wounds he received from Enemies or from Traytors, he never gave himself any rest, no not in his Age, nor ever was there any conspiracy against him, but was discovered, save only the last, and possibly he now perished for suffering himself willingly to be deceived; so ungrateful is the malice of those to whom we grant pardon. He was yet so cruel and bloody that he slew his Mother, his Brother, three of his Sons and as many Daughters, he was of great Stature, as his Arms sent to *Delphos*, and *Nemæa* make appear, and so strong that even to his last end, he was one of the lustiest Horsemen and most vigorous thrower of a Javelin in his whole Kingdom, he had travelled in one day a * thousand Furlongs drawn by a Chariot with eight Horses, and having fresh ones led. He had learned the Greek Tongue, and was well instructed in the Ceremonies of Religion.

ligion of the *Greeks*. He was likewise a lover of Musick, was patient in labour, sober in diet, but intemperate in the love of Women. Such was the end of *Mithridates*, surnamed *Eupator Dionysius*, whose death delivered the Romans from a troublesome War, which they testified by their joy when they heard the News.

XXVII.

Pharnaces sent to *Pompey* to *Sinope* *Mithridates* body in a Galley, and with it those who had arrested *Manius*, with a great number of Hostages, as well *Greeks* as Barbarians, supplicating him to continue him in the Kingdoms of his Father, or at least in that of *Bosphorus* which *Mithridates* had given to his Brother *Machares*. *Pompey* delivered the Kings body to those that brought it to be Royally interred and would himself be at the expence, giving orders it should be laid in the usual Sepulchre of the Kings at *Sinope*, praying him as the greatest King of his time, and who had done the noblest actions. As for *Pharnaces* in acknowledgement of his having freed *Italy* from many difficulties, he gave him the Kingdom of *Bosphorus*, except only *Phanagoria* whose Citizens he would have remain free, because they first forsaking *Mithridates*, who again levied Forces, and had already a Fleet and Army, and strong places of retreat, had put a stop to him, and by the Example they had given others, been the cause of his death; As for *Pompey* himself having in this War alone cleared the Sea of Pyrates, overcome the greatest of Kings, waged War successfully (besides the *Pontick* Nations) with the *Colches*, *Albanians*, *Iberians*, *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Arabs*, *Jews*, and all other Oriental People, he extended the Roman Empire from the East as far as *Ægypt*, whither he would not go, though *Ptolemy* called him to his assistance against his seditious people, and to that end sent him Presents of Silver, and Cloths for all his Army, whether he feared to give occasion of envy to his Enemies, by attempting what the Oracle had forbid, or for other reasons, we shall specify when we come to treat of the affairs of *Ægypt*. As for what concerns the Nations which he had subdued, he gave some their liberty, because they had sent him Succors, others he reduced into the form of a Province, and to others gave Kings. To *Tigranes* *Armenia*, to *Pharnaces* *Bosphorus*, to *Ariobarzanes* *Cappadocia* and its dependances, as we said, to *Antiochus* *Commagene* what he Conquered in *Mesopotamia*, dividing *Gallogrecia*, inhabited by the *Galatians* Neighbours of the *Cappadocians*, among four Tetrarchs, of whom *Deiotarus* was one. He gave *Attalus* the Sovereignty of *Paphlagonia*, and *Aristarchus* that of *Colchis*. He made *Archelaus* High-priest to the Goddess adored by the *Commagians*, a dignity comparable to any Principality whatsoever. He honoured *Castor* of *Phanagoria*, with the Title of Friend of the people of *Rome*, and in short gratified a multitude of other Persons with Governments, and likewise with great Sums of Money. He built also Cities, *Nicopolis* in *Armenia* the less, as a Monument of his Victory. *Eupatoria* in the Kingdom of *Pontus*, which *Mithridates Eupator* had called by his name, when he founded it, and afterwards had rased it for opening its Gates to the Romans, which *Pompey* afterwards rebuilding from the ground called *Magnopolis*. He reedified likewise *Mazaca*, a Citie of *Cappadocia*, which had been demolished during the War, and repaired divers others which were ruined or decaying in divers places of *Pontus*, *Palestine* the lower, *Syria* and *Cilicia*, in which last is situated that City formerly called *Soly*, and at present *Pompeiopolis*, which he peopled for the most part with Pyrates. He found in the City of *Talauris* where *Mithridates* Magazines were, two thousand Vessels of * *Onichitis* bound

* A certain kind of Marble.

bound about with Gold, quantity of Flagons; Cups, * Tables, and Seats, all perfectly beautiful. There were likewise such vast numbers of Bridles and Saddles, enriched with Gold and precious Stons, that the Questor was thirty daies in receiving and counting them. One part of these precious moveables came to *Mithridates* by succession from *Darius* the Son of *Histaspes* having passed from hand to hand, to the several Successors of the Kings of *Persia* unto him; *Cleopatra* had taken another part out of the Treasures of the *Ptolemies*, and given them in keeping to the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Coos*, from whence *Mithridates* had brought them, and the rest that King had bought and stored together himself, being very curious of rich moveables. Towards the end of Winter *Pompey* distributed rewards to his Victorious Soldiers, fifteen hundred *Attick* Drams to every Soldier. And to the Tribunes and Centurions proportionably, so that it is said the whole Sum of this distribution amounted to sixteen thousand Talents. After this he went from *Ephesus* to *Italy* by Sea, and dismising his Army at *Brundisium* returned to *Rome*. And by this popular action, astonished the Romans as if they had seen a Miracle. The whole City went forth to meet him, the youngest a great way, and others according to their Age; and after all came the Senate themselves admiring the prodigious greatness of the actions he had done. For never before him had any person defeated so powerful an Enemy, nor added so many Provinces to the Roman Empire, or extended their Dominion to the *Euphrates*. And in like manner he entered in Triumph in a more Magnificent manner then ever any had done before in the five and thirtieth year of his age. The Pomp lasted two days, for it required a great deal of time for the passing by of so many different People, Ponticks, Armenians, Cappadocians, Cilicians, the several Nations of all *Syria*, Albanians, Heniochians, Achæans, Scythians, and Iberians. He brought likewise into the Ports seven hundred Ships compleatly fitted, and sent into the City Chariots laden with Gold, and Rarities of inestimable price, among which was the * Table of *Darius* the Son of *Histaspes*, the Chair and Scepter of *Eupator*, with his Figure of Massie Gold eight foot high, and yet was only the Breast and Head, and seven hundred thousand five hundred and ten Talents of Silver Money. There were likewise a great number of Waggon's laden with Arms, and some with Ship Beaks. After followed a multitude of Captives and Pyrates, chained and habited every one according to the fashion of his Country, before the Triumphal Chariot marched the Satrapes, Captains, and Sons of Kings, some Captives, others Hostages, to the number of four hundred twenty four: Among whom was *Tigranes* the Son of *Tigranes*, five Sons of *Mithridates*, *Artaphernes*, *Cyrus*, *Oxathres*, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, and two Daughters *Orsabaris* and *Eupatra*, and among the rest *Olthalces*, and *Aristobulus* King of *Colchia* and the Jews, the Tyrants of *Cilicia* and the Queens of *Scythia*. Three *Iberian* Generals, two of the *Albanians*, with *Menander* of *Laodicea* who commanded *Mithridates* Horse. Those absent were carried in Picture. *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* fighting, giving ground and flying. *Mithridates* besieged, his secret flight by night, his death and with him his two Daughters companions of his misfortune, there were shown likewise the Pictures of his Children of both Sexes that dyed before him, and the Figures of the Gods adored by the Barbarians adorned after the manner of their Country, and neer to them a fair Table with this Inscription. Ships of War taken, eight hundred; Cities built in *Cappadocia*, eight; in *Cilicia* and *Calosyria*, twenty; in *Palestine* *Seleucia*. Kings overcome, *Tigranes* of *Armenia*, *Artabanes* of *Iberia*, *Oreses* of *Abania*, *Darius* of the Medes. *Aretas* of the Nabathæans;

* Or beds, for they then eat on beds.

batharans, and *Antiochus Commagenes*. Then appeared *Pompey* on a Chariot all glittering with precious Stones, clad (as some say) in the Coat of *Alexander of Macedon*, but if that may be believed, 'tis likely it was found among *Cleopatra's* Movables, which the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Coos* delivered to *Mithridates*. At last after the Chariot marched the Officers of the Army who had served him in this expedition some on Horseback others on foot, who all together conducted their General to the Capitol. When he was arrived there, he put not to death any of the Captives, as all who triumphed before him had done, but sent them back into their own Countries at the publique charge, except only the Kings and Kings Children, of whom he not long after put to death *Aristobulus*, and after him *Tigranes*. As for *Pharnaces* he in the meantime kept the Inhabitants of *Phanagoria* blockt up, till such time as Famine made them resolve to give him Battel, however the King granted their pardon, and without injuring any of them was content to take Hostages. Sometime after he took *Sinope*, and desirous to make himself Master of *Amisa*, he made War upon *Calvisius*, who then Commanded the Roman Forces in the Country, in the time that *Cesar* and *Pompey* were engaged against each other, and at last the Romans being elsewhere busied he was driven out of *Assis* by *Asander* upon a particular Quarrel. He had likewise to do with *Julius Cesar*, as he returned from *Ægypt* after the Rout of *Pompey* (which happened about that Mount where his Father had beaten *Triarins*) and being beaten escaped to *Sinope*, with a thousand Horse, whither *Cesar* wanting leasure to follow him, sent *Domitius* to whom he yielded the City, who after he was come out with his Cavalry according to the Articles of Peace, agreed between them, caused all the Horses to be killed, which did not well please the Horsemen, with whom Shipping himself he retired by Sea to the Kingdom of *Pontus*. As soon as he came there he assembled a great number of Scythians, and Sarmatians and made himself Master of *Theodotis* and *Panticapea*, but *Asander* renewing the War with him, his Horsemen being dismounted and not used to fight on foot, were beaten, and *Pharnaces* showing himself the only man of Valour was slain, after having received many wounds, the fiftieth year of his Age, and fifteenth of his Reign in *Bosphorus*. C. *Cesar* gave his Kingdom to *Mithridates* of *Perzamus* who had served him well in *Ægypt*, but at this day all those people are free, and there are yearly Prætors sent into the Kingdoms of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, *Cesar* confirmed all those who had received favours from *Pompey* in the Estates and Governments he had given them, though he complained they had taken part with their Benefactor to his Prejudice, save only the priest-hood of *Commanes*, which he took from *Archelaus* to give to *Nicomedes*. But some time after not only these Estates, but also all that C. *Cesar* and M. *Anthony* had given to others, were reunited to the Roman Empire, after that *Augustus* became Master of *Ægypt*, for the Romans let slip no opportunity to enlarge their Empire. Wherefore having extended it by the *Mithridatick* War, from the *Euxine* Sea, to the sandy Desarts of *Ægypt*, and from the Pillars of *Hercules*, which are in *Spain*, to the *Euphrates*. It was not without reason they called this Victory great, or gave to *Pompey* who made all these Conquests the Title of *Great*, they possessed likewise all *Africa*, as far as *Cyrene* it self, which was given them by the Testament of *Appion*, the last King of that Countrey, who was a Bastard of the Race of the *Lagides*, so that to have the whole Circuit of the Mediterranean Sea, they wanted only *Ægypt*, which was their last Conquest.

The end of the fourth Book of the Romans War with Mithridates.

APPIAN

A P P I A N
 OF
 ALEXANDRIA,
 HIS
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 Roman Wars
 IN
 ILLYRIA.

PART I.

BOOK V.

The Argument of this Book.

- I. **D**escription of Illyria, and those who first inhabited it. II. Apollo's Chastisement of the Illyrians Sacrilege. III. The Romans War with Agron King of Illyria. IV. Their Wars against Demetrius, and against Gentius. V. Against the Aradians, Palarians, Papodes, Segestians and Dalmatians. VI. The affairs of C. Caesar with the Dalmatians

trians and other Nations of Illyria. VII. Beginning of Augustus Conquests in Illyria. VIII. His War against the Scordisci and the Siege of Metula. IX. His Wars against the Segestians and Pæonians. X. His Expedition against the Dalmatians, and the siege of Promona. XI. The Conclusion of this History.

I. **T**HE * Illyrians according to the opinion of the Greeks, are the People that inhabit above *Macedon* and *Thrace*, from the Charnians and the Thesprotes as far as the *Ister*, and this is the Length of *Illyria*, its breadth extends from *Macedon*, and the Mountains of *Thrace*, as far as the Pæonians, and the Ionian Sea, and the end of the *Alps*. It contains five days Journey in breadth, and its length is thrice as much as the Greeks report, the Romans after measuring it found it * six thousand Furlongs long, and * twelve hundred broad, and assure us that it took its name from *Illyrius Polyphemus*, and that *Polyphemus* the Cyclops had three Sons by *Galatea*; *Celtus*, *Illyrius* and *Galles*, who going out of *Sicily* gave their Names to the * Celtes, Illyrians and Galatians, of which Nation they made themselves Kings; and indeed this opinion seems to me the most probable of all. They say likewise that *Illyrius* had sons *Achillis*, *Autarius*, *Dardinus*, *Medus*, *Taulantius* and *Peribius*, and Daughters *Partha*, *Daorta*, *Dazera* and others, from whom are descended the Taulantians, Perhebian, Achilleians, Autarians, Dazeretians and Darfians. That *Autarius* had two Sons *Pannonius* or rather *Pæonius* and *Scordiscus*, from which *Pæonius* came *Triballius*, who all three gave their names to three Nations as we learn in Ancient Records. *Illyria* therefore (as we find to this day by several Publick Testimonies in that great Countrey) was formerly possessed by the Scordisks and Triballians, who continually made War, till such time as those that remained of the Triballians went away to the Getes above the *Ister*. And this Nation which to the time of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had a great reputation is at this day so utterly decayed that there scarce remains to us the memory of its name. The Scordicks are likewise much weakned, for being subdued by the Romans they retreated within the Isles of the River *Ister*. However sometime after a party returned and inhabited a Corner of *Pæonia*. Wherefore the Scordisks are to this day reckoned among the Pæonians. The Autarians who likewise possessed a good tract on the Sea Coast, were likewise driven out by the Ardians. After that the * Liburnians who were esteemed excellent Seamen, came and settled themselves in a part of *Illyria*, from whence they scoured all the *Ionian* Sea, plundering all the Ships they met with, and because they had Ships very swift and extremely light, the Romans call Vessels that excel in swiftness *Liburnicks*.

II. 'Tis said that *Apollo's* anger was the cause of the utter destruction of the Autarians, and that they going with those Celtes that are called Cimbrians to besiege the City of *Delphos*, were forthwith defeated and took their flight in disorder, some of them not staying till the battel began, by reason of the Rain, Tempest and Thunder which terrified them. Those who returned found their whole Country covered with infinite multitudes of Frogs who stinking poisoned the Rivers with their putrefaction, and that at last the Earth casting forth Malignant Vapors, bred a cruel Plague in *Illyria*. This Malady sieged chiefly on the Autarians, who leaving their Country,

Country carried the Contagion along with them, so that no person durst receive them, after three and twenty days travel they stopt in a marshy and uninhabited Country, and built Cities on the Confines of the Basternes. As for the Celtes *Apollo* sent into their Country such Earthquakes as swallowed up whole Cities at once, and that this Calamity ceased not till they as well as the others had quitted their habitations and come into *Illyria*; where finding the Associates of their crime extreamly weakned by the Plague, which had swept away the greatest part of them, they easily overcame them, but the Contagion siesing likewise upon them by their touching of infected Cloths, they departed thence, and for change of air went as far as the Pyrenæans. Afterwards taking their way towards the East, the Romans who were fearful lest the Celtes with whom they had several times been engaged should once more pass the *Alps* and fall into *Italy*, sent against them their Consuls, who were defeated, with their whole Army. This defeat of the Consuls, and the dreadful name of the Celtes struck a terror throughout all *Italy*, till such time as having chosen *Marius* General who had lately gained a great Victory against the Lybians, Numidians and Marusians, they overcame the Cimbrians, and afterwards had the better of them in several Engagements (as we have set down in the recital of the Roman Wars against the Gauls.) So that weakned by such vast effusion of blood, and grown hopeles of settling themselves in any other place, they again recovered their Ancient Seat after having done much mischief, and suffered innumerable losses. And here ended *Apollo's* punishment of the impiety of the Illyrians and Celtes. Yet this deterred them not from afterwards committing other Sacriledges, for at another time part of those two * Nations, and especially the Scordisks, Medes and Dardanians made inroads into *Macedonia*, and likewise into *Greece*, robbing many Temples and assaulding that of *Delphos*, where they again lost a great Number of their People. Two and thirty years after the first Battel between the Romans and the Celtes, during which they had several Engagements, the Romans who had already conquered *Greece* and *Macedon*, declared War against them for the like Sacrilege, and gave *L. Scipio* the Command of their Armies. The Fame has reached even to our times that their Neighbors were the Companions of their Impiety, but remembering the punishment of the Autarians of whom not one was left alive in *Illyria*, left them to *Scipio's* mercy without giving them any assistance. And that *Scipio* having cut in pieces all the Scordisks, except a small Number who saved themselves on the other side of *Ister*, and on the Isles of that River, suffered himself to be bribed with the Sacred Gold, and for it made an Alliance with the Medes and Dardanians, which gave occasion to some Historians of *Italy*, to write that this corruption was the cause of all the Civil Wars, wherewith the Romans were tormented from *Scipio's* time till the Establishing of the Monarchy. These were the Greeks opinions of the Illyrians, on which I was willing to enlarge my self. As for the Romans they reckon with them not only the People we have spoken of but likewise the * Pæonians which are beyond them, and the Rhetians, the Naricks, and the * Mysians which inhabit in *Europe*; and also all the Neighboring People which lie on the right hand of *Ister*, whom they distinguish (as the Hellens and the Greeks) by particular Names, but in General call them all Illyrians: This opinion which they have held from the beginning, and persist in it till our times, hath been the cause that they have not yet found out the limits of those Nations, and that they set the bounds of *Illyria* from the Springs of *Ister*

* Illyrians and Celtes.

* Austria and Hungaria.

* The Northern Bavaria.

far as the people upon the *Pontick* Sea, where they levy Tribute. I know not well in what manner the Romans subdued them. So in writing the affairs of *Gaul* I have declared that I could not gain a sufficient and ample knowledge of the beginnings and occasions of these Wars; wherefore I have exhorted those who had the better knowledge of the Affairs of *Illyria* to write the History of them. In the mean time I shall present the publick with such things as are come to my knowledge.

III.

Agron, King of that part of *Illyria* situate on the Gulf of the *Ionian* Sea, once possessed by *Pyrrhus* and his Successors, became likewise Master of a Corner of *Epirus*, and with that of *Corcyra*, *Epidamnus*, and *Pharos*, under pretence of protecting them. And being at Sea to sieze upon the rest of *Ionis*, a certain Island called *Issa*, revolted from him, to submit to the Romans, and at the same time sent Deputies to *Rome* to complain of the oppressions they had suffered under *Agron*. As they returned they were assaulted by the Illyrians, who slew their Deputy called *Caltemporus*, and a Roman Commissary, who according to the opinion of some was *Carnicanus*, which struck such despair into the rest of their Company that they all slew themselves. The Romans (as it said) took this occasion to declare War against the Illyrians, and assaulted the Illyrians both by Sea and Land. Mean while *Agron* died leaving only a Son; yet under age called *Pins*, and to oblige his Wife to take care of the Child though she were not his Mother, left her Regent of the Kingdom. *Demetrius* to whom *Agron* had given the Government of *Pharos* having likewise siezed upon * *Corcyra* delivered both to the Romans, who then kept the Sea with a Fleet: they afterwards drew * *Epidamnus* to their party, and the Issians and Epidamnians being besieged by the Illyrians, they sent an Army to their relief who made the Illyrian forces raise their sieges and return home, but some of them called the *Atintanes*, went and submitted to the Romans. This occasioned *Agrons* Wife to send Ambassadors to *Rome*, restoring the Captives and Fugitives, and demanding pardon, by remonstrating that what was past, ought to be imputed to *Agron* and not to her, to which the Senate answered, that *Corcyra*, *Pharos*, *Issa*, and *Epidamnus*, as also those Illyrians called *Atintanes*, belonged now to the Roman Empire. That they would leave to *Pins* all the remainder of that Country possessed by his Father, and receive him into the Alliance of the Roman People, on condition, he meddled not with any of the rest, nor suffered the Illyrians to sail to the Island of *Issa*, save only with two boats unarmed. These conditions the Ambassadors accepted, and this was the first War, and the first Peace between the Romans and those of *Illyria*.

* *Carfu*.* *Dyrhachium*

IV.

After this the Romans set at liberty *Corcyra* and *Apollonia*, and rewarded *Demetrius* for his treason, because of the advantage they had gained by it, not but that they hated his Infidelity, of which they themselves soon after found the effects. For when the Romans and the Celtes were engaged one against the other about the River * *Eridanus*, *Demetrius* who thought they had their hands full, beginning not to be so much afraid of them as before, went about to lord it at Sea, and made himself Master of the * *Istrians*, and forced the *Atintanes* to revolt against the Romans, but they as soon as they had made Peace with the Celtes, set out a Fleet to Sea, and took the Corsairs, who were joyned with *Demetrius*, and the revolted Illyrians; As for *Demetrius* he at first escaping to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and afterwards retreating into the Country, and committing Pyracies on the *Ionian*

* *Pa*.* *Istria* is a part of the Gulf of Venice.

Ionian Sea's with some few Ships, they slew him at last, and utterly ruined *Pharos* his Country as an Abettor of his mischiefs. But for the Illyrians they pardoned them for *Pina's* sake, who had kindly received them. This was the second War and second Peace with the Illyrians. Now in the pursuit of this History I shall neither respect time nor order, but content my self to write the affairs of every particular Illyrian Nation, as far as I have learnt them. The Romans having sent their Armies into *Macedon* against *Perseus*, who then possessed that Kingdom by succession from *Philip*, *Genthius* another King of *Illyria*, prevailed with by the Macedonians Money entred into an Alliance with him, and engaged himself in this War. He forthwith stirred up the Illyrians against the Romans, and laid in Irons those Ambassadors they sent, under pretence they were not come within his Lands as Ambassadors but as Spies. Wherefore *Anitius* the Roman Prætor being then at Sea, took some of that Kings Ships, and afterwards Landing in his Country, defeated him and afterwards so closely besieged in a place that he only asked for quarter. Upon which the Prætor returning answer that he could grant him no other terms then surrendering at discretion, he desired three days to consider of it, which being granted, and the mean while finding that his Subjects ran away to *Anitius*, he only desired security to come to him himself. When he came before him he fell upon his knees, and with abasance insupportable in a man of courage besought the Roman to grant him his life. *Anitius* seeing him tremble, bid him take courage, raised him up with his own hand, and made him eat at his Table, but when Dinner was done, gave Order to his Officers to keep him Prisoner, and afterwards led him and his Son in Triumph to *Rome*. The War with *Genthius* was ended in twenty days, after which, *Æmilius Paulus* pillaged seventy Cities in this manner. After having defeated King *Perseus*, whom he sent to the Senate going himself privately to *Rome*, and returning with all speed, he caused it to be published in the name of the Senate, throughout all the Cities, that they promised pardon for all the faults yet committed, on condition they brought in what Gold and Silver they had, which being agreed to, he sent his Army divided into so many parties, into every City, and gave Order to the Commanders to cause it to be proclaimed upon the break of the appointed day, that every Burgeßs should within three hours, bring his Mony into the Publick place, which being performed he gave up the rest of the City to plunder. Thus *Paulus* despoiled seventy Cities of all their goods.

Another time the Ardians, and another of the Neighboring Nations called the Palarians, being entred in hostile manner into the Lands possessed by the Romans in *Illyria*, because they were busied elsewhere, they sent Ambassadors to forbid them to pass any farther, whom when they would not obey they took a resolution to send an Army of ten thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse. The Illyrians who were yet scarce sufficiently prepared for such a War, dispatched to *Rome*, and as if they had seriously repented of what they had done, demanded Pardon. Upon which the Senate condemned them to pay to them that they had oppressed, the full value of the damage they had sustained, but when yet they performed not this Decree, *Flaccus* was sent with a powerful Army. Yet all his exploits amounted to no more then some Inrodes and Skirmishes, for he could not so suddenly end this War. I find likewise in History, that *Sempronius* surnamed *Tuditannus* and *Tiberius Pandusus* defeated the

V:

Japodes which inhabit the *Alpes*, and that they submitted to both at a time, in the same manner, as the Sagistains yielded to *L. Cotta* and to *Metellus*. As for the Dalmatians who are likewise a Nation of *Illyria*, but on the other side, it is certain that they made War upon the Illyrians, subject to the Romans, and that they would not receive the Deputies that came from *Rome* to confer about this Affair. Wherefore there is some likelihood that the Romans sent Forces against them. They dispatched (say some) an Army Commanded by *Marcus Figulus* then Consul, but as soon as he was entered the Country they fell upon his Vanguard, put the whole Army to a rout, and pursued them as far as the River *Naro*, from whence they returned home because of the approaching Winter. Then *Figulus* judging he might surprize them as they retired in disorder, followed them in the Rear, defeated and pursued them as far as the City of *Dalminium* which gives Name to the Dalmatians, and that not being able to take this City, so strongly was it fortified, by assault, nor to make use of any Engines by reason of the vast height of the Wall, and besides wanting many things and not being secure because of the frequent Sallies made by the Besieged, he had recourse to another Artifice : He took Stakes two foot long and wrapping them about with Tow dipt in Pitch and Brimstone, and setting them on fire, shot them from his Engines into the Town, the violence wherewith they were darted, making them burn more vehemently, they flew through the Air like so many flaming Torches, setting on fire all that they fell upon, in somuch that the greatest part of the City being burnt, *Figulus* returned to *Rome* Victorious. Some time after *Cecilias Metellus* having obtained the Consulate, went by Decree of the Senate to make War upon the Dalmatians, who had given no occasion, but he had only set this design on Foot, out of a desire to Triumph. But those people receiving him as a Friend, he spent the Winter at *Salone* one of their Cities, and at last returned to *Rome* in Triumph, though he had done nothing to deserve it.

VI.

Afterwards *Cæsar* marching against the *Gauls* who lay not far distant from *Illyria*, found that the Dalmatians with other people of *Illyria* had some advantage over the Liburnians, another Nation of the same Country, and took from them the City of *Promona*, wherefore the Liburnians submitting themselves to the Romans, fled towards *Cæsar*, then not far off, and *Cæsar* sent to those who had taken *Promona*, to exhort them to restore it, but they having no respect to this advertisement he sent a great Army which being defeated by the Illyrians, *Cæsar* diverted by other Affairs, for *Pompey's* Party was now forming, and he who saw it of necessity to come to Arms with him, would attempt nothing more at that time against them : But though the Season was troublesome and inconvenient, passed from *Brun-
dium* into *Ionia*, with the greatest part of his Army to go thence into *Ma-
cedonia* to War with *Pompey*, leaving *Anthony* to bring the remainder. But afterwards *Gabinus* having likewise fifteen Cohorts and three thousand Horse to carry to him, attempted to go through *Illyria*, at which the Illyrians being allarm'd because of those things lately happened, and judging that *Cæsar's* Victory would be their Ruine, slew them all ; except only *Gabinus* and some Horsemen of his Guard, who escaped with him, gaining by this defeat vast Spoils and Treasure. The Importance of this War wherein *Cæsar* was engaged with *Pompey*, obliged him at present to dissemble this Affront. But after that *Pompey* was defeated, and that *Cæsar* had pursued the remains of his Party into divers places, and settled all things in good order and returned to *Rome*, he made preparations for an expedition he had determined

terminated against the Getes and Parthians. Whereupon the Illyrians fearing, lest *Cæsar* in his way should revenge himself of the injury he had received, sent Deputies to *Rome*, to ask pardon for what they had done, offering *Cæsar* their alliance and Friendship, which might be of great concern to him in his expedition against the Parthians, because of the valour of the Illyrians, the reputation of which was spread through the whole Earth, but he answered them very sharply that he would not entertain any correspondence or friendship with people had so highly offended him, however he was content to pardon them if they submitted to pay Tribute, and deliver up Hostages. After they had promised both the one and the other, he sent *Atinius* with three Legions to impose some small Tribute, and receive the promised Hostages. But *Cæsar* being in the mean time murdered, they thought the Roman Power must by his death, that was its chief support, fall to ruine, wherefore they would no more obey *Atinius's* orders nor either pay Tribute, or deliver up Hostages, and as he wasted the Country with five Cohorts, they surprized them, put them to rout, and slew *Bebius* who commanded the Party, and *Atinius* himself escaped hardly to *Epidamnium*, with his scattered Forces. After which the Senate gave that Army with all *Macedon* and *Illyria*, of which he was Governour, to *Marcus Brutus* who slew *Cæsar*, and *Syria* to *Cassius* an associate in that tragick action, so that during the War they maintained against *Anthony* and *Cæsar* surnamed *Augustus*, the Illyrians enjoyed not much repose.

As for the Peonians they are a great Nation inhabiting along the * *Ister*, and extending themselves from the Japodes to the Dardanians. The Greeks call them Peonians, but the Romans name them * Pannonians, and reckon them among the people of *Illyria*. Wherefore being writing the History of *Illyria*, I think it now very apposite to speak of their Affairs. They were already grown famous by the mighty actions done by the Agrians under *Philip* and *Alexander*, for the Agrians were Peonians, and inhabited the lower part of *Peonia*, but after they had so shamefully driven back *Cornelius*, who came with an Army to make War upon them, the mighty reputation of the Peonians filled all *Italy* with fear, and for a long time there was not any Roman Consul found so brave as to attack them. And this is all I can find, great or memorable, concerning the Peonians and Illyrians, in any History after diligent search made, nor have in perusal of the Commentaries of *Augustus Cæsar* seen any thing of more Antiquity concerning the *Peonian* Nation. Indeed I find there was a certain other Nation of *Illyria*, besides those by me mentioned that paid obedience to the Romans, but I can neither tell where it is situate or how it is called, for *Augustus* writ not the Actions of others, but those properly his own. In what manner he made the revolted Nations pay Tribute, subdued those that were independent, and at last by force of Arms brought under subjection those warlike people, who dwelling on the tops of the *Alps*, because of their bordering upon *Italy*, committed often Robberies, and made frequent inroads. And really it somewhat amazes me, that so many Roman Armies having passed the *Alpes*, to make War in *France* and *Spain*, should take no notice of these people; and that *Cæsar* himself, who was so successful in War, and who for almost ten years together wintred about this Country whilst he was reducing the *Gauls*, should make so small account of those that lay behind him. But I believe these Generals principally intent upon those places, whither they were designed, thought no farther then of passing

VII.

* Danube.
* Huns.

sing the *Alpes*, and that *Cæsar* whilst he was lodged on the Frontiers of *Gaul*, applyed himself wholly to the ruine of *Pompey's* Party, who would have made his Conquests his own; besides 'tis probable that when he took the Government of *Illyria* and the *Gauls*; it was meant only of what depended on the Romans. But *Augustus* at last made himself Master of all. Though not without great labour; for he that had formerly said in the Senate that *Antonius* calinels had made the Illyrians tame and supple (though so warlike they were, they had often put him hard to it,) was forced to make use of all the experience he had, to bring under the Oxeans, the Perthetes, the Bathiars, the Taulantians, the Cambians, the Cinambres, the Merromenians and the Pyrrisians: and found yet more difficulty in reducing the Docleates, the Carinians, the Interfrurians, the Narisians, the Clintidiones and the Taurisques, and obliging them by force to pay that Tribute they had for sometime been exempted from. It's true the Victories he gained served for Example to their Neighbours, and that the Hippassians and the Bessians, fearful of his power submitted. But the Melitinians and the Coreyrians, which inhabited the Isles being revolted, he was constrained to imploy a great part of his Forces to reduce them, for they made Courses, and committed Robberies on the Sea with their Ships, of which they had a great number. Wherefore *Cæsar* put to the Sword all he took above fourteen years of Age, and sold the rest at Outcry, he also took from the Liburnians their Ships, because they likewise drove a trade of Piracy. Of the Nation of the Japodes which inhabit in the *Alpes*, the Mocntines and Edeates yielded themselves upon the news of his coming, but the Aurupins who are esteemed the most warlike of those people as well as the most numerous, retired out of the Country into the City, and hearing he was at hand quitted it, and fled to the Woods for shelter. *Cæsar* having taken the City, would not let it be burnt, judging they would submit themselves to him as well as the others, and therefore not long after left it and permitted their return. But they of all these people that most perplexed *Cæsar* were the Salassians, the Japodes dwelling beyond the *Alpes*, the Segestains, the Dalmatians, the Daisians and the Peonians, who voluntarily engaged on the Salassians Party. These last inhabited on the tops of the *Alpes*, in a place almost inaccessible, and not to be approached but by one difficult and narrow passage. *Veterius* falling on them unawares, seized upon the Avenue, and besieged them. The Siege lasted two Years, at the end of which for want of Salt, of which they stood most in need of, they received a Garrison. At last being revolted they demolished those Fortifications raised by *Veterius* to keep them in awe, and possessing themselves of the Craggs and Streits, made a mock of those sent by *Cæsar* against them, who could not come to do them any hurt. Wherefore *Cæsar* being then upon the point to make War against *Anthony*, let them live at liberty, pardoning the attempt they had made upon *Veterius*. But they conceiving a wrong opinion of *Cæsar's* facility, began to draw other Cities to their Party, and to spoil the Lands under the Romans obedience, till *Messala Carvinius* sent by the Emperour to besiege them, reduced them by Famine, and thus the Salassians fell under the Roman Empire.

VII.

As for the Japodes beyond the *Alps*, who are a fierce and almost Salvage people, they repulled twice in twenty years, the Romans that came to make War upon them, made inroads as far as *Aquileia*, and sackt *Targia* a Roman Colony. *Cæsar* going in person against them, by rough and difficult Passages, they grew but the more furious, and to hinder his Passage,

cut

cut down the Trees that grew by the way side, so as they fell across the way. After which *Augustus* taking his march through another Forrest they seemed to fly, but went and lay in Ambush for him, but he being doubtful of it, sent some of his people over the tops of the Mountains to come and fall upon them on all sides, and continued his march by the Vallies, causing the Wood to be cut down before him. The Japodes all upon a sudden sallied out of their Ambush, and wounded many of his men, but the most part of their Forces were cut in pieces by the Romans, who came down from the Mountains, and the rest chose rather to retreat in the Woods, than into one of their Cities called *Terpona*, which they had abandoned. *Cesar* having taken it, would not burn it, for he thought as he had made trial in others, that would engage them to submit, which they did; after which he marched towards another of their Cities called by the Inhabitants *Metulia*, and is esteemed the Capital of the Country of the Japodes. It is situate on a high Mountain covered with Wood, and built upon two Eminencies divided by a small Valley. The best armed and bravest young men that any one can imagine ever to have seen defended it, and with ease repulsed the Romans, as often as they approached the Wall. The Besiegers would have raised Terrasses, but the Metulians day and night sallying out on all sides upon the Labourers, hindered the Work, and by the means of certain Engines which they had taken, in the Battel fought not far from thence by *Brutus* against *Anthony*, and the same *Cesar*, and now planted upon the Walls, forced the Besiegers to fall off, yet the Romans made a breach in the Wall, but whilst they fought, the Besieged had raised other Fortifications within, over which they, though tyred with defending the breach, leaped into the City. The Besiegers thus become Masters of the Wall which the Inhabitants had quitted, set * fire on it, and to gain the rest raised two Terrasses from which they laid over four Planks to the Rampart newly raised. Things thus disposed, *Cesar* gave order to one party of his men to assault the other side of the City to draw the Inhabitants that way, whilst the others forced their entrance over the Planks, and he in the mean time took a view of the Action from a high Tower. The Barbarians ran upon the Wall to oppose those that passed, whilst another Party behind them strove to heave up the Planks with their Pikes, which much heightned their courage, for one Plank being overturned, and then another, and after it a third, fear so seized on the Romans that not a man durst engage upon the fourth. *Cesar* from the Tower sharply reproves them, but seeing that all he could say, would not move them, he takes his Buckler and began himself to run upon the Plank. *Agrippa*, *Hieron* and *Lucius*, three of his Captains and *Folus* one of his Guards followed him with some Targetiers and got likewise on the Plank. *Cesar* thus deeply engaged, shame made the Soldiers run on in such Crouds that the Plank overcharged broke in the middle, and a great Number of people that were upon it fell one upon another, some were slain, others brought of sorely bruised, and the Emperour himself was wounded in the Thigh and both the Arms. He again ascended the Tower with some followers of Consular dignity, that all might see he was well, lest a rumour of his death might beget some Tumult, or the Enemy should think he fled, and at the same instant set on work the laying of another Plank. This more daunted the Metulians than any thing before, seeing they had undertaken War against a man whose courage was invincible, whereupon on the morrow they sent Deputies to treat with him, delivered him the fifty Hostages he demanded, and promised to receive a Garrison, to whom they left the higher Eminence, retiring

* These walls were part of wood, and part of Stone.

ring themselves into the other. But when the Garrison being entred required them to yield up their Arms, they entred into such a fury, that shutting up their Wives and Children in the Town-house, and having likewise caused the Officers of the Garrison to enter there, they told them that if they were so hardy to attempt against them any thing extraordinary, they would set fire on that building, and by one act of despair endeavor to wreak themselves on the Romans. After this discourse they drew together at the foot of the higher eminence, as if they had a design to mount up. The Garrison set the Town-house on fire, many of the women kill'd themselves with their Children, and some threw themselves alive into the flames. Thus almost all the youth of *Metulia* being slain in the conflict, and most of the useless persons burnt, all the buildings were likewise consumed in the flames, so that there scarcely remained any mark of so great a City. The Metulians thus totally ruined, all the rest of that Nation submitted to *Cæsar* for fear of a like misfortune, and thus fell the Japodes under the Roman power. *Cæsar* being gone, the Possenians shook off their yoke: but *Marcus Elbius* being sent against them, reduced them by force, punished with death the authors of the Rebellion, and sold the rest by Outcry.

- IX. The Romans having already made two Voyages into the Country of the Segestains, without taking Hostages or doing ought else to subject them, they grew insolent and presumptuous; Wherefore *Cæsar* resolved to make war upon them, and to take his passage through the Territories of the Peonians not depending on the Roman Empire. *Peonia* is a woody Country, whose length extends from the Japodes to the Dardanians. The people inhabiting it have no Cities, but live in the Fields, and have Villages separate, according to their Families; They have not among them either Judge or Prince that has Superiority over others. They had at present a hundred thousand Men, but because they knew no Command, could never form a Body. So when *Cæsar* came amongst them they presently fled into the woods, where if they found any Roman stragling from the rest they cut him in pieces. As long as *Cæsar* thought they would come in, he neither touched their Villages nor Towns, but when he saw they kept themselves close in the woods, he set all on fire making an inestimable spoil for eight days together, as he cross'd the Country of the Segestains and Peonians as far as the *Sava*. *Cæsar* on the banks of this River found a City fortified on one side with the River which was very broad, and on the rest with a large Ditch, deep and dug downright, so that it was as broad at bottom as top. Wherefore he made an attempt upon it as a place very convenient for his Stores in the War he designed against the Dacians and Basternes, which inhabit beyond the *Ister*, which in these places is called the *Danube*. But when a little lower it is enlarged with great quantity of waters, it takes the name of *Ister*, instead of that of *Danube*. Now the *Sava* discharges it self into the *Ister*, and *Cæsar* had Vessels upon that River, which might bring provisions up the *Danube*, for the subsistence of his Army. He therefore invested this City, but scarce had made his first approaches when the inhabitants of *Segesta*, for that was the name of the place, sent Messengers to him to know what he demanded of them. Whereupon he ordered them to receive a Garrison, and to deliver him one hundred Hostages for security of such Provision and Ammunition as he should store up in that City for his Service in the War against the Dacians; and that they should bring him in so much Corn; The Chief Men of the Town

Town thought not these conditions unreasonable, and had certainly granted them had not the People hindered them. The Commons were not troubled about the delivering the Hostages, for they were well assured none of their Children would be accepted but only those of the best Families of the City; but when they saw the Garrison approach, they could not endure to look on them, but in a fury ran to the Gates, shut them, and mounted afresh upon the Walls to defend them. Wherefore *Cæsar* caused a Bridge to be built over the River, and began his Lines of Circumvallation. After which keeping the inhabitants inclosed, he began to raise two terrasses, to hinder which the besieged made several Sallies, which not succeeding they threw down abundance of firebrands; Expecting relief to come from *Peonia*. And indeed the Peonians came; but *Cæsar* having laid an Ambush in their way, kill'd a great party of them, and put the rest to flight, so that they no more concerned themselves in the relief of *Segesta*. However the Segestains bravely sustained the siege till the thirtieth day; but at length after a long and obstinate resistance their hearts failed, and they learnt to ask pardon. *Cæsar* admiring their Valour, and moved to compassion at their Prayers, would not put them to death, nor make them suffer any thing in their Persons, but contenting himself to make them pay a sum of Money, ordered them to retire into one quarter of the City and placed there five and twenty Cohorts in Garrison.

That done he went back to *Rome* with design to return into *Illyria*, And accordingly upon a Rumor that the Segestains had already defeated the Garrison that was in their City, made hast thither, though it was the Winter season: he found the report was false, but that indeed something had passed which gave occasion to this discourse, that the Garrison had been in danger, having been assaulted at unawares by the Inhabitants, and some of them slain, but that the Roman Soldiers falling the next day upon the Citizens had made themselves secure of the City. Wherefore he thence marched his Army against the Dalmatians another Nation Neighboring on the Taulantians; For since that in the time of *Gabinus* they had defeated five Roman Cohorts, whose Ensigns they had taken, their hearts were so puffed up, that for ten years together they had not laid down Arms, but were resolved to come with the Segestains to Encounter *Cæsar*. They were in Number more then twelve thousand, all men of courage, Commanded by a chosen General called *Versus*, who assaulting once more the City of *Promona* in *Liburnia*, had Entrenched himself with a large ditch and a good Palisado, and had sited likewise on some places very strongly situate, for it is a Mountainous Country full of sharp and pointed Rocks. He therefore continued his siege of that City with the greater part of his Forces, the rest he posted on the Mountain tops, from whence they might with ease discover the Roman Camp. *Cæsar* made a show as if he would inclose them with a wall, but indeed sent privately the most daring of his men to discover the paths that led up to the mountain tops. They marched through the woods and having without any noise gained the top of the Rocks, they fell upon those that guarded them by night, while they yet slept, and made a great slaughter. At the same time they sent to tell *Cæsar* that they had found the end of the way, but wanted more forces to perfect the rest. In the mean time they let go from those Rocks they had surpris'd by force, some Prisoners one after another, whose report so terrified those were posted on the other heights that they thought themselves inclosed on all sides, and especially some who wanting water, in

some of the highest places fearing lest all the retreats should be sieged on, that they forthwith descended to *Promona*, *Cæsar* caused the City and two hills which the Enemy yet held to be environed with a wall of forty furlongs about, and in the mean time went to encounter *Teutinius* who was coming with another Army, to relieve the besieged, defeats him, chases him among the Mountains, and in the very teeth of him takes *Promona*; for before the Circumvallation was finished, the besieged making a Salley were so vigorously beaten back by the Romans, that they entred Pell Mell with them into the City, where having slain one part of the Inhabitants, the rest saved themselves in the Cittadel, he presently siezed on the Town Gates, and gave the Guard of one to a Roman Cohort, which was the fourth night assailed by the Barbarians and surpris'd with the sudden fright quitted their Post, but *Cæsar* coming in enclosed the besieged, who the next morning yielded to discretion, he pardoned them, but for the Regiment that had quitted their Post, he made them draw Lots, and put to death every tenth Soldier with two Captains, and for the rest of that Company gave them only Barly, while the others had Wheat. Thus was *Promona* taken. As for *Teutinius* he had in his flight disperfed his Army into several parties, wherefore the Romans pursued him not very far, for not knowing the Country, and seeing in the woods so many different paths, which answered not one to the other, they were fearful of dividing their Army into so many several bodies. There was in this wood a deep valley of a long extent between two Mountains, where formerly the Dalmatians had lain hid to surprise *Gabinus*. Here likewise they laid an Ambush for *Cæsar*, but he set the wood on fire, where the ways met, and dividing his Army into three parts, of which two took their march on both sides, along the skirts of the Mountains, that they might at any time come in to his relief, and he with the third marched through the valley, causing the wood to be cut down before him, or setting all on fire, and storming the Towns. He besieged one called *Setovia*, whither the Barbarians flocked in great Numbers to cast in some relief, but he being ready to receive them routed them, so that none could get into the City. Yet he was wounded in the Knee with a blow of a Stone, which made him for some time keep his Bed. Being somewhat recovered he returned to *Rome* to make himself Consul with *Barbatus Tullus*, whom he took for Colleague, and in the mean time left *Statilius Taurus* to command the Army. After he had taken possession of the Consulate in the beginning of the Month, he quitted the same day the Government of the Commonwealth to *Anthony*, and departed to *Dalmatia* assuming again the quality of Triumvir though the last five years time was expired since *Augustus*, *Anthony* and *Lepidus* had usurped the Sovereign Authority which was afterwards confirmed to them by the People. The Dalmatians therefore oppressed with famine, because all passages for bringing them Provision were cut off, yielded at discretion, and delivered seven hundred Hostages of their own Children. He demanded of them the Roman Ensigns which *Gabinus* had lost, and ordered them to pay the tributes formerly agreed upon by *C. Cæsar*, of which till now they had defer'd the payment. Thus for the future they became more obedient, and *Cæsar* sent away the Ensigns in the Galley called the *Octavian*.

v

The Dalmatians brought under subjection. The Derbains upon the News that *Cæsar* marched towards them, sent him likewise Deputies to implore his favor with offers to give Hostages, and pay those tributes, they had

had for some time neglected, so that when he came nearer they delivered up their Hostages, and confirmed the Ancient Treaty, which they had refused to do whilst he was farther from them, by reason of his wound. It seems to me that of all the people of *Illyria*, they were the last reduced by *Cæsar* under his obedience, either of those revolted against the Romans or which had never been under their Dominion. Wherefore the Senate granted him the Honor of Triumph over the Illyrians, though he triumphed not till after the Defeat of *Anthony*. The rest of the People of *Illyria* according to the opinion of the Romans, are the Rhetians situate before the Peonians, and after the Peonians the Noricks and the Mysians, who extend themselves to the Euxine Sea, and I am of opinion that the Rhetians and the Noricks were either subdued by *C. Cæsar*, when he made War upon the Celtes, or by *Augustus* in his Expedition against the Peonians, for I find not that any Roman did particularly make War upon these Nations, which makes me the rather think they were made subject at the same time with their Neighbors. True it is that *Marcus Lucullus* brother to *Lucius Lucullus* that defeated *Mithridates*, overran all *Mysia* as far as the *Ister*, near which there are four Greek Cities *Istros*, *Dionysopolis*, *Odyssa* and *Mesembria*, and that he brought out of *Gaul* that great Statue of *Apollo* which is to be seen in the Palace; but I do not remember to have read, that ever any Roman that had Command in the Commonwealth, ever had any thing farther to do with the Mysians, or ever forced them to pay tribute, no not *Augustus* himself. As for *Tiberius*, who was Emperor after *Augustus*, certain it is that the Mysians were under his obedience, but I have spoken of all these things in writing the actions of the Roman People before the Conquest of *Ægypt*. And as for the Countries possessed by the Emperors after the subduing of *Ægypt* as they relate to their particular Actions, so after having treated of general Affairs, I have wrote a particular Book wherein mention is made of the Mysians in divers places. But since the Romans reckon the Mysians among the people of *Illyria*, I was willing to make this mention of them in this Volume, Entitled the wars of *Illyria*, which I should not have thought perfect, if I had not set down, that a long time before *Lucullus* commanding under the authority of the People, had made incursions into *Mysia*, and that *Tiberius* had re-united it to the Empire.

The End of the Illyrian War:

A P P I A N
 OF
 ALEXANDRIA,
 HIS
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 Roman Wars
 AGAINST THE
 GAULS.

PART I.

BOOK VI.

The Argument of this Book.

- I. **T**HE Gauls coming to invade Italy, are several times defeated. II. Cæsar going against the Gauls conquers them, and is the first of all the Roman Generals that passed into England or crossed the Rhine.

THE

THE Gauls were the first of any people in the World, that came to make War upon the Romans, they set the whole City on fire after they had taken it, saving only the Capitol. *Camillus* defeated them, and chased them from *Rome*, and sometime after being returned in Arms to the Gates of the City, the same *Camillus* again defeated them, and triumphed at the age of fourscore Years. They undertook a third expedition into *Italy*, but the Roman Army commanded by *T. Quintus*, enclosed them round, and made a horrible slaughter. After that the * Boiens the most valiant of all the Gauls, being entred in Arms into the Roman Territories, *Salpustius* the Dictator, went against them and overcame them, by this way of fighting, he divided his Forces into four Battalions, of which the first went and discharged their piles upon the Enemy, and presently retired; the second did the like, and so the third, and fourth in their order, avoyding by this means the Darts thrown at them by the Enemy. And after they had all discharged they joyned their Bodies, and with terrible shouts ran desperately with their Swords in their hands upon the grofs of their Enemies, for they thought the Gauls already maimed with showers of Piles, would be absolutely daunted, when they saw themselves so furiously charged, by so many men together. And indeed all the Army of the Boiens were cut in pieces by the Romans, who with much bravery, put the Orders into Execution; now the Pile is a sort of Arms differing from the Javelin; for the Shaft is square, and the Iron of the same length with the Shaft, square in like manner and only sharp at the point. *Popilius* defeated likewise another Army of the Gauls, and after him *Camillus*, the Son of the first *Camillus* another. *Æmilius Probus* likewise erected Trophies for a Victory gained ore the same Nation, but sometime before the consulate of *Marinus*, a prodigious multitude of Gauls, all valiant men, and in the Flower of their Age, made an Irruption into *Italy*, and into the *Narbonese* Province; where having beaten some Roman Consuls, and pillaged their very Camps, *Marinus* was sent against them, who cut them all in pieces.

The last and greatest of all the Wars the Romans had against the Gauls, was under *Cæsar*, for in ten Years that he commanded in *Gallia*, he defeated four Millions of men, of which one Million were taken Prisoners in Fight, and as many slain, he reduced under his obedience four hundred Nations, and eight hundred Cities, reckoning as well those who being revolted he forced to return to their duty, as those he conquered. It is true that before *Marinus*, *Fabius Maximus Æmilianus*, having with a small Power assailed a vast Army of Gauls, killed sixscore thousand of them, in one only Battel; and though he was then afflicted with a Wound newly received, yet he performed this noble Action by going through the Ranks sometimes in his Litter, and sometimes on foot, sustained only by two men on each side of him, encouraging his men, and teaching them how to deal with the Barbarians.

To proceed. *Cæsar* having began his War by the * Helvetians and * Tigurians put two hundred thousand of them to the Rout; of whom the first were defeated by *Labiennus* his Lieutenant, and the other with the *Ticourians* that assisted them, by himself (these were the same Tigurians who formerly had caused the Army of *Piso* and *Cassius*, to pass under the Yoak, as we read in the Chronicle of *Claudius Ptolemy*) After which he

* Swiss.
* Canton of Zurich.

made

made War upon *Ariovistus* and the *Germani*, the lowest of whom was taller then the tallest Roman. They were fierce and salvage, despisers of death (being perswaded they should one day rise again) equally patient of heat and cold, and upon a need could live themselves on raw Herbs, and feed their Horses with the green Sprouts of Trees. Yet they seemed to be people not addicted to labour, and who fought not so much with Reason and Discipline, as with fierce and brutish Violence, in which the Romans had the advantage of them, for they for their parts ran on all together with such a fury that they made whole Legions recoil, whilst the Romans easily giving ground without breaking their Ranks, got the day by their Conduct, and at last cut in pieces fourscore thousand of them. After this Victory *Cæsar* having assailed the * Belgians at the Passage of a certain River, and killed such numbers, that the heaps of dead Bodies served for a Bridge to pass over his Army, but he was hard put to it by the * Nervians who surprising him in his March, before he could put his Army in order, made a horrible slaughter. Most of his Tribunes and Centurions were slain in this conflict, and himself forced to retreat to a Hill with his Guards, where the Enemies kept him besieged, till the tenth Legion falling into the Besiegers Rear cut them all in pieces, though they were no less then sixty thousand men descended of the Cimbrians and the Teutons. The same *Cæsar* defeated the * *Allobroges*, and slew four hundred thousand * *Usipetes* and *Tencterians*, as well armed as disarmed, but the *Sicambres* assaulting at unawares five thousand of his Horse only with five hundred put them to flight, yet they were afterwards defeated, and paid dear for their boldness. *Cæsar* was likewise the first of the Romans that crossed the *Rhine*, or passed over into *Brittain*, an Island so great that it seems another Continent, and of which till then the Romans had no knowledge. He took his time when the Sea was low to embarque his men, and the Flood coming in, his Fleet was rayed up by the Waves, at first insensibly, then a little faster, till at last having Wind and Tide, he came over into *Brittain*.

* *Hellens*.* *Thore of the
Tribes of
Cambry.** *Sicambres.** *Drachins of
Zupthen
Cleves and
Ecrg.*

The end of the Gallick War.

APPIAN

A P P I A N
 OF
 ALEXANDRIA,
 HIS
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 IBERIAN,
 OR
 Spanish War.

PART I.

BOOK VII.

The Argument of this Book.

I. **D**escription of Spain. II. The occasions of the Wars in Spain, between the Romans and Carthaginians. III. Hannibal made General besieges Saguntum. IV. War declared, and Hannibal marches to Italy. V. Pub. and Cn. Scipio slain in Spain. VI. Scipio the Son of Publius Proconsul into Spain, takes Carthagea by storm. VII. He defeats Asdrubal Son of

of Gisco at Lerfa, and at Careo totally routs him, Mago and Massaniſſa. VIII. Aldrubal Son of Amilcar marches with his Army into Italy and Scipio goes himſelf to King Syphax in Africa. IX. Scipio and his Lieutenants take ſeveral Cities, the deſperate Courage of the Aſtapians. X. Mutiny in Scipio's Army puniſhed: Indibilis ſuppreſſed: Maſſaniſſa ſeeks Scipio's friendſhip. Mago goes for Liguria, and Scipio for Rome, where he triumphs. XI. Cato ſent into Spain defeats the Confederate Cities, his policy to diſmantle the Cities of Spain. XII. The ſucceſſes of Flaccus and Gracchus in Spain. XIII. A General Revolt of the Spaniards. Nobilior Wars againſt them with ill ſucceſs. XIV. Marcellus makes a peace with the Spaniards which is diſallowed by the Senate. XV. Lucullus Treachery, Cruelty and Covetouſneſs: Cornelius Scipio's ſingle Combat. XVI. The War carried into Portugal, Manlius proſecutes it firſt with ill, but afterwards with good ſucceſs. XVII. Attilius and Galba carry on the War: Galba's cruelty and covetouſneſs: Viriatus choſen General of the Barbarians. XVIII. The Viriatick War. XIX. The continuation of that War and Viriatus death. XX. The beginning of the Numantine War, with ill ſucceſs to the Romans. XXI. Scipio made Conſul and ſent into Spain, reforms and diſciplines the Army. XXII. He lays cloſe ſiege to Numantia. XXIII. The unexpreſſible miſeries endured by the Numantines; they ſurrender to Scipio. XXIV. The Actions of ſeveral other Generals in Spain, and the concluſion of this Hiſtory.

I.

THE Pyrenean hills extend themſelves from the Tyrrhene Sea, to the Northern Ocean. On the Eaſt of which inhabit the Celts ſurnamed Galatians, or Gauls, and to the Weſt the Celtiberi, poſſeſſing all that circuit of ground, which is waſhed by the Tyrrhene Sea, and ſo round about by the Pillars of Hercules to the vaſt Septentri nal Ocean; for all Spain ſave only what is incloſed by the Pyrenean Mountains, which with a mighty and almoſt ſtreight line ſeparate it from the reſt of Europe, is embraced by the Sea. But though it may be ſailed round, yet the inhabitants only navigate the Tyrrhene Sea, as far as Hercules Pillars, forbearing the Weſt and Northern parts, unleſs when they are carried to Brittain with the tide which ſets that way only half the day. Beyond, neither the Romans, nor any of the Romans Subjects ever adventured. But Iberia, or (as ſome call it) Spain, is of too vaſt an extent to be imagined only one Region, for as well in length as breadth it reaches near * ten thouſand Furlongs, abounding with divers and ſundry Nations, and many Navigable Rivers. Who were the firſt and moſt ancient Inhabitants of Spain (being only to write a Roman Hiſtory) I think not very neceſſary to make any ſtrict inquiry into, but certainly the Celts at ſome time or other climbing over the Pyreneans, and mixing their habitations with the Iberians, from thence gave them the Name of Celtiberians. 'Tis my Opinion likewiſe, that from very Ancient time, the Phenicians for Traffick ſake ſailing to and fro, poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome parts of Spain. As alſo ſome Greeks brought to Tarteffus, to King Arganthonius by Sea, might very probably ſeat themſelves in thoſe places (for Arganthonius then Reigned in Spain, and Tarteffus was a Maritime Town which is now called Carpeſſus). But that Temple of Hercules which at this day ſtands near the Pillars, ſeems to be built by the Phenicians; from this ſole Argument, that even with in our memory, that God was there worſhipped with Phenician Ceremonies, and

* One thouſand
two hundred
and fifty miles.

and called the Tyrian, and not the Theban *Hercules*. But I willingly forbear writing of those Antiquities. This fruitful Country abundant in all good things, the Carthaginians before the Romans attempted and invaded, and already were possessed of some parts, and spoiled and robbed others, until the Romans driving them out, soon became Masters of all they possessed, and the Remainder likewise, after long time, much labour and frequent revolts, being by them brought under, they divided into three parts, to each of which they sent Pretors. Now how they subdued them, and how first with the Carthaginians, and afterwards with the Celtiberians they waged War, shall be the subject of this Book; the first Part of which contains the Carthaginian Affairs: For their concerns in *Spain*, it was necessary for me to transfer to the Spanish History, for the same Reasons as I have in the Sicilian History treated of such things, as were acted between the Romans and Carthaginians in *Sicily*, from the time that the Romans first crossed over into that Island, and began to usurp the Dominion of it; for the Romans first waged a tedious War with the Carthaginians, in *Sicily* for *Sicily* it self, and another in *Spain* for *Spain*, whilst at the same both led mighty Forces into other of their Enemies Territories, and these wasted *Italy* and those *Lybia*.

Now this War began in the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, principally after the breach of the League, made in the Sicilian War, upon this occasion. *Amilcar*, surnamed *Barcas*, at such time when he commanded as General the Carthaginian Army, had made promise of great rewards to the Mercenary Gauls, and Auxiliary Africans, which when they at his return into *Lybia* laid claim to, kindled the African War. In which besides many damages suffered by the Carthaginians from the Africans themselves, they yielded up *Sardinia* to the Romans, as a reprizal of those losses the Roman Merchants had in this African War sustained. Wherefore *Barcas* summoned by his Adversaries to Judgement, as the Instrument of inflicting all these calamities upon his Country, having drawn to his party the Heads of the Commonwealth (by the means especially of *Asdrubal* his Son-in-law, who was very popular) not only evaded a Trial, but a War then happening with the Numidians, prevailed to be chosen General with *Hanno*, surnamed the Great, before he had given any account of former administration. This War ended, and *Hanno* for some Crimes recalled, he remaining sole Commander of the Army, with his Son-in-Law *Asdrubal*, crossing the Strait, comes to *Cadiz*, and though he had received no injury from the Spaniards, waits their Confines, seeking only an opportunity to continue abroad, do some great Actions, and be able to exercise his liberality to the people: For whatever he took by War he so divided, that the Soldier had one part, to oblige them to be the trustier Associates of his Rapines, one part he sent to *Carthage*, and another distributed into Gifts, to such of the Heads of the Commonwealth as favoured him; and this course he held till several petty Spanish Kings, and other powerful men, conspiring against him by this means, cut him off. They yoked Oxen into Carts loaden with Wood, and driving them towards the Enemy, marched themselves armed behind, which when the Africans perceived, not dreaming of any such daring deceitful design, they burst out into a laughter; but when they came so near as to engage, the Spaniards setting fire to the Wood, drove their Carts amongst the Enemy, and the flame growing violent, the Oxen hurrying them hither and thither, disordered the Africans, and breaking their main Body, the

Spaniards slew *Barcas* himself, and many others coming in to their relief. But the Carthaginians having already tasted the sweetness of Spanish plunder, would not to give over, but sent again fresh Forces into *Spain*, whom they gave Commission to *Asdrubal*, *Amilcar's* Son-in-Law, to Command: And he chose *Hannibal* (soon after famous for warlike exploits) though now but a young man, yet very daring, and well beloved by the Soldiery, for his Lieutenant General. By whose labour and diligence in Warlike Affairs, together with his Curtesie and Eloquence (in which he excelled) he added to his Command a great part of *Spain*, extending the power of his Arms from the Western Ocean to the River *Iberus*, which divides *Spain* in the midst, and about five days journey from the Pyrenean Mountains runs into the Septentrional Ocean. But the Saguntines, which were a Colony of the people of *Zant*, and other Greeks, who inhabited the Mart-towns, and other places of *Spain*, growing jealous of their own safety, sent Ambassadors to *Rome*. The Senate, who were unwilling to have the power of the Carthaginians advanced or enlarged, dispatched an Embassie to *Carthage*, where it was agreed, that the limits of the Carthaginian Empire should be the River *Iberus*, beyond which neither should it be lawful for the Carthaginians by Arms to provoke their Allies, nor for them to pass over to make War upon the Carthaginians, but the Saguntines, and other Greeks should enjoy their liberty. And to this end a solemn Instrument was signed on both sides. In the mean time, while *Asdrubal* governed that part of *Spain*, subject to the Carthaginians, a Slave (that he might offer an acceptable Sacrifice to the Ghost of his dead Master, cruelly murdered by *Asdrubal's* command) suddenly and privately assaulting him, as he was carelessly hunting, slew him, and being soon after convicted of the Fact, was with dreadful Torments put to death by *Hannibal*; who forthwith, though very young, yet dearly beloved by the Soldiers, was by the Army saluted General, and their Military Grant confirmed by consent of the Senate. When the death of *Amilcar* and *Asdrubal* was known among those, who in several parts of the Commonwealth stood in fear of their Power, they began to despise *Hannibal's* youth, and to transport the crimes of the dead on their Clients and Friends; the people consenting with the Accusers, and mindful of past injuries, making others guilty of the sorrows they had under *Amilcar* and *Asdrubal* patiently endured: even to the compelling those that from them had received great presents to restore them to the Publick, as part of the Prey gotten from the Enemy. They therefore sent Letters to *Hannibal*, desiring his assistance and support, and warily advising him, that if he neglected those, who should be his assistants at home, he would become contemptible to all his Fathers Enemies: But he of himself fore-seeing all these things, and not being ignorant, but that by endangering his Friends, they laid Snares for him, as formerly they had done for his Father and Brother-in-Law, though it behoved him to be very careful of his Conduct, lest always fearfully delaying and dissembling his hate, he should be tormented with continual debate, and perpetually exposed to the lust and will of the Carthaginian people, light and inconstant, and ever ingrateful to those deserved best of them. Besides Fame reported, that when yet a Boy, his Father had at the flaming Altars made him swear, That when ever he should be called to Office in the Commonwealth, he should be an eternal Enemy to the Romans. For this reason he imagined, that if he could involve his Country in lasting and difficult troubles, and distract them with high and doubtful undertakings, his Friends would be safe: He now beheld not only *Africa*

frica in Peace, but likewise the Carthaginian Dominion in *Spain*; but if he could stir up War with *Rome* (which he vehemently desired) he thought his fellow Citizens would have their Heads filled with cares and fears, whilst he, if this War had happy success, should gain immortal glory, having added to his Country the Empire of the World, which if taken from the Romans there were no other Competitors for it: Or if his hopes failed him, future Ages would at least applaud his noble attempts.

To give a brave beginning to these Designs, he consulted how to cross the *Iberus*; and having commanded the *Torboletæ*, Neighbours to the Saguntines; whose Fields the Saguntines had wasted to come to him, sends them to *Carthage*, and among other secrets, writes that the Roman Spaniards solicited the Carthaginian allies to revolt, charging herewith those of *Saguntum*, and weaving all he did with craft, so often writes this, that at length the Senate decreed he should deal with the Saguntines, as he thought fit. Laying hold on this occasion, he contrived that the *Torboletæ* should again come to him to complain against the Saguntines, who summoned to send to him their Deputies; when they were come, he commanding all matters of Controversie, between both parties, should be disputed before him, they answered, That they referred all things to the Romans; whereat *Hannibal* enraged, commanded them forthwith to depart the Camp, and himself the same night, with all his Forces, crossing the *Iberus*, began to waste their Territories, and to bring his Engines before the City, which because he saw he could not take by force, he begirt with a Trench and Pallisado, raising Towers at convenient distances, and resolving to reduce it by Siege. The Saguntines oppressed with this sudden and unexpected invasion, sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, and the Senate with them dispatched away others: First, to admonish *Hannibal* of the League; and if he would not obey, then to go to *Carthage* to complain of him. These arriving in *Spain* by Sea, were coming towards the Camp, when *Hannibal* forbid them to advance any farther. Wherefore they bent their course directly towards *Carthage*, where being arrived, and pleading the Solemn League and Contract, the Carthaginians accused the Saguntines of having wronged their Subjects: the Ambassadors proposed, That the difference should be decided by Roman Judges: they replied, They used not to refer wrongs to judgement, which they could revenge themselves of. This being reported at *Rome*, some voted the sending present assistance to the Saguntines, but others judged it better to delay it, because in the Articles of Peace they were not written Allies to the people of *Rome*, but free, and to enjoy their Liberty. This last opinion carried it: So that the Saguntines despairing of the Roman aid, all things growing scarce, by reason of the long Siege (for *Hannibal* finding it at first well stored, and abounding in all things, was the more industrious to straiten them) they by Publick Proclamation commanded all the Gold and Silver, both Publick and Private, to be brought into the Market place, and there that it might be of no use to *Hannibal*, melted it down with Lead, Brasses, and other baser Metals. Then thinking it more honourable to dye fighting, than be starved with hunger; made a Sally by night, and with great fury fell into the Africans Quarters, yet sleeping, and suspecting no such thing, killing some, as they rose out of their Beds, and trembling, snatch'd at their Arms, and others, as they opposed them: but after a tedious conflict, many Africans, and all the Saguntines were slain. The Women from the Walls beholding the death of their Husbands, some threw them-

III.

* Cartagena.

selves from the Roofs of their Houses, others hanged themselves, and others cut their Childrens Throats. This was the sad end of a City, once rich and potent. *Hannibal* finding how they had cheated him of his Gold, in a rage caused all the Captives, and Youth remaining, to be slain. But the City being seated near the Sea, and not far from *Carthage*, in a fruitful Soil, he restored and replenished with new Inhabitants, making it a Carthaginian Colony, which is now, as I think the same called * *Carthago Spartagena*.

IV.

The Romans hereupon sent Ambassadors to *Carthage*, whom they demanded to deliver up *Hannibal*, as having broken the League, unless they would by publick assent own whatever he had done, and if they refused to deliver him, forthwith to declare War. The Demand being made, because they would not deliver up *Hannibal*, the War was in this manner denounced. The Ambassador smiling, and putting his hand into his bosom, told them, *I bring you here, O Carthaginians, either War or Peace, chuse which you will have*: They cried out, *Do thou then give us which thou please*: Whereupon he profering War, they all said they accepted it, and forthwith sent commands to *Hannibal*, that freely the League being now broken, he should now overcome all *Spain*. He marching to the neighbouring people, either by perswasions, force or fear gained them; gathered together mighty Forces, but revealing to none the design he had, though his strength were bent to the War in *Italy*, he had already sent Agents into *Gaul*, and some to make discovery of the passages of the *Alpes*, and how he might best carry his Forces to *Italy*, leaving his Brother *Asdrubal* in *Spain*, whilst the Romans supposed they had only a War to manage against the Carthaginians in *Spain* and *Africa*, without the least suspicion that ever they would enter *Italy*: For they had sent *Tiberius Sempronius Longus* with one hundred and sixty Ships, and two Legions into *Africa*. But what *Longus*, or other Roman Generals did in *Africa*, is set down in the Punick War. Moreover, into *Spain* they sent *P. Cornelius Scipio* with threescore Ship, ten thousand Foot, and seven hundred Horse, and gave him *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* for Lieutenant. Of these *Publius* more certainly informed, by the Marfilian Merchants, that *Hannibal* had already passed the *Alpes* into *Italy*, fearful lest finding the Italians unprepared, he should oppress them, leaving the Army he had in *Spain* with *Cneus* his Brother, and embarking on a Galley, he landed in * *Hetruria*. But what as well he, as other Generals commanding in this War did, till such time as after the expiration of sixteen years, they then hardly forced *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, the next Book shall declare, wherein all *Hannibal's* exploits performed in *Italy* are contained, wherefore it is intituled, *The Roman Wars with Hannibal*.

* TOLIM.

V.

Cneus did nothing memorable in *Spain*, before his Brothers coming; But the time of his Magistracy expired, the Romans gave Commission to the new Consuls to prosecute the War in *Italy*, and against *Hannibal* in the room of *Publius*; and commanded him to go Proconsul into *Spain*: from which time both of the Brothers joyntly maintained the War against *Asdrubal*, the African General till such time as *Syphax* King of the Numidians making War upon the Carthaginians, they called him home with the greatest part of his Forces, and in his absence they easily overpowred the rest, and as they were no less expert in the Duty of Generals then skilful in alluring, and pacifying the minds of men, they drew many Cities to their

their Party. But after Peace concluded with the Numidian King, the Carthaginians sending *Asdrubal* with a more powerful Army and thirty Elephants, joyning in Commission with him two Colleagues, *Mago*, and another *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gilco*, War lay heavier upon the *Scipio's*, who yet oftentimes retired victorious with the slaughter of many *Africans* and Elephants. Till Winter coming on, the *Africans* retired among the *Turditani* and for the *Scipio's*, *Cneus* went and wintered among the *Orsonenses*, and *Publius* among the *Castulovenſes*; which last having advice of *Asdrubal's* advancing that way, going out of the City with a small Party, only to discover the Enemies Camp, imprudently fell in with *Asdrubal* and his Horse, by whom both he and all that were with him were overpowered and cut in pieces. In the mean time *Cneus* Ignorant of this Calamity, had sent some Soldiers to his Brother to receive Corn, who joyning Battel with another Party of *Africans* they unexpectedly met upon the way: news of it being brought to *Cneus*, he made halt to their relief, with such Soldiers as he had in readiness, but the Carthaginians having before cut in pieces the other Party, fell upon *Cneus* likewise, and forced him to fly for shelter to a certain Tower, which setting on fire they burnt him and all his people. This misfortunate end had thole two brave men the *Scipio's*, leaving the Spaniards, especially those gained by their Conduct, to the Roman alliance, in no small regret for their loss.

The Fathers at *Rome* grievously afflicted at this distaster, sent *Marcellus* (newly come from *Sicily*) and with him *Claudius* into *Spain* with a thousand Horse, ten thousand Foot, and store of Provision, who whilst they sloathfully manage Affairs, the Carthaginian Power mightily increased in *Spain*, almost all the Province being possessed by them, and the Romans shut in the Pyrenean Mountains, which reported at *Rome*, more sadly disquieted the Fathers, fearful lest whilst *Hannibal* wasted those parts of *Italy* next the *Alpes*, the *Africans* should make a descent at the other end, wherefore though they willingly would have given over this Spanish War, yet they thought it not safe, apprehensive lest it likewise might be transferred to *Italy*; and therefore appointed a day of assembly, for the nominating a Proconsul for *Spain*, but when no man then stood for it, their fears revived, and a sad silence seized all the assembly. Till *Cornelius Scipio* (the Son of *Publius* slain in *Spain*) a very young man (being not yet twenty four years of Age) but prudent and valiant, and of a strong constitution, stepped forth in the midst of the people, and with a brave and noble boldness, discoursing first of his Father, and then of his Uncle, deploring both their misfortune, added that he alone was left of that Family to be the revenger of his Father, his Uncle, and his Country, and copiously and magnificently subjoyning many other things, as if inspired by some Divine Spirit promising not only the recovery of *Spain*, but the Conquest of *Africa* and *Carthage* it self, so that his discourse seemed to some to proceed only from youthful Levity, but because he cheered the peoples fainting minds with hope (for promises are Cordials to any that are in fear) thinking he had a heart fit for these great things, they chose him General for *Spain*, but the Old men interpreted this rather a confident rashness in him, then a settled bravery of mind; which when *Scipio* perceived he recalled the people to the Assembly, and with the same Gravity as before, speaking of his Age, said that it ought to be no objection to his undertakings, yet if any one of riper Years, would accept the command, he was ready to yield it to him. But none taking up the offer, he went with greater admiration and applause to this War, with ten thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse (for he was not permitted to carry

VI.

carry greater Forces, whilst *Hannibal* wasted *Italy*) with Money and other warlike Provision, and twenty eight Ships, which carried him into *Spain*, where joyning the Remain of the old *Spanish* Army to those he brought, and calling a Counsel, he confirmed the Soldiers minds, with a noble and eloquent Oration. And already the Fame was spread throughout all *Spain*, weary of the Carthaginian Government, and desirous of *Scipio's* Vertue, that *Scipio* the Son of *Scipio* was come, a General sent to them by the Counsel of the Gods. And *Scipio* himself knowing the opinion conceived of him, much improved it, by pretending to do nothing but by advice from above. But when he had certain knowledge that the Enemy had four standing Camps, at good distance from each other, and that their numbers were five and twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse, and that all their Stores, Money, Corn, Arms, Darts, Ships, Captives and Hostages for all *Spain*, were laid up in the City, called formerly *Saguntum*; but now *Carthagena*, where *Mago* commanded with ten thousand Carthaginians; he resolved, as thinking the Garrison of no great strength, first to invest this place, both because he was desirous to possess himself of such Stores, and because he understood, if he took this City, abounding in Silver, Gold, and all Riches, and whence it was but a short passage into *Africa*, it would be a secure retreat for him both from Sea and Land. Encouraged by these hopes, all men knowing whither he designed, about Sun-set he Discamped, and all night long marched towards *Carthagena*, and about break of day, began to open his Trenches, to the great terrour of the Enemy, who dream'd not of his coming; the next day he prepared for the assault, and disposed his Engines and Scaling Ladders, about all parts of the Town, save only in that place, where the Walls are low, by reason of the Seas washing them; for which reason likewise they are the less vigilantly defended. Then at night, when all were armed with Darts and Stones, the Fleet likewise lying before the Haven, lest the Enemies Ships should slip out (for this brave spirited man had conceived a certain hope of taking the Town) before day he advanced with his Machines, commanding those on the Machines to charge: *Mago* at the Gates instructs his ten thousand, that when they saw it convenient, they should rush forth only with their Swords, for that Spears would be of little use in those narrow places; the rest of his Soldiers he posted upon Towers, disposing many Engines, Stones, Darts, and Catapults upon the Walls, and with great diligence attending the Affair: At length the shot being given, the charge was stoutly made and received, Stones, Darts, and other sorts of missile Arms, flew about with great violence, some from hands, some from Machines, and some from Slings; and if there were any other device, it was made use off. But *Scipio's* men were hard put to it, for those ten thousand men that were at the Gates, rushing out with their Swords in their hands, upon those that thrust forward the Engines, and giving and taking many wounds, the dispute was a long time equal: till at length by unwearied courage, and fixed resolution, the Romans got the better; and then Fortune changing, those who stood upon the Walls began to be afflicted: but when the Scaling Ladders were applied; the Carthaginians, who had sallied only with their short Swords speedily returning into the City, shut the Gates, and leap'd upon the Walls: So that now new work and labour was cut out for the Romans. Whilst these things were doing, *Scipio*, who was no where absent, encouraging and cheering up his men, observing about noon that the water was fallen away, from that part where the Bay washed the lower

ower Wall (for at certain hours the Sea Eb'd and Flow'd) and was now so shoal, some places it was not above brest, and in others scarce midleg high; and knowing the Nature of the Bay, that it would continue thus shallow all the remainder of the day, until the accustomed return of the Tide, he cryed out with a loud voice, *Now Soldiers, now is the time, now God our helper comes, now storm that Wall, where the Sea of its own accord withdrawing opens you a way: Now with speed bring your Ladders, I myself will show you the way.* This said, snatching a Ladder, he sets it to the Wall, and would himself first have mounted, if his Esquires and other Soldiers had not hindred him; but they therewith clapping many Ladders at once to the Wall, and both sides meeting with great noise and fury, made a mighty slaughter of each other, till the Romans having possessed themselves of some of the higher Towers. *Scipio* filling them with Trumpets and Cornets, commanded them to sound as loud as possibly they could, according to the custom when a City is taken; whilst in the mean time others running about, fill'd all places with tumult and confusion; and some in this disorder of their Enemies leaping over the Walls, and let in *Scipio's* whole Army, whereupon the Townsmen run to their Houses, and *Mago* with his ten thousand drew up into the Market place, where being most at the first charge slain, and he only with a few fled to the Castle; *Scipio* presently following, and *Mago* perceiving no hopes of safety left, his Soldiers being all utterly dismay'd and astonished, yielded himself. Thus by his Gallantry and good Fortune, a rich and powerful City in one day (the fourth of his setting down before it) reduced under *Scipio's* power; he began to conceive hopes of mighty things, and now the common Fame spread concerning him, that he acted nothing but by Divine Counsel, was more and more confirmed, and himself had the same opinion, believing henceforward all his undertakings directed from above; and whenever he went into the Capitol, having caused the Gates to be shut, he often staid there a long time, as if he had been conferring with some God: whence now in solemn Poms a Statue of *Scipio's* is only brought out of the Capitol, and all the rest out of the place of Assemblies. This City thus taken, furnished with all things necessary for Peace or War: *Scipio* found there vast quantities of all sorts of spoil, store of Arms, Darts, Engines, Rigging, and thirty three Gallies, Corn and sundry sorts of Provisions; Ivory, Gold and Silver, as well wrought into Vessels and coined, as uncoined in abundance, together with all the Spanish Hostages and Prisoners, and such as had before been taken from the Romans. The next day having sacrificed, celebrated the Victory, and applauded the Soldiers Valour; he likewise assembled the Townsmen, and in an Oration admonished them to keep in memory the Name of the *Scipio's*. Then he sent the Captives every one to their homes, hoping by this kindness to bring over their Cities to his party. He likewise distributed rewards to the Soldiers; to him who first mounted the Walls, a very large one, to the second half so much, to the third a third part, and to the rest according to their Deserts and Valour. What Gold, Silver or Ivory he found, he sent upon the Enemies Ships to *Rome*, where they decreed three days Supplication, because after so many Miseries the Publick Happiness began to take breath: but the greatness and celerity of this bold attempt, forely terrified both the Spaniards, and the Carthaginians that were in *Spain*. *Scipio* leaving a Garrison in *Carthage*, and giving orders for raising higher the Wall to the Sea side, went himself about the rest of the Province, or sent Friends into several parts to renew an alliance with them, and those who would not comply, he reduced by force of Arms.

Asdrubal

VII. *Asarubal*, the Son of *Amilcar*, one of the Carthaginian Generals had far distant in *Celtiberia*, a chosen Army of Mercenary Soldiers, and the other the Son of *Gisco*, sending Agents to those Cities, who had hitherto continued faithful to the Carthaginians, to persuade them still to continue their fidelity, in a short time hoped to see innumerable Forces in *Spain*; and *Mago* he sent into all the adjacent parts to list men under pay, whilst in the mean time himself in *Lersa* entering in hostile manner into their Territories, who had fallen off; prepared to lay Siege to some Towns, but frightened with *Scipio's* sudden approach, he retreated to *Batica*, and fortified both the City and his Camp, where few days after he was overcome by *Scipio*, who possessed himself both of Camp and City: whereupon he issued out Orders for all the Carthaginian Forces throughout *Spain*, to come to the City of *Cureo*, resolving with his whole united Power to fall upon *Scipio*. And already, there were come in to him no small number of Spaniards under *Mago's* Conduct, and Numidians under the Command of *Massanissa*. *Asarubal* with his Foot lay entrenched; *Massanissa* and *Mago* with his Horse in Quarters: *Scipio* had so divided his Foot as to send *Laelius* with one part against *Mago*, whilst himself with the other fell upon *Massanissa*. This fight was somewhat doubtful and dangerous to the Romans; for the Numidians at a distance threw their Darts, and so wheeling off, returned again to the charge at pleasure; but when *Scipio* commanded his men, that after throwing their Piles with all their force, they should press in as hard as they could upon the Enemy, then the Numidians not having room to wheel, were worsted, and fled away to their Camp: *Scipio* in a strong and safe place, as he could wish for, pitched his Camp, within ten furlongs of his Enemy. In the Carthaginian Army were seventy thousand Foot, fifteen hundred Horse, and thirty six Elephants. *Scipio* had not a part of that number, wherefore he for some time forbore fighting, save only for some light skirmishes; but when through want of Provisions, hunger began to afflict his Army, thinking it dishonourable to retreat, having first sacrificed; suddenly (though otherwise his Army were both willing and ready enough) he affirmed, God had according to custom appeared to him, and exhorted him to engage the Enemy, that they should rather relye upon the Divine Conduct, then upon force and multitude; for the greatest Victories were not gained by numbers of Men, but by the grace and favour of the Gods. And whilst they gave credit to his words, he commanded the Diviners to bring forth the Entrails; and as he was speaking, seeing some Birds fly to and again, with great rejoicing and earnestness he showed them, as a certain sign of Victory, given him from above; and as if at the sight of them, he had been possessed by some spirit, now viewing them, and now crying out, turned about after them, the whole Army imitating their General in his several postures; and he turning this and that way towards the Soldiers, stirred them up as to a Victory already prepared for them, till now having wrought them up to his wishes, he thought not convenient to let their Courage cool by any delay; but whilst they were persuaded, all he yet spoke was by Divine Instinct, not in the heat of that persuasion, after such lucky signs, protract the fight: Wherefore, as soon as they had eaten, he commanded his Soldiers to Arms, and giving the charge of the Horse to *Syllanus*, and of the Foot to *Laelius*, and *Martius* rushed unexpectedly upon the Enemy, for the Camps being but ten furlongs distant from each other, *Scipio* was upon them before *Asarubal's*, *Mago's* or *Massanissa's* men

men could take any food to refresh them, forcing them hastily to snatch up their Arms, not without great Consternation and Tumult. Both Horse and Foot being then engaged, the Roman Horse got the better; for as they had done in the former fight, charging home, and with great fury upon the Numidians, so that they could not make a retreat, and then again wheel about upon the Enemy, they soon made their Darts ineffectual. But the Foot much inferiour in number, were oppressed by the Africans, and were now yielding up the honour of the day, nor would by any of *Scipio's* encouragements or exhortations be perswaded to stand, till the General himself giving his Horse to his Boy, and snatching a Shield, runs alone between both Battels, and with a loud voice crying out, *Now or never Romans rescue your Scipio from danger.* At that voice, both those those who stood next and saw, and those farther off who heard what danger he was in, altogether moved, as well with respect as fear for their General, with great outcries ran violently upon the Enemy, whose charge the Africans not able to sustain, (for towards evening their strength failed them for want of Food) began to give ground. Then in a short time was made a most horrible slaughter; such success had *Scipio* at the Battel of *Carco*, which long time seemed doubtful and dangerous, there were slain about eight hundred of the Romans, and about fifteen thousand of the Enemy. *Scipio* pursued the Africans, who made a hasty retreat, infesting and charging them in Flank or Rear, where-ever he could reach them, till they having gained a certain Post, fortified by Nature, commodious for Water and Provisions, and inexpugnable by any means, but a tedious Siege, called upon by other Affairs, he left *Syllanus* to block them up, and went himself through the rest of *Spain*, reducing the Cities to obedience. The Africans besieged by *Syllanus*, by little and little made their retreat towards the Sea side, that they might get over into *Cadiz*, followed in their March by *Syllanus*, who incommoded them to the utmost of his power, and returned to *Scipio* to *Carthagera*.

Now *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Amilcar*, having towards the Northern Ocean leaved new Forces, being called by his Brother *Hannibal* into *Italy*, taking his March along the Coasts of the North Sea, that he might secure himself from *Scipio*; and crossing over the Pyrenean Mountains, he got down in *Gaul* with a numerous Army of Celtiberian Mercenaries; and thus unknown to the Romans made haste into *Italy*. Mean while *Lucius* returning from *Rome*, told *Scipio* that the Romans had some thoughts of sending him to command in *Africa*; which being what he himself had often before hoped and wished for, he dispatched away *Lelius* in five Ships to *Africa*, with presents to King *Syphax*, to put him in mind of *Scipio's* Friendship, and to entreat him to enter into a League offensive and defensive with him, if the Romans should send any Forces into *Africa*: *Syphax* having accepted the presents, and returned others, promised to do as he desired; which when the Carthaginians heard, they likewise sent Ambassadors to *Syphax*, to treat an Alliance with him, whereof *Scipio* having certain intelligence, and judging wisely, that if the Carthaginians should rob him of *Syphax* friendship, it would be a thing of no small importance, he resolved to go in person to him, and accompanied with *Lelius*, embarked on two Gallies, and steered his course towards *Africa*, when he came nigh the shore, and was upon the point of entering the Harbour, the Carthaginian Ambassadors (unknown to the King) armed out those long Ships they had, and in hostile manner went to meet him,

VIII.

but *Scipio* setting his Sails was too swift for them, and got safely into Port. *Syphax* invited both parties to be his guests but privately made a league with *Scipio*, and having engaged himself by faithful promise dismissed him, and lest the Carthaginians should have any design to intercept him, detained them somewhat longer with him, till he had reached so far off to Sea, that he was out of danger, this hazard *Scipio* run both in the Voyage and in Port. 'Tis reported that at a Banquet made by that King, *Scipio* and *Asdrubal* being placed upon the same bed, *Asdrubal* discoursed with him about many things, and admiring his gravity, said afterwards among his Friends. *That he was a man not only formidable in War but even in the midst of jollity and feasting.*

- IX. At the same time it hapned that not a few of the Celtiberians and Spaniards, whose Cities had revolted to the Romans, took pay under *Mago* the Carthaginian, whom *Martius* falling upon, slew about fifteen hundred of, and putting the rest to flight, dispersed them among the Cities, besides having driven another body of an Army commanded by *Hanno*, consisting of seven hundred Horse and six thousand Foot, to a certain eminence, he reduced them to such scarcity, that they sent Agents to him for peace, he commanded them to deliver up *Hanno* and the Fugitives, and then he would treat with them; Whereupon presently laying hold upon *Hanno* (who stood by and heard all this) they delivered him up with all the Fugitives. *Martius* then demands the Prisoners, whom having also received he orders them to bring down the sum of money promised and agreed upon, into the Plain and Champian Fields, for high places, said he, not well suit with punishment; when they were come into the plain, *Those are the Ring-leaders*, said he, *of those who when their Countries have submitted to us, yet continue to bear Arms under the Enemy against them, however laying down your weapons I permit you to depart unpunished.* Hereat the Celtiberians grievously incensed cryed all out with one voice they would not lay down their Arms, whereupon followed a sharp engagement: wherein some of them (not unrevenge) being slain, the rest got safe to *Mago* who sometime before was advancing towards *Hanno's* Camp; but hearing of his loss crossed over into *Cadiz*, where he lay idle in great want, expecting the Issue of things. But *Scipio* having sent *Syllanus* before to the City of *Castace* to receive them into Friendship, they not hearkning to peace he prepared to besiege them, and communicated his resolutions to *Scipio*, who dispatching away some Engines for the assault, himself followed, but in his march resolved to force the City of *Illyrgis*. This Town had been confederate with the Romans in the time of the former *Scipio's*, who being slain, the Romans that escaped the slaughter flying hither they received them, but (though at that time in alliance with them) delivered them up to the Carthaginians. *Scipio* enraged at this treachery, in four hours time overcame them, and though himself received a wound in the neck, gave not over the fight till he saw the Victory certain, the Soldiers at their own instance, without any command, neglecting the spoil and plunder (so much did their Generals wound, wound their very souls) spared neither Sex nor age, not suffering their rage to cool till they levelled the whole City with the ground. *Scipio* being from thence come to *Castace*, dividing his Forces into three parts, laid siege to it, but forbore the assault to give the inhabitants time to repent, which he had intelligence they were already disposed to, and not long after having slain those of the Garrison, that opposed their intentions, the Conquerors yielded themselves to *Scipio*, who

who placing there a new Garrison, and committing the care of the City to one of the inhabitants, a man of good fame and reputation, he returned himself to *Carthagera*, sending *Syllanus* and *Martius* towards the Sea-coasts, that as far as they could they might waſt and ſpoil the whole Country. There was a certain town called *Aſtapa*, which had ever ſided with the Carthaginians, the inhabitants whereof being beſieged by *Martius*, and well foreſeeing if they were overcome by the Romans they ſhould be ſubjected to perpetual ſlavery, brought all things they had of value into the Market-place, and piling up wood about them, placed their Wives and Children on the top of all, then fifty of their ſtouteſt men compelled by oath promiſed, that when they ſaw the City in ſuch diſtreſs, that it muſt needs be taken, they would firſt kill the Women and Children, and then ſetting fire to the pile ſlay themſelves. And ſo invoking the Gods againſt *Martius*, with great Noiſe and Clamor they ſallied out, when nothing was leſs feared by the Enemy, then that they durſt appear without their Walls, wherefore they eaſily repulſed the light Armed Foot, and Horſe, which firſt engaged them, and when an Armed Legion advanced, the deſperate Aſtapians ſtill fought moſt couragiously, but at length were forced to fall under their multitudes, whom they did yield to in valor; being all ſlain with their Arms in their hands, thoſe fifty left in the City ſlew the Women and Children, and then ſetting fire to the Pile caſt themſelves into it, leaving no fruits of the Victory to the Conquerors. *Martius* admiring the Aſtapians, ſpared the buildings.

After theſe things *Scipio* fell ſick, and while *Martius* commanded the Army, ſome Soldiers who had ſpent their means in luxury and riot, ſuppoſing becauſe they had nothing, they ſhould have no rewards, for all their labors, but both the Advantage and Honor of all was done, would redound to *Scipio*, openly deſerted *Martius*, and encamped by themſelves, to whom many in like manner flocked from the Garrisons, *Mago* hereupon ſent ſome with Money to encourage them to a revolt: the Money they received, and created among themſelves new Leaders and Centurions, who managed all things as they pleaſed, and had their own Councils; when *Scipio* heard hereof, he ſent Letters apart to theſe deſerters telling them, that being prevented by ſickneſs he could not yet reward them. Others he ſent to thoſe not yet infected with this Contagion, adviſing them to recal their mad fellow Souldiers to their duty, and others again, to all together, as if they were reconciled, wherein he wrote that he ſhould be ready to pardon any that had ſlipt aſide, commanding them all to come to *Carthagera*, and receive their pay; while theſe letters were reading, ſome thought they were not to be truſted, others gave full credit to them, At laſt they agreed among themſelves to go all together to *Carthagera*. In the mean time *Scipio* gives directions to thoſe Senators, that were with him, that as ſoon as any of the heads of this conſpiracy came, they ſhould accoſt them in a friendly manner, pleaſantly admoniſhing them, and inviting them to be their gueſts, privately ſecure them: he likewiſe gave Order to his Tribunes, that at dawn of day they ſhould get together the moſt faithful of their Souldiers, with their Swords by their ſides, and poſting them in the moſt convenient places of the Aſſembly, if any tumult ſhould begin they ſhould preſently fall on, and kill without expecting a ſignal. Not long after day light, the General getting up was brought to the Tribunal, and the Cryers were commanded to call the Soldiers to the Aſſembly. They not expecting the Cryers call, thinking it would be very

X

rude if they should make their General, who had not yet fully recovered his strength, wait longer for them (imagining withal that they were called to come and receive rewards) ran in haſt from all parts, ſome without Swords and others for haſt, only with a looſe Coat about them, not ſtaying to put on other Cloaths, *Scipio* (the appointed guards keeping cloſe) firſt reproved them ſharply for their Villanous Action, but *Ter*, ſaid he, *puniſhment is only to be inflicted on thoſe were Authors of the crime, and doing which I will uſe your help*; Scarce had he ſpoke theſe words but the Croud dividing as if he had given them a ſign to do it, the heads of the mutiny were by the Senators ſet forth in the miſt, exclaming as they were led along, and imploring their fellow Soldiers help, but whoever at their Outcry did but murmur, were preſently ſlain by the Tribunes. The reſt of the Croud perceiving the whole place of Aſſembly beſet with Armed Men in a ſad ſilence hung down their heads, whiſt thoſe brought into the miſt of them, were by *Scipio's* command firſt ſcourged with Rods, and then faſtned to the ſtake, had their heads ſtruck off with Axes; which done he made the Cryers to proclaim pardon to the reſt. In this Condition ſtood *Scipio's* Army. There was one *Indibitis* a little King, and one of thoſe who had made a League and Confederacy with *Scipio*, who at the ſame time that the mutiny was in *Scipio's* Army, in hoſtile maner invaded the Territories of ſome of *Scipio's* Allies, and when *Scipio* led the Army againſt him, maintained ſo ſtout a fight, that he ſlew twelve hundred of the Romans, but having loſt twenty thouſand of his own, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Scipio* to crave peace, which for a conſiderable ſum of Money was granted him. *Maſſaniſſa* likewiſe croſſing the Sea unknown to *Aſdrubal*, came to a conference with *Scipio*, and giving him his right hand promiſed, that if he could come over into *Africa*, he would give him all the aſſiſtance he could. This was a man in all things conſtant to his Faith, but he for this reaſon fell off from the Carthaginians, *Maſſaniſſa* was betrothed to the Daughter of *Aſdrubal*, the General under whom he now made War, and *Siſhax* almoſt died for this Ladies Love, wherefore the Carthaginians judging of what importance it would be to them, in this preſent War if they could joyn to their party againſt the Romans ſo Potent a King, without conſulting the Father, gave him the Daughter in Marriage, and and this *Aſdrubal* out of reſpect to him, kept ſecret from *Maſſaniſſa*, but he finding it out ſome other way, ſought thereupon *Scipio's* friendſhip. *Mago*, having ſtill a fleet to command, ſeeing the affairs of *Spain* grown deſperate, ſailed among the Ligurians and Gauls, there to raiſe Mercenary Soldiers. After his departure thoſe of *Cadiz*, as if betrayed by *Mago*, yielded themſelves to the Romans, from which time firſt began the Roman Cuſtom to ſend Annual Magiſtrates into *Spain* as to a Conquered People, to keep in Peace and Govern the Province, which hapned in the hundred forty fourth Olympiad. But *Scipio* leaving the whole Country in Peace, with no very ſtrong Garrifons (placed all the Soldiers weakned with wounds, together in one City, which from *Italy* he called the Italian, famous for the birth of *Trajan* and *Adrian*, who after in ſucceeding times came to be Roman Emperors) and himſelf building a Magnificent Fleet, with a great Number of Captives, and loaden with Money, Arms and other ſpoils, returned to *Rome*, where he was received with mighty Pomp to his great and incredible glory, as well becauſe of his youth, as becauſe of the Expedition wherewith he had done ſo many Noble exploits, inſomuch that thoſe who envied him, confeſſed that his actions had far exceeded his Rich Promiſes, wherefore to the admiration of all Men he received the Honor of Tri-
umph.

umph. *Indibilis* who as soon as *Scipio* was gone rebelled, was by those who Commanded in *Spain*, gathering together Forces out of the Garrisons, and Auxiliaries from their Allies, fought with and slain, the stirrers up of the Rebellion were brought to trial, their goods confiscate, and they condignly punished. The People their confederates condemned to pay fines, disarmed, and forced to give Hostages, and receive stronger Garrisons. This Issue had the Romans first Attempts in *Spain*.

In succeeding times the Romans being employed in War against the Gauls, the inhabitants about *Po*, and *Philip* of *Macedon*, the Spaniards laying hold of the opportunity, began to form new designs. To suppress which were sent Generals from *Rome*, *Sempronius Tudertinus* and *M. Helvidius*, and after them *Minucius*, to whom, because the troubles grew greater, *Cato*, with larger Forces was sent for Successor, a young Man indeed but solid, patient in labor, and so fam'd for Prudence and Eloquence, that he was among the Romans called *Demosthenes*, by way of comparing him with that most Excellent of all the Græcian Orators, He arriving in *Spain*, when he came among the Mart Towns, there gathered about him from all parts above forty thousand Enemies. Having taken a little time to Exercise his Soldiers, when the signals on both sides were hung out, and the Armies ready to Engage, he sent away his fleet to *Marsilia*, telling the Soldiers the present danger was not so great, in their Enemies being superior to them in Numbers (for that nothing was difficult which steadfast courage could not overcome) as in their want of shipping, so that they had no way of refuge or safety left but in being victorious, And having thus spoken led his Soldiers to the fight, not filled with hopes according to the custom of other Generals, but with the terror of their danger. The Battels being joyned he went every where intreating, pressing forward, and encouraging his Men, and when the fight had continued doubtful till evening, not a few falling on both sides, he with three Cohorts of the reserve went to the top of a high hill, from whence he had a clear prospect of the whole Action, where observing his Main Body much oppressed, running down with great shouts and fury upon the Enemy, and first exposing himself to danger, he gave a beginning to the Victory. All Night he gave the Enemy chase slaying Multitudes, and possessing himself of their Camp : at his return he congratulated his Soldiers embracing them as the Authors of the Victory, then giving them that time to refresh their bodies by repose, which their labors required, he afterwards sold the prey. But when Deputies came to him from all parts to crave Peace, he first demanded Hostages, and afterwards signing Letters, sent them to all the People severally, giving order to those that carried them, to take care, that they might be delivered in one day, which he had appointed, having before computed in how long time a Messenger might be going to the remotest City, and accordingly to the rest. By these Letters he Commanded the Magistrates of every particular City, that the same day on which they received his Orders, they should demolish the Walls of their City, which if they delayed, he denounced their slavery. They newly overcome in battel, and ignorant, whether these Commands were sent to the rest, or to them only, were tormented with great fears, for if this Command were to them alone, they knew themselves not able to withstand the Romans, and if the Command were general, they were no less fearful lest they should be the only City delay'd it's execution. Therefore, and
because

because they had not time to send mutual Messengers to each other, and were likewise urged to dispatch by those who brought the Orders, every one having their own safety only in prospect, they all diligently set themselves about throwing down their Walls, for when they had once decreed obedience, they thought their Celerity would prove to their advantage, and those whose Walls were first demolished should have the Honor of it. Thus all the Cities about the River *Iberus* by the policy of the General, in one day levelled their own Walls, the consequence of which was, that by reason of their weakness, they continued longer in Peace.

XLII.

* 57. 70.

Some years after, about the hundred and fiftieth Olympiad the inhabitants about the River *Iberus*, and the Lusones with many Spanish Exiles and Fugitives revolted from the Romans. These being defeated by *Fulvius Flaccus* fled to their several Cities, but the greatest part having no land, and only laboring for their bread, chose *Complega* for their habitation, a City newly built, and strangely and suddenly become powerful; from hence sending to *Flaccus*, they commanded that the * Cloaks, Horses and Swords of several Men by name slain in the late War, might be given up to them, and that he would suddenly, before any thing worse befel him, depart from *Spain*. Answer being returned that he would bring them many of those Cloaks, *Flaccus* with the Army following their Deputies, pitched his Camp before the City. But they having Souls too mean to maintain so lofty a Command, betook themselves to flight wasting the lands of the Barbarians their Neighbors. Now the Spaniards went doubly clad, their upper garment being loose and fastned together with buttons which they called a Saga, or Cloak.

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus succeeded *Flaccus* in Command at the same time when twenty thousand Celtiberians besieged *Carabis* a City in Alliance with the Romans. Which because strong reports were raised of it's being taken, *Gracchus* hastned the more to relieve. But when he found it so encompassed with Enemies that he could not give the besieged any notice of his coming, *Cominius* Captain of a Troop of Horse having first well weighed the matter, and acquainted *Gracchus* with it, puts himself in the Spanish dress, and cunningly mixing with the Enemies Forragers, passed through their Camp for a Spaniard, and thence by running reached the City, telling the Townsmen, that *Gracchus* was at hand, whereupon they with courage underwent all difficulties till the third day, when the Enemies retreating at *Gracchus* approach, they were delivered from the siege. About the same time near twenty thousand Men coming out of *Complega* towards *Gracchus* Camp, with boughs in their hands after the manner of suppliants, when they drew near, as if upon a sudden they had changed their minds they made an assault, filling the whole Army with fear and terror, but *Gracchus* by singular policy dissembling a flight, deserted his Tents and presently after facing about, and setting upon them intent on the Plunder, slew a great number, and taking the City subdued likewise the Confines. After which dividing the Lands among those wanted, and giving them seats to inhabit in he made a League with all the People that inhabited those quarters, chiefly on condition that they should be friends to the people of *Rome*, and to that end mutual Oaths being given and taken, they in future Wars proved very serviceable to the Romans, for these things *Gracchus* name grew famous both in *Spain* and at *Rome*, which he Magnificently entered in Triumph.

Not

Not many years after, a new and general War was kindled in Spain upon this occasion : *Segada*, a large and powerful City of those Celtiberians called *Belli*, received into the League by *Sempronius Gracchus*, inviting the Citizens of lesser Towns to joyn with them, began to build a Wall four hundred furlongs about ; and compelling the *Titthi*, a neighbouring people to do the same. The Senate having certain intelligence hereof ; first forbid the building of the Wall, next demanded the Tribute imposed by *Gracchus* : And lastly, (for this was an Article in *Gracchus* League) commanded they should attend the Romans in War. As to what concerned the Wall, the Celtiberians answered, That indeed they were forbid by *Gracchus* to build any new Cities, but about restoring or fortifying old ones, there was not a word spoken ; and for the Tribute, and Service, it was since *Gracchus* time, remitted by the Romans themselves. And indeed so it was ; but when the Senate dispenses with any such priviledges, they always add this exception, so long as it shall be to theirs, and the people of *Romes* good liking. *Nobilior* was therefore sent against them with an Army of near thirty thousand ; whose coming the Segedians foreseeing, because their Wall was not yet perfect, fled with their Wives and Children to the *Arvacci*, beseeching them to receive them, who not only entertained them, but chose likewise *Carus* a Segedian, a man qualified for War, for General ; who the third day after entrance into his command, with twenty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, takes his Post in a place fit for Ambushes, being quite covered over with Trees. There as the Romans passed by, he charged them, and fought a long time without advantage : but at length, with the death of six thousand Roman Citizens (as that time no small loss to the City) he bravely overcame them ; but after the Victory, with too much eagerness and disorder, pursuing those that fled ; the Roman Horse left in guard of the Carriage, falling on, first slew *Carus*, bravely opposing them, and with him no fewer than six thousand men. Night coming on, ended this dispute. This slaughter happened on a day by the Romans consecrated to *Vulcan*, wherefore unless forced to it, they will not on this day engage an Enemy. The very same night the *Arvacci* met together at *Numantia*, a very strong City ; and created two new Generals, *Ambo* and *Leuco*. Three days after *Nobilior* following them, encamps within four and twenty Furlongs of the City, whither came to him three hundred Horse, and ten Elephants sent from *Massanissa*, with which he advances towards the Enemy, placing the Elephants behind the first Battel, that they might not at first be discovered by the Enemy. The Fight beginning, his Front falling off, the suddain sight of those Beasts so terrified both the Celtiberians and their Horses, who never before had seen Elephants, that turning their backs they fled to the Town. The Roman General pursuing, the Flyers turns the Elephants to the Wall, there maintaining a sharp conflict, one of the Elephants wounded in the head with a great Stone, grew angry, and setting up a horrible roaring, turns upon his own Party, and without distinguishing Friend from Enemy, began to rage against all he met. The rest set on by his roaring began to do the same, and in all places to trample under foot, overturn and disorder the Romans, for it is usual for Elephants when they are once vexed, to take all they meet for Enemies ; for which perfidiousness, they are by some called the common Enemy. A general flight hereupon began among the Romans, which the Numantines from the Walls beholding, made a sally, and falling in upon them, dispersed and trampled down, slew four thousand

land of them, and three Elephants, and took many Arms, and some Ensigns : Of the Celtiberians there were about two thousand slain : *Nobilior* a little recruited after the loss, endeavouring in vain to force the City of *Auxetium*, where the Enemy had stored up their Provisions, with the loss of no few men retreated into his Camp. Thence he sent *Biasius*, who commanded his Horse, to certain neighbouring people, that joyning friendship with him, they might assist him with some Horsemen. He returning, and bringing some Horse with him, the Celtiberians lay in Ambush for him, who being discovered, his associates fled ; but *Biasius*, and many of the Romans with him were slain : So many losses and disasters began to turn their Allies hearts from them. *Ocylis*, a City in which were the Magazines of Provisions and Treasure, revolted to the Celtiberians. *Nobilior* distrusting all things in the present necessity, wintered in his Tents, covered and close stopped : but his want of Corn (for he had his store with him) was very great ; besides the violent hail, and bitter cold cruelly afflicted the Soldiers, so that many of them going to fetch in Wood, and others in their hard Winter Lodgings dyed with Distempers, caused by the extremity of the weather.

- XIV. The next year *Claudius Marcellus* succeeded *Nobilior* in his command, bringing with him eight thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. At his first coming the Enemy in vain laid ambushes for him, for proceeding circumspectly and cautiously, he brought the Army in safety, and pitch'd Camp before *Ocylis*, which City (being a General fortunate in War) he presently subdued, and taking Hostages, and thirty Talents of Silver, pardoned them. The Nergobriges hearing of this clemency, asked what they should do to obtain Peace likewise with him, he demanded a hundred Horse to go to the War with him. Those they promised, but in the mean time, some of them falling in the skirts of the Roman Army, plundered some of the Baggage ; soon after the Horse they had covenanted to send coming, and being demanded concerning the Baggage, they made answer, that some ignorant of the agreement made had done it ; but *Marcellus* commanded them to be dismounted, and their Horses sold ; and afterwards dividing among his Soldiers the prey he had gathered, wasting their Fields, he besieged the City. The Nergobriges, when they saw that the Engines brought close to the Trench, had shaken their Walls, sent a Herald, who instead of a *Caduceus*, was cloathed in a Wolves skin, to ask pardon for their faults : the General refused it, unless with them all the *Arvani*, *Belli* and *Titthi* would ask it likewise, which when they signified to them, they forthwith sent all of them Deputies to *Marcellus*, to entreat him that content with a moderate punishment, he would again receive them into the Conditions of *Gracchus* League. This Petition some people a little before by them provoked to War opposed ; wherefore *Marcellus* commanded the Legates of both parties to dispute it before the Senate ; but by private Letters he advised the Fathers to decide all Controversies ; for he was very desirous in the time of his Government, to put an end to this War, supposing he should thereby get Renown and Honour. Now Ambassadors sent from confederate and associate Cities, were wont to be admitted into the City, and treated as Guests ; but these, as coming from Enemies, were according to Custom commanded to lodge in the Suburbs ; the Senate taking it ill that they, though *Nobilior*, who was in *Spain*, before *Marcellus* had given his opinion for them, had not permitted it to the Romans, so they disallowed the Peace, and gave the Legates

Legates no other answer, then that *Marcellus* should declare to them the Senates pleasure. Then decreeing an Army for *Spain*, they chose the Soldiers by Lot, which formerly they used to enrol by Centuries; but because many had complained to the Consuls, that they had hard measure, while others were employed and taken up for easier service, they thought it best to chuse the Army by Lot. *Licinius Lucullus* Consul was made General, and *Cornelius Scipio* his Lieutenant. Whilst he is going to this War, *Marcellus* advises the Celtiberians of the approaching War, and restores the Hostages to those redemanded them. After which privately sending for the Chief of the Ambassadors, sent to *Rome* in the name of the Celtiberians, and keeping him a long time with him, he gave occasion to a suspicion (which he afterwards much more increased) that he was endeavouring to persuade the Celtiberians to leave all things to his Arbitrement, he endeavouring by all means possible to put an end to the War, before *Lucullus* coming: For presently after this Conference, five thousand *Arvacci* got into the City of *Nertobriga*. And *Marcellus* leading his Army against *Numantia*, and their Camps lying within five furlongs of the City, when he drove the Numantines into their Walls, *Litennus* their Prince stopping their course, cryed out he desired conference with *Marcellus*. This *Marcellus* heard with joyful ears, and receiving the Hostages and Money he demanded, sent them all home in peace. By this means, before *Lucullus* came, the War with the *Belli*, *Arvacci* and *Titthi* was brought to an end.

But *Lucullus*, as covetous of Glory, as of adding to his private Fortune, which was but very slender, presently with his Army enters the Confines of the *Vaccii*, a Nation of the Celtiberians, bordering upon the *Arvacci*, though he neither had command from the Senate, nor had they made any War upon the Romans, or any other way offended him; and crossing the River, called *Tagus*, comes to the City *Cauca*, and sets down before it: The Citizens inquiring wherefore he came, and what occasion there was for War; he answered, He came to the assistance of the *Carpitani*, whom they had wronged, whereupon they retreated into their City; from whence, not long after, making a sally upon *Lucullus* men, gone to provide Wood and Corn, they slew many, and drove the rest to their Tents. And whenever they came to an Engagement, the *Caucai*, who were almost all Light Armed Men, were at the first for a while superiours; but when their Darts were spent, then they turned their backs, unskilful, and unaccustomed to a standing Fight; so that once flying to their City, by reason of the croud at their Gates, near three thousand of them perished. The next day all the gravest of the Citizens came out to *Lucullus*, with Crowns and Olive Branches to know of him upon what Conditions they might buy his friendship; they were answered by Hostages, an hundred Talents in Silver, and their Horsemen going to the Wars with the Romans; which being presently agreed to, *Lucullus* desired he might place a Garrison in the City, which the *Caucai* likewise yielded to; he brings in two thousand of his chosen men, whom he commanded, as soon as they were got in to possess themselves of the Wall. This done, he lets in all his Army, and at the Signal given by sound of Trumpet, commands them to fall on, and kill all the *Caucai*, without any distinction; who invoking the Gods, presiding over Oaths and Covenants, and bitterly cursing the Roman perfidiousness, were cruelly murdered, of twenty thousand very few escaped, by breaking open the Gates: *Lucullus*

XV.

having sack'd the City, cast thereby a great infamy on the Roman Name. The rest of the Barbarians flying out of the plain Country, fled among the Precipices and places inaccessible, others carried all they could into fortified Towns, and what they were forced to leave they burnt, that nothing might be left for *Lucullus* to plunder. He therefore having wandered long enough in that Desert Country, came to the Town of *Intercatia*, where were drawn together twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; whom when *Lucullus*, with imprudence enough, would have persuaded to enter into a treaty of Peace, they reproached him with the slaughter of the *Cincei*, asking whether it were not with the same Right Hand, and the same Faith he had already pawned to the *Cincei*: With which revilings (as it is ordinary for those whose consciences accuse them of guilt) being extremely galled, he laid waste their Country. And then besieging the City, and intrenching himself, he often drew out his Army in Battel, to try if by any means he could draw the Enemy to a Battel: but as they, by all means avoided a set Fight, so by continual skirmishes of Light Armed Foot they annoyed him. But among the Barbarians there was often seen a man remarkable, for the brightness of his Armour, who often coming on horseback between the two parties, dared any of the Romans to engage him in single Combat, and when none offered themselves, scoffing at the Romans with many postures of scorn and derision, he returned among his own people. When he had often done this, *Scipio*, though yet but young, much afflicted at it, himself advancing out, and undertaking the Duel, though but a middly siz'd man, overcame this Barbarian of a Gigantick stature. This Victory much raised the Spirits of the Romans; but the next night sundry terrours seized them, which sprung from this occasion. The Barbarian Horse before *Lucullus* approach, being gone to Forrage, at their return, finding the City besieged, went about, calling out, and filling all the places with their clamours, which being answered by those within the Town, the Romans were possessed with doubtful fears, knowing their posts not over strong, and the Soldiers by continual watchings, and unusual food extremely weakned, and feeding only on Wheat and Barly, with the Flesh of Stags and Hares, boiled without Salt, they fell into Fluxes, which swept many of them away. At length having filled the Ditch, and by often playing their Engines, shook the Wall, so that part of it fell, they broke into the City; whence violently repulsed, they upon their retreat, not knowing the ground, fell into the Common Sewer, where many of them perished. The next night the Barbarians repaired their Walls. After which neither party able any longer to dissemble their miseries and losses, the famine growing violent upon them; *Scipio* freely promised the Barbarians, that if they would enter into League, they should be treated without any Fraud or Treachery. The opinion of this mans Virtue was so great among the Barbarians, that to his Faith they committed themselves, and the War upon these conditions was removed, that the Intercations should give *Lucullus* six thousand Sagas or Cloaks, a certain number of Cattel, and fifty Hostages, for as for Gold and Silver, (the thirst after which, believing *Spain* every where abounded with it, had begot this War) none was given, for it not being of any esteem among these people, they had it not. From hence *Lucullus* went to *Palantia*, a City much renowned for the Valour of its people, and whither many others were fled. Wherefore some advised the General to pass by without making any attempt upon it; but a covetous man could not be drawn away from a City he had been told was rich; till after

ter being by many Excursions of the Palantine Horse, cut off from going to Forrage, through want of Provisions he was forced to divide his Army into four Bodies, and so make his retreat, pursued by the Palantines in the Rear, till he came to the River *Dorim*, where they gave over following him. *Lucullus* wintered in *Turdetania*: These were the Actions of the War with the *Vaccæi*, which though *Lucullus* undertook, and carried on without any command from the people of *Rome*, yet he was never called to question for it.

Much about the same time the Lusitanians (another people of *Spain*, and living under the same Laws) commanded by a Carthaginian, wasted the Lands of the Romans associates; and putting to flight the Roman Generals, *Manlius* and *Calphurnius*, slew six thousand men, and among them *Terentius Varro* the Questor; with which Victory the Carthaginians puffed up, marched as far as the Ocean, and taking with them the Vetones, besieged the Roman Subjects, called the *Blastophenice*. These as fame goes, were brought out of *Lybia* by *Hannibal* the Carthaginian, and from thence took that name. Here the Punick General wounded in the head with a stone dyed. In his place they substituted a man, called *Cæsar*, who engaged in fight with *Mummius* (lately come from *Rome* with an Army) was routed and fled; but when *Mummius's* men scattered and dispersed pursued the Victory, rallying, he slew nine thousand of them, recovered all the plunder of his Camp, and got all that of the Romans, with many Colours and Arms, which the Barbarians in derision carried throughout all *Celtiberia*. *Mummius* with the five thousand he had left intrenched himself, not daring to take the Field, till he had somewhat confirmed the minds of his Soldiers, terrified with the last slaughter. Whence observing the Barbarians, carrying by part of their Booty, setting upon them unawares, they slew many, and recovered the Spoil and the Ensigns. The Lusitanians inhabiting the other Banks of the *Tagus*, incensed against the Romans, of their own accord declared War, and under the Conduct of *Caucæus* their General, invaded the *Cunæi*, a people subject to the Romans, taking from them the large City of *Conistergis*; and thence crossing over the Straits at the Pillars of *Hercules*, some of them went to people *Africa*, others went and besieged the City of *Ocyllis*. These *Mummius* following with nine thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, slew fifteen thousand of them, that were over-running the Country, and as many more at raising the Siege of *Ocyllis*, meeting likewise those who were conveying away the Spoil, he cut them off so clearly, that there was not a Messenger to tell the news. Now all the prey that he could carry along with him, he divided among the Soldiers, and the rest, (consecrated to the Deities, presiding over the War) he burnt, and for these things at his return to *Rome* Triumphed.

XVI.

M. Attilius, Successor to *Mummius* making an inroad into *Lusitania*, killed seven hundred men, and taking from them a great City, called *Oxthracas*, so terrified all the neighbouring places, that they surrendered on conditions, among which were some of the Vetones, the farthest people of *Lusitania*. But *Attilius* being gone, in Winter they all revolted, and besieged some of the Roman Subjects, whom, whilst he was hastening to receive *Serorius Galba* (who came to succeed *Attilius*) marching in a day and a night five hundred furlongs, comes within sight of the Enemy, and without any stay, or giving the Soldiers any time to refresh themselves,

XVII.

after such tedious travel, falls on, and after having fortunately broken and put them to flight, he very imprudently pursued them; for his men through weariness following sloathfully, and in disorder: The Barbarians perceiving them thus dispersed to lye down by the way side to rest themselves, gathering again into a Body, fell upon them, and slew seven thousand. *Galba*, with the Horse whom he had kept about his person, got by flight to the City of *Carmelis*, whither many others likewise fled for safety, whom drawing into a Body, and raising twenty thousand men among the Associates, he went among the *Cunæ*, and there wintred.

Lucullus, who without any orders from the people of *Rome*, had made War upon the *Vaccæi*, wintring in *Turdetania*, having intelligence that the Lusitanians had invaded the Neighbours, sending out some of his best Captains, slew about four thousand of them; and they making a new irruption with other Forces, he about *Cadiz* killed fifteen hundred more, and pursuing the rest to a Hill, where they had posted themselves, besieged them, and took a multitude of men, and at last entring *Lusitania*, he by parcels depopulated the Country. The same did *Galba* on the other side; and when Deputies came to him and desired they might again renew the League, which agreed upon before with *Attilius*, then General, had been violated, he received them kindly, and gave them his word, seeming grieved for them, that through meer want, they had been forced to use Robbery, make War, and break Articles of Peace: *But under me*, said he, *be no longer in doubt, that your poverty, and the barrenness of your Country shall force you to these things; for if you will henceforward be friends, I will give to such of you, as are in want, good Land, and dividing you into three parts, appoint you fruitful seats to dwell in.* Allured by these promises, they forsook their old Seat, and assembled in great numbers where *Galba* had commanded, whom dividing into three parties, he ordered each to march down into the Plains he assigned them, and there for a while wait till he returned to them. Then coming to the first, as already friends, he commanded them to lay down their Arms, and thus disarmed, drew a Ditch about them, and then sending in some with Swords, slew them all, crying out, and invoking the Faith of Gods and Men: Thus with all imaginable speed, he served the second and third party, before they could have any notice of their Companions Calamity. Thus was Treachery revenged, not as became Romans or Roman Clemency, but incitating the Barbarians savagness and cruelty: yet some of them escaped, among whom was *Viriatius*, who not long after commanded the Lusitanians, and performing many worthy Exploits, killed a multitude of Romans; but of those things, as done afterwards, we shall speak in due time. *Galba* surpassing *Lucullus* for covetousness, distributed but little of the prey to the Soldiers, less to his Friends, and the rest converted to his own use. And though he were one of the richest of all the Romans, yet as is reported in time of Peace, he never scrupled at lye nor perjury, so it turned to profit, hated therefore by all, and cited to judgement; yet by force of Money he got off. Not long after those that remained after *Lucullus* and *Galba's* Treachery, being gathered together to about ten thousand men, with incursions wasted the Country of the *Turdetani*. Against whom *C. Vetellius* come from *Rome* with new Forces, and joyning with those before in *Spain*, marched with about ten thousand men, who first falling in among their Forragers slew many of them, and forced the rest to a certain place, where if they staid, they perished by Famine, and if they removed, were in imminent danger of falling under the Roman Swords. So great a strait they

they were in, wherefore sending Legates to *Vetilius* with Olive Branches, they desired a place to dwell in, promising thenceforward to live under the Roman Power. *Vetilius* gave his word to perform their request, and already Conditions were agreed on, when *Viriatius* (who escaped from *Galba's* wicked cruelty, and by chance at that time sojourned among them) began to admonish them of all the Romans Treachery, who after having so often pawned their Faith to them, had perfidiously assaulted them, telling them their present Army was only the Relicks of *Lucullus* and *Galba's* perjury. Adding, if they would obey him, he would show them a safe way to retreat out of that place. By which words forewarned, and their hearts quickned by some hope, they chose him General, whereupon he first of all draws them up, as if preparing them to fight, then gave orders, that as soon as they saw him mount his Horse, dispersing themselves all over the Country, they should by divers ways get to the City of *Tribola*, and there staid for him. In the mean time a thousand chosen Horse he kept with him in a Body : and things thus disposed, at one instant *Viriatius* mounts his Horse, and they all took their flight. *Vetilius* afraid to pursue men so dispersed ; seeing *Viriatius* standing, turned towards him, thinking to provoke him to fight, who seemed to offer the occasion : but *Viriatius* by the swiftness of his Horse, eluding all his endeavours, sometimes retreating, and sometimes advancing, but keeping in continual motion, spent all that day, and the next upon the same ground. Till conjecturing that by this time, his fellows fled before might be in safety ; he set forward by night, and through by-ways, and on nimble Horse soon got to *Tribola*. The Romans, both because of their heavy Armour, ignorance of the ways, and withal being mounted on other kind of Horses, not being able to follow him. Thus *Viriatius* saved the Army, when themselves were in utter despair, and lost to all hopes. The bravery of which Exploit being spread among the Barbarians, added to him both Honour and Power, many joyning with him, by whose assistance he held out three whole years against the Romans. I have therefore designed to write here at once all this Viriatick War, which gave no small trouble to the Romans ; and if any thing happened in the mean time in *Spain*, to relate it afterward.

Vetilius therefore pursuing *Viriatius*, came to *Tribola*, but in the way as he was passing over a certain woody Hill, *Viriatius* having got behind with his Horse, and an Ambush rising in Front both at once, set upon the Romans, whereof they slew many, threw others down into the Vallies, and many fell into their hands alive, among whom was *Vetilius* whom he that took, seeing old and fat, thinking him good for nothing, slew him. Of ten thousand Romans scarce six thousand escaped to *Carpessus*, which I suppose was once by the Greeks called *Tartessus*, where King *Arganthonius* (who is reported to have lived one hundred and fifty years) once reigned. The Soldiers escape by flight, and yet trembling, *Vetilius* his Questor disposes upon the Walls, and five thousand associates, which he had desired from the *Belli* and *Tutthi*, he sent out to meet *Viriatius*, who made such a slaughter of them, that not a Messenger was left to bring back the news. So thenceforward the Questor lay quiet in the City, expecting assistance from *Rome*. In the mean time *Viriatius*, without controul, wastes the Country of the *Carpeti*, which was sufficiently fertile, till *C. Plantius* comes from *Rome* with ten thousand Foot, and thirteen hundred Horse ; when dissembling a flight, *Plantius* sent four thousand

XVIII.

thousand men to pursue him, whom turning upon, he cut off all but a very few; and crossing the *Tagus*, went and incamped among the Olive Mountains, upon that which is called *Venus Hill*, whither *Plautius* following out of an earnest desire to repair his former loss, fights a set Battel with him, and being with a mighty slaughter overcome, flees without any order to the Towns for refuge, and in the midst of Summer takes up his Winter Quarters, not daring look abroad. Wherefore *Viriatus* freely ranged over the whole Country, forcing the owners of the Ground to pay a value for the Crop, then almost ready for their Sickle, or else he destroyed or burnt it. These things being understood at *Rome*, the Fathers sent *Fabius Æmilianus Maximus* (Son to *Æmilius Paulus*, who subdued *Perseus*, King of *Macedon*) with Power to raise an Army; who because the strength of the City was in a manner exhausted, first by the subversion of *Carthage*, then by subduing the Greeks, and lastly by bringing to a happy issue the Macedonian War, that he might spare those had out-lived so many Engagements, enrolled two Legions of raw young Men; and having procured some further assistance from the Associates, with an Army of about fifteen thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, came to *Oriso*, a City of *Spain*; from thence that he might not throw himself upon the Enemy, with an undisciplined and unexperienced Force that had never yet seen any fighting, he crossed over into *Cadiz*, to sacrifice to *Hercules*. *Viriatus* met with a party of his men going to wood, slew a great many, and put the rest to flight; and his Lieutenant again bringing them out to engage, *Viriatus* again defeated them, and took a great booty; but when *Maximus* himself came, bringing armed Soldiers to try if he could entice him to a Battel, and daily provoking him, seeing *Viriatus* avoided a general Engagement, sending out parties by frequent skirmishes, he made trial of the Enemies strength, and increased his own mens courage and confidence: and whenever he sent out to Forrage, he gave a Convoy of Legionary Soldiers and Horse to the light armed Foot, for this Discipline he had learn'd from his Father in the Macedonian War. Winter being past, and his Army well exercised and confirmed, he made a sharp War upon *Viriatus*, and putting himself to flight, took two of his Cities, and burnt another. *Viriatus* himself flying to a place called *Baccor*, he followed, and slew many of his men, and then went and wintered at *Corduba*. *Viriatus* being now no longer secure as formerly, drew off from the Roman Alliance the *Arvacci*, *Tutthi* and *Belli*, warlike people, who waged another long and laborious War by themselves, which from *Numantis*, one of their Cities, was called the *Numantine*, which immediately after the Viriatick, we shall proceed to treat of. *Viriatus* therefore, in another part of *Spain*, coming to a set Battel with *Quintius*, another Roman General, and being overcome, retreated to the Mountains of *Venus*; from whence turning again upon the Enemy, he slew some of *Quintius* men, took some Colours, and forced the rest into their Camp. He likewise by force drove out the Garrison at *Itues*, and wasted the Country of the *Basitani*, whilst *Quintius*, out of weakness, and want of Military knowledge, lay shut up in *Corduba* (where in the midst of Autumn, he took up his Winter Quarters) and only now and then sent out *C. Martius*, a Spaniard of the Italian City against the Enemy. That year being expired so, *Quintius Æmilianus* succeeded his Brother *Fabius Maximus Æmilianus*, bringing with him two Roman Legions, and some Allies, so that all his Forces might be about sixteen thousand Foot, and sixteen hundred Horse. He wrote likewise to *Micipsa*, King of *Numidia*, to send him with all speed some Elephants: but

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hastning to *Ituca*, and leading with him only part of his Army; *Viriatu*s met with six thousand men, coming on with great noise and clamour, and with long hair, which the Barbarians used to wear and shake in time of fight to terrifie their Enemies; yet he bore his charge with so much courage, that the Enemy was repulled without effecting any thing. But when the other part of the Army, with ten thousand Elephants, and three hundred Horse from *Lybia* were come to him, enlarging his Camp, he first drew out his Army against *Viriatu*s, and over-powring him, routed and put him to flight: but when breaking their Ranks in the pursuit, *Viriatu*s observed the confusion, rallying, he slew about three thousand men, and drove the rest to the Camp: He likewise assaulted their Camp, while scarce any would shut the Gates again the invading Enemy, but most struck with pannick fear, hid themselves in their Huts, and neither by the General nor Military Tribunes could be got out to fight, yet above all *Fannius*, the Brother-in-Law of *Laelius*, did in this Battel, in a singular manner make his courage manifest. Night coming on, favoured and saved the Romans. But *Viriatu*s night and day omitted no opportunity, sometimes with light armed Foot, and sometimes with nimble Horse to weary out the Romans, till at last he forced *Servilianus* to raise his Siege from *Ituca*. And himself beginning to be pinched with hunger, and having but slender Forces, setting on fire his Tents by night, marched towards *Lusitania*, *Servilianus* in his going off, not being followed, translated the seat of War into *Beturia*, where he seized upon five Cities, that bore good will to *Viriatu*s: Thence led his Forces among the *Cunei*, from whence he again marched into *Lusitania* against *Viriatu*s himself. In this way meeting with two Captains of Thieves, *Curius* and *Apuleius*, with ten thousand men, they very much vexed the Romans, and joyning Battel wherein *Curius* was killed, they yet got some booty, all which *Servilianus* not long after recovered, and likewise took by force the Cities *Escadia*, *Gemella* and *Obolcola*, in all which *Viriatu*s had placed Garrisons, some of which he made Captains, and others he let go. Of ten thousand Prisoners he had, five hundred he made pass under the Ax, and sold the rest. After this he went to Winter Quarters, leaving the War to him that was to Command next year, and these things done, returned to *Rome*. *Quintius Pompeius Aulus* succeeded him in Command.

Mean while his Brother *Maximus Æmilianus*, having received upon submission one *Connoba*, a Captain of Thieves, did indeed pardon him, but cut of all his Companions hands: but when pursuing *Viriatu*s, he was about to inclose *Erisane*, one of his Cities, with a Trench and Palisado. *Viriatu*s entring the City by night, and making a Sally by break of day, not only drove those that were working upon the Lines from their labour, making them throw away their Spades and Mattocks, but likewise forced all the rest of *Æmilianus* Forces ready drawn up, and in a posture to engage him, to flee among the Rocks and Precipices, from whence there was no way to escape; yet here success made not *Viriatu*s insolent; but supposing he now might upon fair Conditions lay down Arms, and enter into friendship with the Romans; he contracted a League, which the people of *Rome* afterwards confirmed, and called *Viriatu*s friend, giving Orders his Associates should enjoy the Lands they possessed. Thus a War heavy to the Romans seemed on easie Conditions quite extinct; but this Peace proved not lasting, for *Cepio*, brother to *Æmilianus*, Author of this League, and his Successor in Command, finding fault with the Condi-

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ons, as dishonourable to the Roman people, prevailed with the Senate to have leave privately to incommode *Viriatas*, as he thought fit, and continually urging them, and plying them with Letters, at length procured a Decree to declare open War against *Viriatas*, fortified with which Decree he received upon surrender the City of *Asa*, *Viriatas* looking on; and pursued *Viriatas* himself, flying and wasting all as he went to *Carpetane*, bringing with him greater Forces than *Viriatas*, who by reason of the paucity of his men, not thinking fit to engage, sending away the greatest part of his Forces, by an obscure Valley, drew up the rest upon a certain Hill, making a show, as if he were willing to fight the Enemy, but when he thought those sent before were out of danger, he flew after with so much scorn of the Enemy, and so much celerity, that those who followed him, knew not which way to take. *Cepio* turning his Arms against the *Vetones* and *Callaici* wasted their Country: but now following *Viriatas* Example, many other Bands of Rovers, by their incursions wasted *Lusitania*. Against whom *Sex. Junius Brutus* being sent, he considering the distance of places (being all that ground between the four Navigable Rivers of *Tagus*, * *Lethe*, *Dorius* and *Bætis*) gave them a hard chase, they running hither and thither, after the manner of Thieves, and now following, and then flying, despairing to catch them, and yet thinking the not taking of them would be dishonourable, though on the other side the taking of them would be no great Triumph; he led his Army into the Thieves own Country, thinking with the same trouble to take revenge of them (for he thought they would all come home to defend their own) and withal enrich his Soldiers by the spoil. Led on with these thoughts and imaginations, he seized upon all stood in his way. The Barbarians coming out to oppose him, and the Women assisting and bearing Arms with such courage and eagerness, that even in the midst of slaughter their voices were not to be heard. Some indeed there were, who taking what they could, fled up to the Mountains, to whom, because they asked pardon, *Brutus* gave whatever remained of theirs. Thence crossing the River *Dorius*, carrying Fire and Sword through all parts far and near, and receiving Hostages of all that yielded, at length he came to the River of

* *Oblivion*, and first of any Roman crossed it. Thence going to *Nimis* another River, he made War upon the *Bracari*, because they had stopped, and taken the Provisions, bringing to the Roman Camp. 'Twas the Custom likewise of these people to bring their Women armed into the Field, who would rather die than turn their backs, or utter any unworthy cry; nay, these very Women, when led away Captives, would some kill themselves, and others cut their Childrens Throats, thinking Death much better than Slavery, yet some Towns yielded to *Brutus*, who not long after revolting, he again reduced to obedience; among others *Talabria* often accepting Conditions, often rebelled. Thither *Brutus* coming, the Townsmen imploring mercy, and referring themselves to discretion, he first commanded them to deliver all Roman Fugitives, Captives and Arms, then that with their Wives and Children they should leave the City, which when readily they submitted to, inclosing them with his Army, he began to let them understand how often they had revolted, and how often renewed the War; possessing them with an extreme fear and opinion, how grievously he was offended with them, and ending all in reproaches of their Treachery; but yet taking away their Horses, Provisions, and publick Money, beyond their own hopes, he restored them their Town to dwell in. After doing all these things, *Brutus* returned to *Rome*. These attempts

* Oblivion
m. 2.

* Lethe m. 1.
m. 2.

tempts of other Bands of Thieves happening in the same time, and after the Example of *Viriatius*, I thought convenient to place with that War. But now *Viriatius* sent *Audax Ditalco*, and *Minurus*, the most faithful of his Friends to *Cepio* to make Peace. These *Cepio* engaged by great Gifts, and large hopes, to make him a promise to kill *Viriatius*, which at length they in this manner performed: *Viriatius* was a man given little to sleep, as well because of the sundry cares distracted him, as because of his continual employs, wherefore likewise he often slept in Armour, that he might be ready upon all services, and to that end by night the entrance to him was always open to his Friends, being by this means free to be called at all seasons. *Audax*, and the Consorts of his villany, observing his first lying down, as if they had some earnest business, went into his Tent, and wounding him in his Throat, for that part only of his Body was naked, slew him as he lay; then without any noise, no one thinking they had given him his deadly wound, they went out and fled to *Cepio*, and demanded their reward. He only granted them the enjoyment of what then they had, and referred them to the Senate for rewards. The Day coming on, *Viriatius* Clients, and indeed the whole Army thinking him still at rest, wondered what should make him sleep more than ordinary, till some going in, let them understand he lay slain in his Arms. Then presently a general lamentation and mourning was heard throughout the whole Camp, all afflicting themselves for his death; and beginning to be doubtful of their own safety, for so they reputed themselves, having lost a General, who had been conversant in, and had freed them from so many dangers. But that which most of all tormented them was, that they could not find the Authors of this Villany. Therefore covering the Body with most magnificent Habits, they burnt it upon a very high Pile, then Horse and Foot marching in Troops, and Companies round about in Arms, after a barbarous manner, celebrated *Viriatius* Memory; nor departed they from the Pile, till the fire of it self went out. The Funeral Rites performed, they set forth rewards for *Gladiators*. So great a desire of him did *Viriatius* leave behind him, a man (as among the Barbarians) most worthy of Command, behind none in encountering dangers, and the most exact man living in dividing the Prey, for he never took nor offered his friends more than their share, and himself distributed it to the Valiant, whereof this was the consequence (which is very rare, and I know not whether ever it happened to any other General) that though he had an Army composed of many divers Nations; yet in eight years, which he waged War, no Mutiny every happened amongst them, but he had always his Soldiers in a ready obedience, and forward in the encountering of danger. Having created *Tantalus* General in the room of *Viriatius*, they undertook the Expedition against *Saguntum*. This City *Hannibal* having subverted, restored, and from his Countries name, called *Carthagenæ*. The Spaniards repulsed thence, as they crossed over the River *Betis*, *Cepio* following pressed so hard upon them, that *Tantalus* distrustful his Affairs, delivered up himself and his Army, upon Condition they should be treated no worse than Subjects. So being disarmed, that they might no more live like Thieves, they had sufficient Lands set out to them: And thus ended the Viriatick War.

Now let us return to the War with the *Paccæi*, or Numantines, whom *Viriatius* had engaged to a revolt, *Cecilus Metellus* sent against these with larger Forces, terrified and oppressed by his Expedition (for in the

XX.

There remained only two Towns, *Termantia* and *Numantia*, of which the latter, by reason of its being furrounded, as it were, with two Rivers, Valleys and extreme thick Woods, was of very difficult approach, there was only one way to it by the Plain, and that fortified with Ditches and Turn-pikes. The Numantines themselves excellent Soldiers, both on Horseback and Foot, but not more than eight thousand, with which number, though small, yet by reason of their signal Valour, they for a long time vexed and tired the Romans. But Winter being past, *Metellus* delivered over the Army admirably well exercised to *Q. Pompeius Albus*, being then thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. *Pompey* raising his Camp from *Numantia*, whither to go I know not; the Numantines making a Sally, oppressed some of his stragling Horse, whereupon he returning, drew up his Army in the Plain; the Numantines half flying, by little and little retreated. At length *Pompey* seeing, that by reason of the difficulties of the Turn-pikes, and Ditches, and the continual Execution of light armed Numantines, his Army began to diminish, and waste insensibly, removed his Camp to *Termantia*, where he thought there was less to do. Here likewise engaging with the Enemy, he lost seven hundred Soldiers, and the Military Tribunes bringing Provisions to the Camp, were by the Numantines put flight, the same day in a third conflict, many Roman Footmen and Horsemen, with their Horses being driven into rough and craggy places, the rest stood in Arms all night without any sleep, then at break of day the Enemy sallying out, they fought all day with equal Fortune till night coming on parted them. Thence *Pompey* marched towards a little Town, called *Malia*, held by a Garrison of the Numantines. The Malians having by treachery slain the Garrison, delivered the Town to *Pompey*, who disarming them, and taking their Hostages, he marched to *Sedetania*, to deliver those people from the robberies of *Tangus*, a Captain of Thieves, him he overcame, and took many of his people, but so much gallantry of Spirit was found among Thieves, that none of the Captains would submit to slavery, but some slew themselves, others, those that bought, and some sunk the Ships, in which they were transported: *Pompey* returning to the Siege of *Numantia*, endeavoured to divert the course of a certain River, that so he might subdue the City by Famine; the Inhabitants making a silent Sally without Trumpets, hindered the work, and forcing the River upon those would have turned its course, effectually did their business, repulsing all that came without their Lines; and in short, confining the Romans to their Tents, whom again engaging as they went out to Forrage, they slew many, and among others *Oppius*, a Tribune of the Soldiers. And another party of the Romans being throwing up a certain Ditch, they set upon them, and slew forty with their Over-seer. About the same time came certain Counsellors from *Rome*, and a fresh Army of new raised men, who the old being dismissed (for they had served six years in this War) supplied their places. *Pompey* ashamed of so many defeats, desirous to wash away the stain, lay all Winter in his Tents. The Soldiers thus quartered under the open Firmament, in a bitter cold Season, and having never before experienced inclemency of Air and Water, fell into Fluxes, of which several dyed. And another part going out to Forrage, the Numantines having laid an Ambush close to the Roman Camp, provoked the Romans to skirmish, who not enduring to be dared, threw themselves without the Lines. Then those in Ambush suddenly rising, many both of the Commons and Nobility fell, and the Forragers coming in at the same time, they laid a

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good parcel of them on the ground. *Pompey* grieved at so many losses, retreats with his Counsellors into Towns, there to pass away the rest of the Winter, till his Successor expected with the first of the Spring came: but fearing to be called to account for the ill management of the War, he had some private Conferences with the Numantines about putting an end to it: The Numantines being themselves broken by the death of many gallant Men, by their Fields lying fallow, by want of Provision, and the unexpected durance of the War, were easily perswaded to send Agents to *Pompey* to treat of Peace. He indeed publicly advised them to submit themselves to the Romans discretion, (nor could he contrive any other Conditions Honourable for the Roman People) but privately he taught them what was to be done; when they were come to terms, and they had yielded to the Romans, he demanded Hostages, Captives and Runaways, and had them delivered, and of thirty Talents of Silver, which was agreed to be paid, the Numantines counted part to him, and part he was to give time for. But it happened that when they had got together the rest of the Money, and brought it to *Pompey*, his Successor *M. Popilius Lena* was come. Wherefore being no more in fear of War now, he had one to succeed him, knowing well that he had made a dishonourable Peace, and that without any Orders from the People, he began to deny he had any dealings with the Numantines; but they by the Testimony of many Senators, Commanders of Horse, and Military Tribunes, easily convinced him. *Popilius* referred them to *Rome*, there to come to a Trial with *Pompey*; the report being made to the Senate, they left *Pompey* and the Numantines to contest with each other. Mean while the Senate gave Orders to continue the War, and *Popilius* having done nothing else (till the coming of his Successor *Attilius Mancinus*) save leading the Army into the Territory of the Lusones, neighbours to the Numantines, returned to *Rome*. *Mancinus* often engaging with the Numantines, was always overcome; at length, with the loss of many, flying into his Camp, upon a false rumour cast abroad, that the *Cantabri* and *Vaccæi* were coming to the relief of the Numantines; growing fearful in the dead of the night (all which he had spent without any Fires) flees into a Desert place, where once was a Trench of *Nobilior's*, in which place, neither prepared nor fortified, being inclosed by break of day by the Numantines, standing round about, and threatening death to all, unless he made Peace, he granted Conditions equal to the Numantines and Romans, and bound himself to the performance, which when it was brought to *Rome*, all men were exceedingly enraged at so base and ignominious a League, and sent one of the Consuls, *Æmilius Lepidus* into *Spain*, recalling *Mancinus* (whom likewise the Numantine Legates followed) to show reasons for his Conduct. *Æmilius* while he stays for an answer from the City, impatient of idleness, (for in these times men sought not after Command for the Publick good, but either out of ambition of Glory, or private gains, or hopes of the Honour of Triumph) he falsely accused the *Vaccæi*, that in this War they had supplied the Numantines with Provisions. Whereupon he spoiled their Country, and laid Siege to *Palantia* their chief City, which had not in the least title violated their Covenants. Calling to him, and joyning with him in this work, *Brutus* his Son-in-Law, who, as we have before mentioned, was sent into the other part of *Spain*. To them *Cinna* and *Cecilius* coming Legates from *Rome*, declared that the Senate was doubtful, whether after so many losses it was convenient for *Æmilius* to engage in a new War, and to that end

they produced a Decree of the Senate, whereby *Æmilius* was forewarned not to make War with the *Vaccæi*. But he having already begun the War, thinking the Senate were ignorant of many things, as first, that he had joyned Forces with *Brutus*, then that the *Vaccæi* had assisted the Numantines with Men, Money and Provision, besides his retreat now might make a strange alteration in Affairs, there being danger, lest thereupon the Enemy contemning the Romans as fearful, all *Spain* should rebel. So *Cinna* returned without doing any thing, only wrote thus much to *Rome*. After these things, *Æmilius* took care in a well-fortified place, to cause Machines to be built, and to lay in stores of Corn. *Flaccus*, who was for that year Commissary General of Provisions, as he brought Victuals to the Camp, fell into a manifest Ambush, from whence he freed himself by this cunning, he spread a rumour among the Soldiers, that *Æmilius* had taken *Palantia*; at the news of which his party beginning to shout and rejoyce, the Barbarians hearing them, and believing it to be so indeed, of their own accord drew off: by this policy *Flaccus* saved his Provision from the Enemy. But the Siege of *Palantia* being still prolonged, and food failing, Famine began sorely to afflict the Romans, for not only all the Cattel, but many men died. Indeed the Generals, *Æmilius* and *Brutus* long bore out against these misfortunes, bravely and constantly; but at length compelled to yield to them, about the last watch of the night, they gave Orders to Discamp; and the Military Tribunes and Primipiles running up and down, urged every one to get ready to march by the first Light, so that doing all things in a hurry, they forsook their sick and wounded men, hanging upon them, and beseeching them not to betray them: In such confusion they marched away, that it could only be said, they did not flee; the Palantines several times falling on them, and keeping close up to them from morning till it was night, and doing them much detriment. As soon as it was dark, the Romans spent by hunger and travel, dispersed themselves by Companies about the Fields, and the Palantines, some Deity turning them back, went home. The Romans, for this ill management, depriving *Æmilius* of his Consulate and Command, fined him besides in a sum of Money. The cause likewise between *Mancinus*, and the Numantine Legates was heard in Senate; these alledging their League with *Mancinus*, he transferring the fault upon *Pompey*, the former General, who had delivered over to him a vicious and unwarlike Army, which was therefore often overcome, and that he himself had likewise made Peace with the Numantines; he likewise added, that it was no wonder, if this War had no good success, which they had against all Justice decreed. Though the Fathers were equally angry with them both, yet *Pompey*, against whom there had been a former sentence given, came off: But *Mancinus*, for being Author of so base a Peace without their Orders, they condemned to be delivered up to the Numantines, after the Example of those Fathers, who once gave up naked to the Samnites twenty Generals, who without their Command had concluded a League. *Mancinus* being brought to *Spain*, was by *Furius*, in like manner, yielded up naked to the Numantines, but they refused to accept him. Against them *Calpurnius Piso* was next chosen General, who brought not his Army against *Numantia*; but entering the confines of the Palantines, returned thence with an inconsiderable booty, and the rest of the time of his Government, spent in Winters Quarters in *Capertania*.

The People of *Rome* offended at this Numantine War, which in all Mens judgement was yet like to be more tedious, and difficult, decreed the other Consulate to *Cornelius Scipio* newly come from *Carthage*, for they believed him the only Man by whom the Numantines could be subdued. But being under the Consulary Age, appointed by the Law made in the Carthaginian War, by the Tribunes of the People, they now repealed that Law, and the next year again confirmed it. Thus *Scipio* being again declared Consul hastned to *Numantia* with no Army, the City Forces being wasted by so many Wars, and there being strength enough in *Spain*. Yet by the Senates permission he carried some Volunteers from other Cities, and Kings, who out of particular Friendship went with him, to whom he added about five hundred Clients and Friends out of the City, whom listing in one Band he called φίλων ἰλῶν, that is, the Band of Friends, all these amounting to about four thousand he committed to the leading of *Buteo* his Nephew, he himself slenderly accompanied went before to the Army in *Spain*, whom he was informed were debauched with all manner of Idleness, Discord and Luxury. Wherefore knowing well enough he could never overcome his Enemies, unless he first thoroughly purged and suppressed the Vices of his Army, as soon as he came to the Camp, he thought nothing more fitting then to expel thence all Hucksters, Whores, and Southsaying Priests, to which last the Soldiers, dismayed with so many unfortunate Engagements, were but too much addicted, forbidding for the future, the bringing any thing not absolutely necessary into the Camp, and strictly prohibiting all Sacrifices for Divination, sending away all Waggon of useles Baggage, and all Cattle, but such as they could by no means be without. Nor was any one to have more Utensils for dressing meat then a Spit, a Brass Pot, and one Cup. Meats likewise were prescribed Boild and Roasted, Beds forbidden, and for Example himself first lay in a Hammock, he forbid the Riding upon Mules upon a March, for what hopes was there of their service in War who could not walk on Foot; he likewise reproved those had servants to anoint and bath them, jestingly telling them that Mules which had no hands wanted others to scrub and scratch them: by these means he reclaimed them all to temperance. He accustomed them likewise to a Fear and Reverence of his Person, making the access to him, difficult in any unjust Petitions, having always these sayings in his mouth, *That those Generals who were strict and severe observers of Laws, were serviceable to their friends, but those who were easie and greedy of gain, only profitable to their enemies. That the Armies of these might indeed be more merry, but ignorant of order and obedience; but those more grave, and withal more dutiful and ready upon all occasion of service.* Nor would he at all engage the Enemy till he had first exercised his Soldiers in a thousand sundry labors, daily removing about the Country, he caused to be fortified new Camps, and then demolished them, deep ditches to be dug, and then filled up, mighty Walls to be Built, and then pulled down again, himself from Morning till Evening, going about and overseeing what was done. And that none upon a march (as had formerly been used) might straggle from the Army, he always drew up in a square body, and when it moved, kept himself in continual motion from Front to Rear, nor was it lawful for any to shift the place assigned him by the General. In the midst, as in the most proper place, he posted the sick and weak, commanding the Horsemen to dismount, and set them upon their Horses: the beasts of burthen that were heaviest laden he divided among the Foot: And where he intended to lodge those

designed for the guard of the Lines that night he commanded to stay without at their Arms, and kept a party of Horse scouting abroad for discovery, but to the rest of the Soldiers he appointed every one their task, these to dig in the Trench, those to raise the Rampire, and others to pitch the Tents, and set a certain and definitive space of time, in which every thing was to be done. And when he had brought his Army into a due posture of obedience, and made them patient of labor, then he removed his Camp nearer to *Numantia*. Where, according as some had used to do, he posted them not in Castles, for he would not presently divide his Army, nor run the hazard of a loss at first, thereby to make them run more into Contempt, with the Enemy, who contemned them enough already. Nor did he think it convenient to engage them in Battel, till he saw both good reason and opportunity for the doing it, and had thoroughly searched into the Numantines Counsels and Designs. In the mean time he wasted all the fields behind his Camp, and from thence fetcht in all his Forrage and cut down the standing Corn, which done, and that he was in a readines to proceed farther, his Friends advising him, that by a nearer way through the Field he might go forward to *Numantia*, but I, said he, *fear my return, the Enemy naked, and nimble Sallying out of the City have again into the City a retreat, but ours returning from forrage are laden with prey, and tyred, besides they bring with them Loaden Cattle, Carriages and Baggage; and that would be a hard and unequal fight, where being overcome they must run much danger and being Victorious yet, but little praise or profit, it being the height of madness to run into danger, for things of no moment. Nor was he worth the Name of a General, who unless compelled would throw the Dice of War, but he on the contrary who when necessity required and opportunity offered, would undauntly throw himself upon all dangers;* Adding hereunto this similitude, *that Chirurgions used not to incise or cauterize before they applyed Medicaments.* These things said, he Commanded his Colonels to lead the Army the farther way about, then making some Excursions beyond the Camp, he came among the *Vaccæi*, from whom the Numantines bought their Provisions, there preying upon all whatever was useful for the subsistence of the Camp, they gathered and brought away, the rest heaped together and burnt. In the Country of the Palantines was a place called *Caplanium*; there the *Palatini*, upon a certain hill laid Ambush, and with another party openly provoked *Scipio's* Forragers. *Scipio* Commands *Rutilus Rufus*, who was then Military Tribune (and hath likewise writ a History of these things) that taking four Troops of Horse he should break the Enemies charge. *Rufus*, they giving ground, pressed on too immoderately, so that mixing with the flyers, they were got together to the hill, where when he discovered the Ambush, he gave advice to his Horsemen not to think of following or pressing forward, but keeping their ground and order with their Lances at full length to keep off the Enemy: But *Scipio* who yet a great way off, had perceived that *Rufus* had already run beyond his Orders, solicitous of the event, immediately followed and found himself likewise taken in the snare; wherefore he commanded they should both ways charge the Enemy, and having thrown their Javelins, make their retreat not all in a huddle, but by degrees and keeping their Ranks, and by this means he brought his Horse off safely into the plain. Afterwards knowing for certain that near the passage of a River whose Ford was troublesome and Muddy they had laid another trap for him, he drew off, by a way farther indeed about, but not so fit for Ambushes. And because of the heat of the weather marching by night,

sinking

sinking several Wells, he found the waters of many of them bitter, so that thence though very hardly the Men got safely off, but some of the Horses and Cattel died with thirst. As he passed through the Country of the *Cantabri*, whom *Lucullus* had with so much treachery abused, he caused Proclamation to be made that the *Cantabri* might with all safety return to their habitations, thence he went and wintered on the Confines of the Numantines, whither *Figurthi* Nephew to *Messanius* came to him out of *Africa* with twelve Elephants, fitted with Archers and Slingers to gaul the Enemy in front. In these places by frequent incursions, wasting and foraging the Country the Enemy laid close Ambush for him. The conveniency of the place prompted them to the design. There was a Town almost quite encompassed round with a slimy Marsh, but only on one side where there was a Valley, and in that Valley the Ambush lay hid; *Scipio's* Soldiers were so divided that part entered the Town, began to Plunder, others kept about on horse back, whom those from the Ambush rising upon easily routed. *Scipio* who by chance stood without the Village near the Colours, commanded back by sound of Trumpet those got into the houses, and first with about a thousand running in to the relief of the baggage horses, and many out of the Town coming to joyn with him, he forced the Enemy to turn their backs but not following at all the chase, retreated himself into his Trenches with the loss but of few on both sides.

Not long after having pitched two Camps near *Numantia* (one of which he committed to the care of his brother *Maximus*, and the other commanded himself) when the Numantines drawing out, often provoked the Romans to fight, he scorned and laughed at them, saying, it would redound much to his dishonor if he should chuse rather to fight then reduce by famine men made furious by utter despair, therefore to besiege them the closer he drew seven Ditches round the City, and sent Letters to his Friends signifying how many and what forces they should send to him, which when they came he divided into several parts, and soon after divided his whole Forces into several bodies, appointing each their Leaders, and Commanding them to inclose the City with a Trench and Pallisadoes. The Circuit of *Numantia* was twenty four Furlongs, but that of his Trench above twice as much. Now every party had their distinct work set out to them, with orders that if the Enemy made any onset, they should give the signal by day a red cloth hanging on a long spear, and by night fire, that forthwith he or *Maximus* his brother might run in to their help. The work being brought to that forwardness that if the Enemy attempted any thing they might repulse him, he dug another ditch without that, and fastning thereon Palisadoes, built a Wall eight foot thick, and ten foot high below the battlements round which he raised Towers, at one hundred and twenty foot distance from each other, and because he could not run the Wall over the marsh, he threw up a bank in height and breadth equal to it, which served instead of a Wall, and *Scipio* is in my Judgment, the first that ever begirt a City, not refusing to fight him, with a Wall. But besides all this the River *Durius* running through his Fortifications was very convenient for the Townsmen, as well to bring them what they wanted, as for the transporting of Men, whether by swimming, or in little Boats, in which they privately stole by the Romans, either with Sails, the wind blowing fresh; or which Oars down the Stream. When therefore by reason of the largeness

XXI.

* Scipio's
Engine.

nets and violence of the Waters no way could be found to make a Bridge over, instead thereof he built two Castles, from which he drew over * Beams of Timber fastned together with Cordage, quite athwart the River, there were likewise very thick upon the Timbers, fastned very sharp Ironlike Spear-heads, which moved about by the force of the Water suffered none to pass, who either by Swimming or Diving, or Boat had design to deceive the Enemy : For it was *Scipio's* chief desire that none coming to them from abroad they might be ignorant of all was done, and want both intelligence and supplies. After all the works were perfected, and the Catapults, Crossbows and other Engines raised upon the Towers and the Bulwarks, well stored with Stones, Darts and Javelins, and the Archers and Slingers placed in the Towers, he disposed messengers quite round the Lines, who taking the word from one another might give it about, as any thing hapned, he gave order likewise, that the first Tower that was assauked by the Enemy should first show their Colours, and then others by the same Example do the like, that by the moving of this sign, and the word going about by the messengers he might know the certain cause of every thing ; Then Mustring his forces and finding he had sixty thousand men, he so divided them, that one half had charge of the guard of the wall, and if need were might be ready for other service, twenty thousand upon occasion to fight for the wall, and ten thousand for their reserve, who had likewise their post assigned them ; but none without the Generals Command was to change his Post, so that upon any signal given, every man was ready at his stand : with so much diligence did *Scipio* order all things. In the mean time the Numantines made several assaults upon the guards of the Wall, but then immediately, not without horror, they beheld assistance come from all parts, the signals made, the messengers running, those appointed for defence of the Walls leaping up, the Trumpets from the Towers sounding a charge, so that in an instant, all that whole circuit of fifty furlongs was put into a formidable posture. The whole round of which *Scipio* continually went both day and night believing his Enemies thus inclosed and wanting both Provisions, Arms and Men, could not very long make opposition. In the mean time *Retogenes* a most valiant Numantine, whose Surname was *Caurannius*, taking with him five friends whom he had wrought his parties in the enterprize, as many servants, and a like number of Horses in a cloudy and very dark night passing closely over the space between the Town and the Trenches, with a little Bridge to be set together, that he brought with him, gets with his friends upon the Enemies Works, and having slain the Sentinels, drew over the Horses by the same Bridge, and sending back the servants, they forthwith dispersed themselves among the Towns of the *Arvacci*, and in the manner of suppliants with Olive-branches in their hands, besought them to assist their kinsfolks the Numantines ; but many out of fear of the Romans, without hearing them commanded them to depart their Territories. But the youth of *Lutia* (a rich Town about three hundred furlongs distant from *Numantia*) pitying the Numantines condition, urged their City to send them aid, whereof *Scipio* having certain intelligence from the Seniors of the City, taking with him a nimble party, in eight hours time flies to *Lutia*, and by break of day begirting the City commanded the heads and ringleaders of the youth to be delivered up to him, and when they made answer, that they were broken out and fled, threatened by a Herald to Sack the City unless they were delivered up, wherewith terrified they brought out about forty to him, whose hands having cut off he march-

ed

ed away with his Forces, and by the next morning again recovered his Camp.

Hereupon the Numantines oppressed with hunger, sent five men to *Scipio*, to try whether if they yielded, they might be received with favour and clemency; the chief of this Deputation called *Avarus*, began to discourse in a brave and lofty manner, of the Institutions and Valour of the Numantines; adding, they had not been guilty of any delinquency, since only for their Wives and Childrens sakes, and the Liberty of their Country, they were fallen into these miseries. *Wherefore it would be an action worthy thee, O Scipio* (said he) *who art famed for a man of admirable generosity, to spare a brave and worthy people like ours, and not impose harder Conditions than humanity is able to bear on men, who sadly experienced the change of Fortune; for it is no more in our powers, but thine, by proposing moderate Conditions to save our City, by accepting our surrender, or else by fighting to suffer us utterly to perish.* *Avarus* having thus spoken, *Scipio* (before well assured of the Cities distress by the Captives) made no other answer, but that they must deliver up the City and their Arms; which being told to the Numantines, the Citizens already enough enraged (as men that were resolute to enjoy their Liberty, and submit to no others Empire) now by these provoking miseries made more violent and fierce, slew *Avarus*, and his fellow Deputies, as the Messengers of ill News, and perhaps, as suspecting them to have made some private bargain for their own safety. Not long after all manner of food being spent, and neither Corn, nor Cattel, nor Herbs left, first (as in close sieges has often happened) they fed upon boiled Hides; which being likewise consumed, they minced small the flesh of dying men, and devoured it, but their stomach soon loathing the flesh of these sick men, the stronger began to lay hands upon the weaker. In short, there was no misery to be imagined which they did not endure; their minds made fierce and bloody by this food, and their bodies oppressed with hunger and plague; having long time neglected themselves, they grew rough and shaggy, and in all points resembled wild Beasts. In this lamentable condition they delivered themselves up to *Scipio*; by whose Command they one day brought all their Arms into one place, and were appointed on the next day to assemble themselves in another; but they thought that day long; many yet out of desire of Liberty, professing they wished for death, and on that day only asking for some kind of death to be appointed them; so much Love of Liberty was there in a small and a barbarous City; for when before the War they were but eight thousand, with how frequent slaughters did they afflict the Romans? How often upon good terms did they enter into Leagues, which the Romans would not afterwards ratify or maintain? How often did they provoke to Battel this last Roman General, besieging them with three score thousand men? But he had so much knowledge in Military Affairs, that he would not engage in fight with wild Beasts, but chose rather to reduce them by Famine, the only way to tame those creatures, and by which they at last were tamed and broken. Wherefore when I considered, that the Numantines with so few Soldiers, so constantly held out so lasting a Siege, I thought it would have been a crime to have past by the particulars of it in silence. Surrendry being therefore made, many of them slew themselves in what manner they best thought fit; the rest assembled on the third day in the place appointed, with Bodies like Carcasses, a brutish kind of Countenance, their Bodies covered with filth and

XXIII.

naftiness, their Hair shaggy, their Garments foul, tattered and loathsomely stinking; so that in that condition they appeared miserable to their very Enemies, though the sick struck horror into all that looked upon them; for with anger, grief and labour, and a mutual consciousness of having fed on Humane Flesh, their very Eyes looked fiery and bloody. Fifty of them only reserved for his Triumph, *Scipio* sold the rest under the yoke. The Town he levelled with the ground. Thus this Roman General subverted two famous Cities. *Carthage* by Decree of the Senate (lest the power and strength of the City and Empire, and conveniency of its Situation, should invite them to War) and *Numantia*, a small one, and not very populous, without so much as the peoples knowledge; whether he believed it the sense of the Commonwealth, whether out of a sudden rage and anger against those people; or rather (as many think) to gain himself two Illustrious Surnames from the ruins of the two Cities; for even to this day the Romans call him, the African and the Numantine, from the destruction and ruine of those two Cities. Having divided the Lands of the Numantines among the Neighbours, and gone a progress through the other Cities to administer Justice, and threatned or fined those which had any way been their Associates, he returned home.

XXIV. The Romans according to Custom sent ten Senators to those people, whom either *Scipio* now, or *Brutus* before, had subdued either by surrendry, or force of Arms, to establish Order, and settle all Affairs in Peace. In succeeding times, new stirrs arising, *Calphurnius Piso* was sent thither General, whom *Servilius Galba* succeeded. But when *Italy* was oppressed with the Cimbrian War, and *Sicily* again with that of the Slaves; they sent no Forces into *Spain*, but only Lieutenants, who as far as they were able, kept all things in quiet. The Cimbrians being driven out of *Italy*, *T. Didius* coming thither, slew twenty thousand of the *Pacci*, and transplanted the Town of *Tremisum*, always unfaithful to the Romans, from a strong situation unto the Plain, commanding the Inhabitants to live without any Fortifications. Then after seven Months Siege he took the City *Colenda* by surrendry, and sold all the Citizens with their Wives and Children. Not far from *Colenda* dwelt a mixture of several people of the Celtiberians, whom *Marius*, five years before, when he had made use of them against the Lusitanians, had by consent of the Senate there appointed Habitations. These through want, living on thievery, *Didius*, by consent of the ten Commissioners, who were not yet gone, approved the settlement and signified to their Leaders, that he would to those wanted, assign the Lands of the Inhabitants of *Colenda*, which proposition they eagerly accepting, he presently commanded them with their Wives and Children to come to the division of the Land: when they were come, he commanded his Soldiers to come out of his Camp, and them to go in, the men apart from the Women and Children, for that he would take a Roll of their Names, to compute how much Land was to be divided. They being all gone within the Lines; the Soldiers surrounding them, put them all to the Sword, for which things he likewise triumphed. The Celtiberians again rebelling: *Flaccus* was sent against them, who with the slaughter of twenty thousand suppressed them. But in the City of *Belgeda*, the people inclining to a defection, and the Senate demurring upon it, and refusing, the people burnt them all in their Seats, of which Villany, *Flaccus* at his coming finding out the Authors punished them. These are the Actions of the Romans against the Spaniards, which I have found most worthy of Memory. In

In latter time when *Sylla* and *Cinna*, being at variance raised Arms and conspired against their Country, *Q. Sertorius* being of *Cinna's* party and chosen General of *Spain*, stirred up that whole Province against the Romans, and having got together a mighty Army, and formed a kind of a Senate out of his Friends, with great courage and confidence was about to march towards the City. At which the Fathers terrified, they sent two Excellent and famous Generals of their own order *Cecilins Metellus*, with one strong Army, and *Cn. Pompey* with another, to divert him from *Italy*; yet laboring for strength after the late Civil War. But *Perpenna* one of *Sertorius* party slew him and made himself General of the Faction, who being by *Pompey* overcome in battel and slain, that War which had struck a great terror among the Romans, was ended: but of this we have written more accurately in *Sylla's* Civil Wars. After *Sylla's* death, *C. Cesar* was created General in *Spain* with power to make War as he should think fit against any that seemed to stagger, or were never yet subdued to the Roman Power. After him *Octavius Cesar* Son of *Caius*, Surnamed *Augustus*, reduced some people which had again rebelled, from which time the Romans (as I suppose) divided *Iberia* which they now call *Spain* into * three parts, sending Prætors into each of them, two of which are nominated by the Senate, and the third appointed by the Emperor.

* *Terraconensis, Bætica, Lusitania.*

The end of the seventh Book of the Spanish War.

A P P I A N
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Roman Wars
WITH
HANNIBAL.

P A R T I.

B O O K VIII.

The Argument of this Book.

- I. **T**he occasion of this War briefly rehearsed. II. Hannibal passes the Alps, takes Turin, twice defeats Scipio, slays Flaminius, and destroys his whole Army. III. Centenius defeated by him: the City in great fear make Fabius Dictator. IV. The Battel at Cannæ, Varro's Cowardise. V. The Peoples fear after the defeat at Cannæ: The Senates Courage

Courage, and Hannibal's cruelty. VI. Several Roman Allies revolt to Hannibal. Gracchus the Proconsul slain. VII. Capua besieged by the Romans. Hannibal to divert that Siege, marches directly to Rome, the Cities fears: Nevertheless he returns, having only viewed it. VIII. Hannibal's Stratagem defeated by Claudius, Capua taken by the Romans. IX. Titia taken and recovered: Salatia revolts from Hannibal. X. The Consuls Fulvius and Marcellus slain; yet Hannibal's Affairs grow worse and worse. XI. Asdrubal, Hannibal's brother, with the Army he brought out of Spain totally routed. XII. Hannibal quitting all the rest of Italy, retires among the Brutians, and in vain expects aid from Carthage. XII. Scipio sails with an Army into Africa: several of the Brutians fall off from Hannibal. XIII. He is recalled home, his cruelty at his departure, and the end of this War.

NOW what was done by *Hannibal* the Carthaginian, when out of *Spain* he led his Forces into *Italy*, during the full sixteen years that he there continued in Arms, acting, and in his turn suffering all the extremities of War; till by his fellow Citizens (his own Country being in jeopardy) he was recalled, and by the Romans driven out of *Italy*, shall be the Subject of this Book; and though the causes, both of the breaking out, and of the carrying on this War into *Italy*, as well what in reality they were, as what was openly pretended, be in the Spanish History most accurately declared; yet it will not be amiss for the refreshing the Readers Memory, to make some short rehearsal. *Amilcar*, surnamed *Barcas*, Father of this *Hannibal*, in that War waged between the Romans and Carthaginians in *Sicily*, was General of the Carthaginian Forces; and being for his ill Conduct accused by his Enemies, and thereof doubtful, he so managed Affairs, that before rendring any account of his former charge, he was created General against the Numidians. In which War, because he much advanced the Commonwealth, and by Gifts and Rapines pleased that Army, he was first sent by the Carthaginian people to *Cadiz*, whence crossing over that Strait into *Spain*, by sending many rich Presents out of the Spoil of that Country into *Carthage*, he reconciled himself to the people, striving by all means to wipe off the Memory of the Sicilian Ignominy. At length having subdued many People, and got great Glory, he drew on the Carthaginians, with a hope and desire of possessing all *Spain*, as a thing easily effected; whereupon the Saguntines, and other Greeks, inhabiting *Spain*, sought for refuge to the Romans: Whereupon it was agreed between the Romans and Carthaginians, and ratified by Writings, that the Bounds of the Carthaginian Dominion should be the River *Iberus*. After which *Barcas* settling in *Spain* the Affairs of the subdued People, was in a certain Battel slain; and *Asdrubal*, the Son-in-Law of *Barcas*, substituted in his place, who being likewise (as he was hunting) killed by a Slave, whose Master he had put to death; the third from them, who for his skill in, and love of warlike Affairs, was chosen General by the Army; was this *Hannibal*, the Son of *Barcas*, and Brother to *Asdrubal's* Wife, a young man indeed: but who had lived all his time with his Father or Brother-in-Law; and having now the Command given by the Soldiery, the Carthaginian people approved it; and so this *Hannibal*, of whom I am about to write, was declared General for the Carthaginians against the Spaniards; who perceiving his Fathers friends exposed

exposed to the designs and malice of their Enemies, who despising his Youth, began to set things on foot against them, not being ignorant, but their dangers would one day fall upon his own head. That out of the publick fear he might acquire and establish freedom and security for himself; he devised how to embroil his Country in a War, and thinking none more fit for his purpose, more lasting, nor likely to be more for his Glory, than a War with the Romans; the very attempting which, though he succeeded ill, would get him no small Renown (to omit the report spread abroad, that when a Boy, his Father made him swear at the Altar, never to be at peace with the Romans) he resolved, notwithstanding the League, to cross over the *Iberas*, which he thus found occasion to effect: He set on some to accuse the Saguntines, and pined the Senate with frequent Letters; alledging that the Romans solicited all *Spain* to revolt; till at length he obtained leave to deal with the Saguntines, as he himself thought fit: so he crossed the *Iberus*, and utterly rased the City of the Saguntines. Thus were all the Leagues made between the Romans and Carthaginians, since the Sicilian War, utterly broken.

II.

But what *Hannibal* and others, either Carthaginian or Roman Generals, did in *Spain*, the Spanish History declares: He gathering together vast multitudes of Africans, Celtiberians, and many other Nations, delivering over *Spain* to his Brother *Asdrubal*, and climbing over the Pyrenean Hills, came into *Celtica*, which is now called *Gallica*, leading with him ninety thousand Footmen, twelve thousand Horse, and seven and thirty Elephants, and joyning to him some Gauls, partly gained by Gold, partly by Promises, and partly by Force, lead them along with him: whence proceeding on his March, when he came to the *Alpes*, though he saw no ascent nor passage (for all before him seemed craggy and inaccessible) yet with a strange confidence of mind, which no labour could make bend, he settled himself to go forward; and finding all the passages stop'd with deep Snow, and Ice congealed together, thawing it by kindling mighty Fires, and quenching the Ashes with Water and Vinegar, and then breaking the scorched and cleaving Rocks with Iron Hammers and Wedges, by little and little lessened them, and opened himself a way, which to this day lives so, and is called *Hannibal's* passage. But when hunger began to afflict his Army, he with more speed lead them on, whilst none yet knew of his coming into *Italy*. After six Months spent after his departure from *Spain*, with great difficulty and the loss of many men, he in the end got down from the Mountains into the Plain; where giving his Army some short rest, he went and took *Turine*, a City of the Gauls, which being gained by storm, and the Captives (to strike a terrour into the rest of the Gauls) all slain, he marched his Army to the *Eridanus* (now called *Po*) whereabouts the Romans, at that time waged War against the Boian Gauls. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the Roman Consul, then sent to wage War against the Carthaginians in *Spain*, hearing of *Hannibal's* being gone into *Italy*: leaving *Spain*, and the Command of that Army to his Brother *Cn. Scipio*, sailed into * *Hebrun*; from whence making haste, and gathering together all the force he could, he got to the *Po* before *Hannibal* passed it; and sending *Manlius* and *Attilius*, who commanded in the War against the Boians to *Rome* (for the Consuls being present, their Commission was at an end) and joyning their Forces with his, drew up his Army to give Battel to *Hannibal*. The Fight being begun by the light armed Darters and Horsemen, the Romans circumvented by the Africans, fled to

* *Tuicany*.

to their Tents, and next night having first broke down the Bridge over the *Po*, retreated to *Placentia*, a place well fortified; but *Hannibal* making a new Bridge, brought his Army likewise over. These brave Exploits, after his coming down from the *Alpes* into the Plain, stood him not in little stead among the Transalpine Gauls, who thought him an invincible Leader, and a man to all whose attempts Fortune showed herself favourable and propitious; which Renown to increase among these Barbarians already astonished, with admiration of him, and therefore easily to be deceived; he often changed his Habit and Hair, which daily was by some new Artifice prepared and coloured, so that passing through their Country, he sometimes appeared like an old, sometimes like a young, and sometimes like a middle aged man; so that seeing him continually varying from himself, they forthwith judged Divine Nature to be in him. *Sempronius*, the other Consul, who was then in *Sicily*, having certain intelligence of these things, came to *Scipio* by Sea, and sets down within forty Furlongs of his Colleague; and now all things were prepared for the next days Battel. Only the River *Trebia* ran between, which the Romans before it was light on a cold and mizling Winters Morning, passed over almost up to the breast in Water, whilst *Hannibal* till the second hour refreshed his Solders in their Tents. The two Consuls so drew up their Army, that they might be on the Wings, placing the stoutest of their Foot in the main Body. *Hannibal* opposed his Elephants to the Horse, and his Foot to the Phalanx, and commanded his Horse to stand still behind the Elephants, till he gave them the Signal. The Battels being joyned, the Roman Horse affrighted with the sight and smell of the Elephants, to which they were unaccustomed, dispersed all abroad and fled; but the Foot, though stiff with cold, soaked in Water, and tired and broken with continual watchings, yet with couragious hearts flew upon those Monsters, and cutting them cross the Nerves, wounded them, and had doubtless put to flight his Foot, had not *Hannibal*, giving his Signal to his Horsemen, sent them to flank the Enemy: For then the Roman Foot left naked by their Horse, whom the terrour of the Elephants had scattered, and oppressed by multitudes, fearing to be inclosed by their Enemies, took a speedy flight towards their Camp. Then were many of the Foot intercepted by the Horse, and others that reached the River, (which was not a little swell'd with the Snow melted by the heat of the Sun) were swallowed in the Stream, the depth of the Water not giving them foothold, nor their heavy Armour suffering them to swim. *Scipio* following them, and still encouraging his Soldiers, was very near slain, and desperately wounded, brought with much difficulty to *Cremona*. Near *Placentia* was a little Castle, which *Hannibal* going to storm, with the loss of forty of his men, went off himself wounded. After which both Armies betook themselves to Winter Quarters, *Scipio* in *Cremona* and *Placentia*, and *Hannibal* about the *Po*. The Romans hearing of this defeat given near the *Po* (for before *Hannibal's* coming they had been worsted by the Boians) enrolled a new Army in the City, which accounting those at the *Po*, compleated thirteen Legions, and twice as many they commanded from their Allies. Some of these they thought fit to send into *Spain*, some to *Sardinia* (for there they were at War too) and some into *Sicily* the greater part which were left behind the Consuls *Cn. Servilius*, and *Flaminius* (who succeeded *Scipio* and *Sempronius*) led against *Hannibal*, and *Scipio* as Proconsul sailed into *Spain*. *Flaminius* with thirty thousand

land Foot, and three thousand Horse had the Guard of *Italy*, within the *Appennine*, which alone is properly called *Italy*; for the *Appennine* from the middle of the *Alpes* stretches it self to the Sea; on the right hand of which lyes that part, which is truly called *Italy*; that on the left hand towards the Ionian Sea now indeed is *Italy* (for *Etruria* is now likewise *Italy*) but part of it towards the Ionian Sea Coasts is inhabited by Greeks, and part by Gauls, who once making War upon the Romans, burnt the City; and whom *Camillus* pursuing to the *Appennine*; I am of the opinion, that crossing those Hills, they then seated themselves upon the Ionian Sea, and made that their Country, whence part of that Region is to this day called the Italian Gaul. But to proceed, the Romans having now at the same time many powerful Armies in several places, *Hannibal* having thereof intelligence, very secretly upon the first approach of the Spring, entred *Etruria*, wasting that whole Country, and drawing towards the City, struck a mighty terrour in the Romans, who had now no Army there to oppose him; yet of those that remained, they levyed eight thousand men, whom for want of other Magistrates, they gave *Centenius* the Command of, a private man indeed, but of the Patritian Race, and sent him into *Umbria* to the *Plesfine* Marsh to guard that passage, which was the nearest way to the City. In the mean time *Flaminius*, who with thirty thousand men kept the interior *Italy*, hearing of *Hannibal's* celerity; and being afraid of the City, forthwith removes his Camp; and giving his Army no rest, being a man ignorant of War-like Affairs; and who by pride and popular boasting came to be chosen to this Command, by great journies hastens towards *Hannibal*, with resolution to fight him as soon as possible. *Hannibal*, who knew the mans furious temper, and unskillfulness in War, pitch'd his Tents behind a certain Mountain and Marsh, and hid all his Horse and Light Armed Men in the Valley. In the Morning at break of day, *Flaminius* seeing the Enemies Tents, stayed there a small while to refresh his Army, and threw up a Trench; which done, he drew up his Army in Battel, before they had yet recovered strength, after so much labour and watching: but when the Ambushes rose upon them on all sides, then penn'd in between the Mountains and the Lake, and on both sides charged by their Enemies; the Consul himself, and twenty thousand with him were slain. The remaining ten thousand, who had fled to a certain Village, fortified by Nature, *Maharbal*, one of *Hannibal's* Commanders, who had himself gained great Renown in War, seeing he could not easily vanquish them by force, and thinking it not prudence to engage with desperate men, perswaded them to lay down their Arms, engaging upon his Honour, they should all have free leave to go whither they pleased. They having thereupon laid down their Arms, he carried them naked to *Hannibal*, who denying that *Maharbal* had any power without his Orders to promise any thing, such of the Associates as he found, he treated with all kindness, and dismissed without any ransom, by this Clemency, enticing and alluring the Cities to his party, but all the Romans he kept Prisoners. Among the Auxiliary Gauls, that by gain he might sweeten them, he likewise divided part of the prey, and then began to march on.

- III. The Fame of these things coming to *Servilius* the Consul, who lay in his standing Camp near the *Po*, he with forty thousand men made haste towards *Etruria*. *Centenius* still with his eight thousand men kept his
- Post.

Post. *Hannibal* viewing the *Plestine* Marsh, and the Mountain hanging over it, and *Centenius* guarding the Passage, diligently enquired of the Chief of his Guards, if there were any way to go about the Mountain; and though they told him they were no way passible, but all was rough and craggy; yet he commanded *Maharbal*, with some Light Armed Men to fetch a compass about the Mountain, and about the same time that he conjectured he might have recovered the tops of the Hills, charged *Centenius* in Front; and whilst they were disputing it, *Maharbal* having stoutly recovered the tops of the Hills, with great shouts and clamour shows himself. Then the flight of the Romans, and the slaughter of them was great, three thousand were slain, and eight hundred taken Prisoners, the rest hardly escaping. The news of this slaughter being brought to *Rome*, they were in a dreadful fear lest *Hannibal* should now march directly to the City, wherefore they mann'd their Walls, and furnished them with Darts, and the Old Men armed, and for want of Arms, they took out of the Temples such, as being taken in former Wars, had been there hung up for Trophies; and according to their Custom in all extremities, they created *Fabius Maximus* Dictator. But *Hannibal*, God averting him, turned off toward the Ionian Sea, and wasting all their Coasts, got a vast prey. *Servilius* the Consul opposing himself to *Hannibal*, came to *Arminium*, and that he might keep those Gauls, not yet alienated in their fidelity, staid with his Army one days march from thence, till *Fabius* the Dictator coming, sent *Servilius*, who after the creation of a Dictator, had no more power either as Consul or General, to *Rome*; and himself followed *Hannibal* close at the heels; but yet forbearing to engage him, though often provoked to it, thinking it enough, if warily watching him, he prevented him from besieging any Towns. *Hannibal*, the whole Country being wasted, began to be in want, wherefore ranging it over once more, and for many days drawing up his Forces, he endeavoured to tempt *Fabius* to fight. But the Dictator made no show of having any thoughts to engage him, though *Minutius Rufus*, General of his Horse, disallowed this proceeding, and wrote to his Friends at *Rome*, that *Fabius* through fear and cowardise declined Battel. But it happened that *Fabius* going to *Rome* to perform the usual Sacrifices, *Minutius* fought a set Battel with *Hannibal*, wherein he seemed to have the better; whereupon grown more furious, he wrote to the Senate, accusing *Fabius*, that he had no mind to overcome. The Senate at *Fabius* return to the Army, thereupon made the Power equal between the Dictator and Master of the Horse: So they divided the Forces between them, and pitch'd their Camps apart, each stedfast in his own opinion. *Fabius*, that *Hannibal* was to be dealt with by temporizing, still vexing him, and taking care that he did no mischief. *Minutius*, that he was presently to be fought with: But when he a while after engaging *Hannibal*, *Fabius*, who lay still with his Forces, well foreseeing what after hapned, received *Minutius*'s Soldiers put to flight and repulsed, *Hannibal* pursuing them, thereby securing *Minutius* from a very great slaughter; and being nothing less kind to him, notwithstanding all his false accusations; then, I say, *Minutius* of his own accord condemning his own want of knowledge, resigning his Command, delivered his part of the Army up to *Fabius*: Which passages *Augustus* in after times often remembred, who was himself wary of fighting, and chose rather to prevail by Policy than Power. *Fabius* no less diligently than before watch'd *Hannibal*'s motions, hindring him from for-

raging; and though declining a general Engagement, still falling upon all stragling parties, not doubting in a short time to reduce *Hannibal* to want of Provisions. Till both Armies drawing nigh to certain straits, which *Hannibal* foresaw not, *Fabius* sent before four thousand men, who forthwith possessing themselves of the straits, he himself pitch'd his Camp upon a certain Hill on the other side, where he lay secure. *Hannibal* seeing himself thus besieged, being shut in one side by *Fabius's* Army, and on the other by those guarded the passes, was struck with such a violent fear, as he never had been before; for he could perceive no way of escape, all other places being craggy and inaccessible: So that despairing how to get loose from *Fabius*, being so close block'd up, in this fear and trouble of mind, he caused five thousand Prisoners (lest taking the opportunity of this present danger, they might raise some Tumult and disorder) to be killed in cold blood. Then he commanded Torches to be tyed to the Horns of all the Cattle he had in the Camp, whereof there were abundance; and the next night setting on flame the Torches, and putting out all other Fires in the Camp, committed it to the care of the stoutest young men in his Army, to drive them up the craggy ways, between the straits and *Fabius's* Camp, with all the violence they could. The Oxen pricked forward by their Drivers, and scorched with the Flame of the Torches, run up with great fury among the Craggs and Precipices, and when any of them fell down, with greater violence they strove to clamber up again. The Romans, who were on both sides, when they saw a general silence and darkness in *Hannibal's* Camp, and perceived many lights shining in several places among the Mountains, could not plainly, especially being in the night, discover what the business should be. *Fabius* indeed suspected some device of *Hannibal's*, but being certain of nothing, kept within his Trenches. But those set for the Guard of the straits, thinking (which was all he wished they would do) that *Hannibal* fled, and was making his escape over the tops of the Mountains, ran to the places whither the lights guided them, imagining to oppress *Hannibal's* men, labouring to get up. They were scarce moved from their Post, when *Hannibal* with deep silence, and without any light to keep the closer, runs in with his swiftest men, and possessing himself of, and placing a good Guard in the straits, by sound of Trumpet gave notice thereof to the rest; at the sound of which the whole Camp answered them with acclamations, and forthwith blew up their Fires. Then the Romans knew the cheat; so the rest of *Hannibal's* Army, and those that drove the Cattel, got safe to the passage; and he with his whole Army having thus beyond his own hopes got the Victory, and brought all his men safe off; he marched forward till he came to *Gerione*; a City of *Apulia*, stored with Corn, which making himself Master of, he spent the Winter in the midst of plenty and abundance. *Fabius* with the same resolutions and constancy still following him, pitch'd his Camp within ten Furlongs of *Gerione*, the River *Asfidus* running between both Armies, but the six Months being expired (which is the time established for the Dictatorship at *Rome*) the Consuls *Servilius Attilius*, again entering into their Magistracy, came to the Army, and *Fabius* returned to *Rome*. This Winter many skirmishes and engagements of Parties happened betwixt both Armies, in which always the Romans came off with the greater Honour and Glory; wherefore *Hannibal*, who till that time writing to his friends, used to adorn and set out his Letters with his own praises, now began to distrust his Affairs, and require Supplies of Men and Money.

But

But his Enemies who from the very first condemned his undertakings, then especially feigned not to understand him, for Conquerors, said they, did not use to ask, but freely to send Money to their own Country, which *Hannibal* proud with so many victories yet demands. At which words the Carthaginians moved sent him neither men nor money, which *Hannibal* deploring sent Letters into *Spain* to *Asdrubal* his brother commanding him, that with the first of the Summer with all the force he had, and what quantity of gold he could raise, he should make an irruption into *Italy*, and waite the utter parts thereof, that both sides burning, the Romans might be afflicted with a doubtful War : in this Posture stood *Hannibal's* affairs.

The Fathers sorely grieved for the defeat of *Flaminius* and *Centenius* and so many other cruel mischiefs, which they daily, as they thought dishonorably suffered, not being able to endure the War to continue so long at their own doors, and as it were in their very Seats, once more raised and sent an Army into *Apulia* consisting of four Legions, enrolled not without great regret in the City, and a mighty power of their Allies. Withal they created two Consuls one famous for Warlike Prowess *L. Æmilius*, who had made War in *Illyria*, the other of the Popular Faction *Terentius Varro*, a man who only with lofty promises soothed the minds of the Common people, whom when they sent out armed to the War, they besought as soon as they could to engage the Enemy, and not by longer Protracting the War exhaust the City by so many recruits, of Men, Money, and Provisions, and through Idleness suffer the Country to burn. The Consuls receiving the Army that was in *Apulia*, and being now in all seventy thousand Foot and six thousand Horse, pitch their Camp in *Canne* a Town of *Apulia* directly opposite to the Carthaginians. *Hannibal* who had always been desirous to fight, and impatient of lying idle, at this time more especially did not decline an Engagement, being pressed to it by his own necessities, and a fear lest the Mercenary Soldiers not having their wages paid, should either run away from him or be scattered about the Country to get in Forrage. Wherefore he daily provoked the Enemy, whilst the Consuls were of quite different, and disagreeing judgments, *Æmilius* thought that *Hannibal* was to be defeated by Temporizing and patience, for that having only such Provisions as he day by day fetcht in, he could not long subsist; whilst it was hazardous fighting an Army and a General so long versed in Battels and accustomed to Victory: but *Terentius* (raised by the people and therefore remembering the Peoples Commands) was for present fight. None save only *Servilius* Consul the year preceding were of *Æmilius* mind, but all the Senators and those of the Order of Knights, who had any Office in the Army, were of *Terentius* opinion. Whilst the Romans lay in this manner, *Hannibal* who having a party sent out either to Wood or Forrage, set upon by them; first overcome, about the last watch of the night discamped, and feigned a flight as if he had sought to return to his own Country; which *Varro* beholding he drew out the Army as if he had been to pursue a flying Enemy, *Æmilius* in the mean time earnestly forbidding it, and calling them back, which when he saw did nothing avail, he went himself according to the Roman Custome, to take the usual signs, and he seeing the Chicken peckt not, Commanded to let *Varro* know the ill Auspices. He indeed yielded to Religion, but being returned into the Camp before all the Army tore his Hair, crying out, that his Colleague had out of envy rob'd

IV.

him of the victory, the whole crowd assenting to what he said, and making the like complaints. But when *Hannibal* saw his deceit had little profited him, he forthwith returned into his Camp, and discovered his disssembled flight, yet all this would not prevail with *Varro*, thence forward to suspect *Hannibal*, but on the Contrary going into the *Prætorium* before all the Senators, Centurions, and Military Tribunes, he grievously inveighed against *Æmilius*, who either by falsely representing the Religious auspices, had rob'd the City of a Certain Victory, or through Fear and Cowardise, not daring to fight himself, had envied him the glory of the day; in Raving manner uttering these speeches, the Soldiers who stood about the Tent greedily receiving, and gladly hearing these words with bitter reproaches blasted *Æmilius*, who yet forbore not though in vain to advise many useful things, but when all save only *Servilius* were furiously carried away by *Varro's* persuasion, the next day which was almost the last of his Command (for he after yielded it to *Varro*) he drew out his Army to fight: *Hannibal* perceived it, but because he was not that day sufficiently prepared, drew not out his Army. The next day both Generals drew into the field. The Romans in a triple Battel, so as that the main body consisted of Armed Foot and the two Wings of light Armed Foot and Horse. *Æmilius* commanded the main body, *Servilius* the left Wing, and *Varro* the Right, and each had with them a body of about a thousand chosen Horse to run up and down upon all occasions, and give assistance where it was needful. This was the Order of the Roman battel. *Hannibal* not ignorant, that a certain stormy wind (which they call *Fulturnus*, and is the North East) blew usually about Noon in those parts, made it his first care to take possession of the ground so, that he might have the wind upon his back, Then upon a certain hill covered over with trees, and broken in sunder by several close Valleys, he placed some Horse and nimble Soldiers in Ambush, to whom he gave orders, that in the heat of the battel, and when the wind was risen they should charge the Enemy in the Rear, to these he added five hundred Celtiberians, who besides their long Swords, wherewith they were girt, had under their Coat Armors or Jacks, short Daggers, to stand in a readiness till he had occasion for them, and quietly to wait for the signal to be given them. Then having likewise drawn his Army into a Triple Battel, and extended his Horse as far as he could upon the Wings, to inclose the Enemy, he gave the right Wing to *Mago* his brother, the left to *Hanno* his Nephew, and kept the main Battel himself to be opposite to *Æmilius*, who had the greatest Fame and knowledge in War, he had likewise two thousand Horse besides a thousand commanded by *Maharbal* whom he appointed to keep continually moving, with orders upon occasion to assist any that were oppressed. And doing these things delay'd the battel till the second hour, at what time the wind began to rise, when all things were put in good order, the Generals began to encourage their respective Soldiers, the Romans by putting them in mind of their Parents, Wives and Children, and withal by remembering them of former defeats, let them know they fought this battel for the last stake, and their own general and particular preservation. *Hannibal* on the other side remembering his Men of their many famous Exploits, and the several Victories they had already gained against this very Enemy, told them dishonorable it would be, should they now be vanquished by those they had so often overcome. And now the Trumpets sounding a charge and the Foot giving a shout, the light Armed Men first began, and then forthwith the Legions advanced to the Battel, then the slaughter

slaughter was great, and the labour mighty, both sides courageously maintaining the ground. In the mean time *Hannibal* gave Orders to his Horse to inclose the Enemies Wings, whom the Roman Horse, though far inferior in number, yet being drawn out in length, and extended as far as possible, with noble and undaunted courage received, especially those in the left Wing toward the Sea. Wherefore *Hannibal* and *Maharbal* taking along those Horse they had with them, with a violent shock, and a savage and barbarous howling, fell in upon the Romans, as if by one fierce onset they would break through, and overset them; but the Romans received their charge without amazement, or giving the least ground. *Hannibal* seeing all these endeavours fruitless, lifted up the Signal for those five hundred Celtiberians, who soon after going out of the Body, as if they had deserted their party, delivered up to the Enemy their Shields, Darts and Swords, which were all the Arms that appeared about them. *Servilius* praising them, and soon disarming them, having, as he thought no other Armour but their Coats of Mail, commanded them to set down behind the Army, not thinking it honourable in the Enemies fight to cast Revolters into Bonds; and seeing them disarmed all to their Coats, he feared no hurt from them; besides the Army being in all parts engaged, it was a time very unreasonable to do any thing more to them. About the same instant, some Regiments of the Africans dissembling a flight, began with great cries to run towards the Mountains, that warned by the Signal (for so it was agreed on) those who lay in the clefts of the Hill, might fall upon such as pursued them. So at one instant all the Horse and light armed Foot rising out of their Ambushes, and at the same time a great and violent storm of wind blowing the dust into the Romans faces, and blinding them, besides the force of the wind driving back the Roman Darts, and making them flee faintly and uncertain, whilst the Carthaginians coming with it, flew more sure and strong; the Romans not able any way to avoid these things, fell foul of one another, and the whole Army began to stagger; when those Celtiberians laying hold of this occasion to act their design, unsheathing their Daggers, first slew those at whose backs they stood; and lying on their Shields, Darts and Swords, fell more freely upon the whole Body, and being behind them, made a horrible slaughter. The Romans, (having their Enemies before them, and being inclosed by Ambushes, and withal slain by these mixed amongst them, upon whom they could not turn, being so pressed by the Carthaginians in Front, and being likewise deceived by the likeness of the Arms, for the Celtiberians having got Roman Shields, they were scarce to be distinguished from their own men) were distracted with various and doubtful dangers; but among these misfortunes, the dust raised by the wind, did most of all afflict the Romans, for they could neither understand their own loss; but (as is usual in all frights and tumults) believed every thing worse than it was, and thought the Ambushes greater, and those five hundred much more numerous; wherefore at length believing their Camps already encompassed by the Horse and Fugitives, they began to make a disorderly flight, first on the right Wing, *Varro* himself leading the way, and afterwards on the left, whose Commander *Servilius* running in to *Æmilius*, and about ten thousand stout Horse and Foot gathering about these two Commanders, they first, and by their Example, the rest of the Horsemen soon after alighting, though they were on all sides encompassed round, yet on foot renewed the fight against *Hannibal's* Horse. There might be beheld all that men skillful in War,

and

and reduced to utter despair, could in that rage and fury act against an Enemy ; yet they were slain on all sides, and now *Hannibal* himself inclosing them, encouraged his men, sometimes with exhortations to perfect the relicks of the Victory , and sometimes reproaching their cowardise, that when the whole Army was scattered and fled, they could not overcome so small a number: Yet the Romans, as long as *Servilius* and *Emilius* stood, kept their Orders, giving and receiving multitudes of wounds: but when those two Generals fell, stoutly forcing their way through the midst of their Enemies, and then dispersing themselves, they fled, and many of them escaped to several Quarters. There were about fifteen thousand, who at the beginning of the rout, had fled into the two Camps, these *Hannibal* forthwith besieged: two thousand that had fled into the Town of *Cannæ*, yeilded themselves to him, a few got safe to *Cannusium*, and the rest were dispersed through the Woods. This was the event of the Battel at *Cannæ*, begun the second hour of the day, and continuing till two hours within night, till this very time famous for the great slaughter, there being in few hours no less than fifty thousand killed, great numbers taken alive, many Senators slain, with all the Centurions and Primipiles, and the two bravest of three Generals; for as to the third he most cowardly (though the Author of this Calamity) ran away at the beginning of the rout. Thus the Romans in two years War with *Hannibal* had lost of their own, and their Allies, no less than two hundred thousand men.

- V. *Hannibal* having gained this famous and signal Victory, in which by four several Actions he demonstrated the Excellency of his Conduct, when he gained the wind of the Enemy, when he made the Celtiberians feign a revolt, when he dissembled a Flight, and when he placed his Ambushes. The next thing he did was to take a view of the dead, among whom when he beheld many of the bravest of his Friends; 'tis said that fighting he cryed out, *He stood not in need of more such Victories*: Much like to which is reported to have in the former Age been said by *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epire*, That by such defeats he should hardly vanquish the Romans. Those who were fled into the greater Camp, under the leading of *Publius Sempronius*, broke through *Hannibal's* Watches, tired for want of sleep, and fighting resolutely, and got about ten thousand of them to *Cannusium*, but the five thousand that staid in the lesser Camp, were the next day taken by *Hannibal*. The Consul *Terentius*, gathering together the relicks of the Army, and comforting them (sad, and quite cast down as they were) in the best manner he could, and leaving the Command of them to *Scipio*, Tribune of the Soldiers, went his way towards *Rome*; whither when this news was brought, great multitudes promiscuously flocked to the Gates, lamenting their Friends, and calling them by name, and deploring their own misfortunes, as if the Enemy were already come to seize upon themselves; Mothers with their Children ran up and down to the Temples, imploring the Gods, that at length they would by some means put a stop to all these Miseries. The Magistrates likewise seeing the City thus oppressed by the Divine Anger, endeavoured to appease the Gods with Prayers and Sacrifices, beseeching them to rest satisfied with the past slaughter. The Senate sent *Q. Fabius* (who likewise wrote a History of these things) to the Oracle at *Delphos* to enquire about the present state of things, and manumitted eight thousand slaves, strong young men, freely given by their Masters; gave Orders throughout

throughout the City, for preparing Bows and Shields; and *Claudius Marcellus*, who was about to sail into *Sicily*, changing their minds, they decreed to go against *Hannibal*. He dividing his Fleet with *Firrus* his Colleague, and sending part of his Forces into *Sicily*, with the rest consisting of Citizens, Associates and Slaves to the numbers of about ten thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse went to *Treanum*, that he might discover what *Hannibal* designed. But *Hannibal* permitted some of the Captives to go as Deputies to *Rome*, to see if the Citizens would at his price redeem any of them, and three among all the rest being chosen to this office, of whom *Cn. Sempronius* was chief, taking no other pledge but their Oath to return, he let them go. Then the Neighbours of the Captives, standing round about the place, offered with their own private Money to redeem whoever they had a kindness for, beseeching the Senate to give them leave so to do, the people all weeping, and approving their motion; some of the Senators were of the opinion, that after so many Battels, the Commonwealth was not to suffer the loss of so many men; and the Slaves were not to be preferred before Free-men: but others argued that such indulgence would accustom men to flight, who were rather to be taught how to overcome or die. Nor was it just that those, who fled, should experience any of their Clemency or Mercy. After many Examples produced for and against it, the Senate at length forbid the Neighbours to redeem the Captives, as judging whilst they were still beset with so many dangers, their present Clemency would be converted into future damage, and that though this at present seemed a doleful severity, and inhumanity, yet it would turn to future advantage; and indeed at that very time the strange boldness of this resolution appeared dreadful to *Hannibal* himself. Wherefore *Sempronius*, and the other two Captives, returned to the Enemy. *Hannibal* hereupon sold some of the Prisoners, and commanded others to be slain, of whose dead Bodies he made a Bridge, whereon his Army marched over the River; such of the Senate and Nobility, as he had in his Camp, he set Father against Child, and Brother against Brother, compelling them to fight against each other for a divertisement to his Africans; in a word, he omitted no insulting cruelty that the pride of man could invent.

Thence he turned his Arms to the wasting the Territories of the Roman Associates, and brought the Engines against *Petelia*. The Petelians, though few in number, yet stout of heart, bravely resisted him, and the Women assisting (who in courage yielded little to the Men) often sallying, and stoutly fighting burnt his Engines; but at length, being wasted by often skirmishes, and Famine creeping upon them, as soon as *Hannibal* had advice of it, he begirt the City with a circumvallation, and left *Hanno* to prosecute the Siege. The Townsmens miseries increasing upon them, they thrust out all the croud useless for War, between the Wall and Trench, looking on with stedfast countenances, whilst *Hanno* caused them to be slain, as envying their better manners of dying; yet almost all the rest fell not long after under the same fate; for being oppressed with extreme want, they made a sally upon the Enemy, where after having performed many noble exploits, not caring to return to the City there to starve, or wanting strength through hunger, they were almost all slain, and *Hanno* possessed himself of the Town: some of the strongest, who were able to flee, escaped, whom the Romans, when this War was ended, for their singular fidelity and good will towards them, and their incredible

VI.

credible Valour, caused to be diligently sought out (being in all about eight hundred) and restored them to their Country. But when the Celtiberian Horse, who were Auxiliaries in *Hannibal's* Army were observed to fight stoutly. The Roman Generals commanding in *Spain*, desired of their Subjects a like number of such Horsemen, whom they sent into *Italy* to oppose the other. These by reason of the neighbourhood of the Camps, found opportunities of free converse, and every one invited his fellow Citizen or Country man, to come over to them; whence it happened that part of them fled over to the Romans, and other part slip'd away, so that *Hannibal* now thinking nothing safe, grew jealous of them, whilst they on the other side grew no less jealous of the fall of the Carthaginian Affairs: yet in *Arpis*, a City of *Apulia*, built as some say by *Diomedes* the Argive, one *Dafias*, reported to be descended from the same *Diomedes*, though but upon uncertain grounds, however no way worthy of so noble a Stock; after that signal slaughter at *Canne*, revolted from the Romans to *Hannibal*, and drew his Country into the same defection; but when, after *Hannibal* began to grow less successful, coming privately to *Rome*; and being brought into the Senate, he offered as an amends for his fault, to bring the City again under the Roman Power, he hardly escaped being slain by the Romans, but most certainly they presently cast him out of their City, so that now fearing both them and *Hannibal*, he wandred like a vagabond about the Country, whilst *Hannibal* burn'd his Wife and Children alive. The *Arpi* betrayed by others, were taken by *Fabius Maximus*, who slaying all the Carthaginians he found, placed there a Garrison. But *Tarentum*, which was at the same time kept by a Roman Garrison, was by this means betrayed to one *Cononeus*. This man being much addicted to Hunting, and usually presenting some of his Game to *Furius*, Governour of the Garrison, began to grow very familiar with him; but because in a Country not free from War, he pretended it much better for the taking more Game, to go out by night, he brought it to a Custom, that what time of the night he pleased, the Gates were to be opened to him; then meeting with *Hannibal*, and receiving Soldiers from him (some whereof he hid in a Wood, not far from the Town, others he commanded to follow him at a certain small distance, and others carried with him clad outwardly like Huntsmen, but underneath with Coats of Mail and Swords) he came to the Gates, having sent some before, who carried a huge Bore upon a Pole. The Gates being opened according to Custom, those that entred with him presently slew the Guards, then those that followed presently rushed in, receiving with them their Companions that were in the Wood, then they all broke open the Gates, and let in *Hannibal*; he being entred, easily possessed himself of all the City; and granting Conditions to the Tarentines, set himself to the besieging of the Citadel, held out by the Romans. Thus was *Tarentum* betrayed by *Cononeus*: but five thousand Romans were still in the Citadel, and with them a good number of the Tarentines, and to these the Governour of *Metapontum*, brought half his Soldiers, and a great multitude of Darts, and all manner of Engines, with which they easily drove *Hannibal* from the Wall: but he abounding in all those things, brought up his Testudo's and Catapultas to the Towers, and shook some of them, and with Hooks fastned to Ropes, pull'd down the Battlements, and laid the Wall naked. The Romans throwing down Stones broke the Engines, and with Nooses pulled away the Hooks, and with frequent Sallies issuing out upon the Enemy, seldom returned without putting them

to disorder, and doing good execution. And when upon a clear day a sudden wind arose, the Romans laying hold upon the opportunity, whilst some of them from the Wall threw Fire-brands, tied about with Flax and Pitch upon the Carthaginian Engines, others made a sally and put Fire under them; so that *Hannibal* despairing to take it by force, drew Lines of Circumvallation quite round, save only towards the Sea, which was not to be done, so leaving the care of the Siege to *Hanno*, returned into *Apulia*. The Port of the Tarentines looks towards the North, if any sail in by the *Isthmus*; but they cut off the *Isthmus* by Bridges, which when the Romans held, they easily had Corn brought to them by Sea, and hindred any from being brought to the Tarentines: so that the Tarentines were reduced to extreme want; wherefore *Hannibal* at his return, advised that digging through the publick way, which leads from the Port towards the other Sea to the Southward, they should make another *Isthmus*, which being performed, the want of Corn was soon remedied, and they with their Brigantines much incommoded the Roman Garrison, who had no Fleet, especially in a smooth Sea, intercepting all Provisions brought to the Romans. The Romans therefore struggling with the want of all necessities, the *Thurini* sent them by night some Ships laden with Corn, accompanied with some *Triremes*, whom the Tarentines, who now were all one with the Carthaginians, having notice of, laid wait for, and took with all their Corn and Men, but they sending often about redeeming the Captives, the Tarentines enticed their Deputies to *Hannibal's* party, so *Hannibal* released all the *Thurini* that were taken, who returning home against the will of the rest, opened their Gates to *Hanno*, so the *Thurini* endeavouring to preserve *Tarentum* for the Romans, most imprudently fell themselves under the Carthaginian power. The Garrison that was in the City, retreated privately to *Brundisium*. The Metapontines, after part of their Garrison was drawn off to *Tarentum*, slaying those few that remained, delivered themselves up to *Hannibal*; whose example, out of fear rather than good will, *Heraclea*, which is situate between *Metapontum* and *Tarentum* followed; and now *Hannibal's* Affairs appeared again very glorious. The year following, some Lucanians, who had fallen off from the Romans, *Gracchus* chastised by War. But one *Flaccus*, a Lucanian of that party, which yet stood for the Romans, a friend and host to *Gracchus*, proved a Traytor to him. This man perswaded him to come to a certain place, where the Lucanian Pretors (who repenting their fault, desired to be again received into the Roman friendship) would mutually give and receive their Faith, he not imagining any deceit in the matter, followed only with thirty Horse: But when the Numidian Enemy rose and encompassed him about, and *Flaccus* joyned himself with them, *Gracchus* discovering the Treason, with many others leap'd from their Horses, and bravely fighting in the midst of his Enemies, was with all his men slain. Three only *Hannibal* could take alive, though he endeavoured all he could to make the Roman Proconsul his Prisoner; whom though thus basely overcome by treachery, yet admiring him for the extreme valour showed at his death, he honoured with Funeral Rites, and sent his bones to *Rome*. Thence marching into *Apulia*, made it his business to fetch in Corn from all parts.

But when the Romans had determined to march towards *Capua*, *Hanno*

II

being

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being sent before by *Hannibal*, with a thousand Foot, and as many Horse, he unknown to the Enemy, got into the City ; day breaking, when the Romans beheld many of them upon the Walls, and knew the matter, they forthwith drew off their Army from thence, and set themselves to reaping all the Capuans, and the rest of the Corn of *Campania*, which the Campanians being much troubled at, *Hannibal* sent them word he had Corn enough in *Apulia*, whither they might send for it, as often as they pleased ; they sent not only their Men and Cattle, but even their Wives and Children to fetch in Corn, fearing no danger in the journey ; *Hannibal* being upon return out of *Apulia* into *Campania*, and lying encamped near the River *Alor*, not far from the Beneventines, whom only because they continued faithful to the Romans, they were afraid of ; but now because of *Hannibal's* presence they despised. But it happened that about the same time *Hannibal* being called by *Hanno* among the Lucanians went thither, leaving the most troublesome part of his Baggage in the Camp, near *Beneventum*, with an indifferent Guard, of which the Roman Generals (for they were two, *Claudius* and *Annius*) having certain advice, fell upon the Campanians, that were gone to fetch Corn, and finding them a disarmed and undisciplined multitude, slew many, and gave their Corn to the Beneventines, then plundering *Hannibal's* Camp took thence all that he had there left. Then the two Roman Generals joyning together, whilst *Hannibal* staid in *Lucania*, begirt *Capua*, with a Trench and a Wall ; and drawing other Lines without, pitch'd their Camp between both, raising Bulwarks both towards the City, and towards the Country, to oppose the assaults of the Enemy : so that the face of their Camp was like a great Town, inclosing a little City, and the space between their Lines and the Town, being about two Furlongs like a Theater, where daily Combats were to be seen (the stoutest men on both sides continually challenging and provoking one another) among which, that of *Claudius Atellus* was very memorable, he was challenged by one *Tauras*, a Campanian, whom having overcome, the vanquished fled towards the City : *Claudius* pursuing him to the very Walls, not being able to turn his Horse, the Gate standing to receive his Enemy, he was carried in, and running through the whole Town, got out at the other Gate, and came safe to his own party, a strange success of undesigned boldness. *Hannibal* without doing the business, which he was sent for into *Lucania* returned to *Capua*, to undertake the defence of that City, which he knew for so many, and so great things commodious for the Romans, wherefore he assaulted their Works : but when he could by no manner of means prevail to send in any supply of Men, or Provisions into the Town, (for the Siege was so close, that he could neither send in, nor get any intelligence out of the City) he with all his Army marched directly towards *Rome*, moved thereunto, because he heard that Famine was in the City, and out of hopes, either to draw the Romans from the Siege of *Capua*, or act something greater than the relief of that place. Wherefore continuing his March with a great confluence of Warlike People (wherefore some perswaded themselves, that for want of strength, they would not so much as stop his passage ; others thought they should not so much as fight for it) he came and encamped by the River *Anio* within thirty Furlongs of the City. Never was *Rome* struck with such Fear and Tumult : They wanted all manner of Forces (those they had being in *Campania*) and unexpectedly a mighty Army was coming towards them, led by a General, whose Valor and Fortune

tune made him unconquerable; yet with such Forces as they had, who were able to bear Arms, they set Guards at the Gates: The Old Men leaped up on the Walls, and the Women and Children brought Darts and Stones, great multitudes flocked to them out of the Country, the whole City rung with Howlings, Lamentations, Prayers, and mutual Exhortations, some going out of the City broke down the Bridge that was over the *Anien*. The Romans had built a very little Town among the *Æqui* and called it *Alba*, after the name of their Metropolis or mother City; but in Process of time whether by lengthning or corrupting the word, or to distinguish them from the *Albans*, they were called *Albanes*, two thousand of these coming to participate in the danger of *Rome* were presently armed, and placed at the guard of the Gates. So much faith and kindness at that time one only Colony among so many showed towards the Romans, imitating the Example of the Plateans, who with a small Number joyned with the Athenians at the fight at *Marathon*, that by united force they might repulse the present danger. The Roman General *Annius* stay'd at *Capua* not doubting to reduce that City, the other *Claudius Flaccus* by another way, with incredible expedition came and pitcht his Camp opposite to *Hannibal* on the other side of the *Anien*. Who when *Hannibal* saw the bridge broken down, and found *Claudius* encamped on the other side, he resolv'd to march round by the springs of the River, and *Claudius* likewise thereupon removed his Camp. Here *Hannibal* made use of his wonted stratagems he left some Horse, who when the Armies were retired, Fording the River wasted the Roman Territory, and when they had terrified the City, according to orders returned to *Hannibal*. When he had got round the springs, 'tis reported that he came by night with three spies to the City not far distant, and privately taking a view of the site of it, observed the great fear and solitude within the walls, yet after all this he returned to *Capua*, whether some God or any other accident at that time averted him, whether he dreaded the Valor and Fortune of the City, or whether (as he used often to say to his Friends exhorting him to the Conquest of it) that he would not ruine it, lest when that was done the Carthaginians should take from him the Command, and reduce him to the quality of a private Man; for as for the Claudian Army it was no way to be compared with *Hannibal's*. Yet *Claudius* at *Hannibal's* return followed him at the heels, thinking he did enough if he hindred him from Foraging, and took care that by Ambushes he did not damnifie him.

Yet *Hannibal* in a dark and moonless night having discovered the place whither *Claudius* Army tended, built indeed no wall, but throwing up a trench, and leaving some intervals for Gates, and lastly raising a Rampire (which might serve instead of a Wall) opposite to it, there continued himself, and sending his Horse to a certain eminence fortified by Nature charged them there to stand quiet, and not move from the place till the Romans should possess themselves of that place he hoped they would believe to be void. Then he gave Command to his Indians that getting upon their Elephants, they should by any means between the intervals or over the Rampire get into *Claudius* Camp. At a little distance from these he commanded some Trumpets and Cornets to follow, with Orders as they entred to make the greatest noise they could possible, that their Numbers

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might seem the greater ; sending along with them some that could speak the Latine Tongue, who were to call out aloud to the Soldiers by *Claudius* Orders to desert their Tents, and escape to the next hill. This stratagem of *Hannibal*'s succeeded at first to his mind, and according as he had designed it, for Elephants trod down the Rampire, and the Trumpets followed them, whose noise filling the ears of the Roman Soldiers starting out of their beds in a dark night, and so unexpectedly, struck a mighty terror into them. Besides hearing in the Latine Tongue, Command given about possessing the other Hill ; they already addressed themselves to flight. But *Claudius* to whom all *Hannibal*'s devices (as full of deceit and treachery) were suspected, immediately out of his own prudence, or by instinct from some God, or else being by some Captive informed of the whole project, dispatched away the Military Tribunes into the way leading to the hill, to stop such as rushed out, and tell them, that those Orders were Proclaimed not by their Generals Command, but by *Hannibal*'s, and therewithal himself drawing first strong guards to the Rampire, to repulse the Enemy if perhaps any assault should be made, ran through the tents, crying out, that there was no danger, that only a few were broke in with the Elephants, whose small Number indeed when it appeared (for by this time by *Claudius* command Torches were lighted, and fires blown up) the Romans fear was turned into anger, and falling upon them being but light armed men they easily slew them. As for the Elephants there wanting room to receive them, they ran confusedly among the Tents and Huts, and no Darts (because of the narrowness of the place and the vastness of their bodies being thrown in vain) they were every where wounded till with anguish they grew so enraged, that tumbling down and treading under foot their riders (for they could not govern nor turn them upon the Enemy) with rage and horrid yellings they broke out of the Camp. Thus *Claudius Flaccus* by steadfast courage and diligence circumvented *Hannibal* in an unexpected stratagem, and by defeating him of his purpose both overcame him, and by his prudence preserved his trembling Army. *Hannibal* failing in this enterprize drew his forces into *Lucania* to their Winter quarters, where this fierce man never before accustomed to delights gave himself over to Lust and Luxury. By which means by degrees, and not long after he brought a strange change upon all his affairs. *Claudius* returned to his Colleague to *Capua*, and now both of them strove their utmost to reduce this Town, hoping to force it whilst *Hannibal* lay quiet in his Winter-quarters. The Campanians in want of all things (for nothing could be brought them from abroad) and ready to perish for hunger yielded themselves up to the Roman Generals. And with themselves *Hanno* and *Bostar*, who commanded the Carthaginian Garrison with all their Soldiers, and the Romans placing a Garrison in the City, cut off the hands of all the Fugitives they there found, the *African* Nobility they sent to *Rome*, the rest they sold. Then turning upon the Campanians, the Authors of the Defection they punished with death, the rest only with fines upon their Lands. The Country of *Campania*, because a Champian, is very Fertile. *Capua* thus restored to the Romans, the Carthaginians were deprived of a very considerable place for the conveniency of their affairs in *Italy*.

Among

Among the Brutians (who are a part of *Italy*) a Man of the City of *Sisia*, a Man addicted to Hunting, and accustomed to bring part of his game to the Governor of the *Punick* garrison had so wrought himself into his friendship, that he was in a manner his Consort in Command, who grieved in mind to see the Soldiers insolencies and abuses of his Countrymen, made a contract with the Roman General, to which they both pledged their Faiths, and by degrees brought into the Cittadel as Prisoners many Roman Soldiers, whose Arms himself sieled on as his spoils, when he thought his Number sufficient, he loosed their Bonds, and arming them, overpowering the *Punick* Garrison, brought in a Roman; but not long after *Hannibal* passing that way, the Garrison affrighted fled to *Rheginis*, the *Tislatæ* delivered themselves to *Hannibal*, who burning the chiefs of the Revolts, placed there another garrison. At *Salatia* in *Apulia*, which was then under the *Punick* power, there were two kinsmen, who both for their Riches and Power, might well be esteemed Princes, but between whom there was perpetual discord. *Dasius* favored the Carthaginian, and *Blasius* the Roman affairs. As long as *Hannibal* was prosperous *Blasius* lay still, when the Roman Power by recovery of most part of it's Empire began to revive, *Blasius* had the confidence to move his Enemy, at least to consent with him for the safety of his Countrey, lest if the Romans should take the place by storm, he should become engaged in an irrecoverable misfortune. *Dasius* dissembling a consent betray'd the matter to *Hannibal*, *Hannibal* was Arbitrator and Judge, *Dasius* the accuser. *Blasius* being guilty had only this one thing to say in his defence, that out of private enmity, he laid false crimes to his charge, and indeed the knowledge that his accuser had long been his enemy, and bore him a secret grudge, procured him the more freedom to argue in his own defence. *Hannibal* neither condemning the thing, nor giving too much Credit to an Enemy, Commanded them both to withdraw, as if he would consider of it by himself; But the place as they went out being very narrow, and none being nigh enough to bear witness, *Blasius* thus whipped *Dasius*. *And will not you good man yet save your Country*, *Dasius* crying out immediately, repeats it to *Hannibal*, upon which *Blasius* making his complaint, *Now, now* (said he) *there is no man but will believe snares laid for my life by the cunning of my Enemy, but this trick of his if I before lay under any suspicion will perfectly clear me of it, for who pray that is not mad would trust such a thing to an Enemy? But you may object, it maybe at first I was deceived in him, but I beseech you what man that is brought to his Tryal, and denying the Fact before the Tribunal in the hearing of many, his accuser present who may reveal it will afresh communicate such a thing to him, who has already shewed his mind to betray him? But if he were a faithful friend indeed what help could he bring to me towards the safety of his Country? or why should I implore his help who has no power to give any? These words Blasius pronounced aloud, and as I believe foreseeing the event, and then making way to whisper Dasius in the ear, told him that he would lessen his future Credit and Authority, and so work Hannibal, that he should not believe any crime he objected against him. Nor did Blasius after he was dismissed forbear to ply his adversary in this manner, as a man whom now he contemned, having taken off all belief of what he said. Therefore Dasius at length feigned himself moved by his solicitations with intent to get from him all the manner how he had formed his design which he nothing demurring upon; I will said*

he, go to the Roman Camp (which the other knew to be then very remote) and thence receiving some forces from the Prator, who is my very good friend, bring them hither. Thou shalt work for me here and stay to keep the City, and having thus said presently without *Dasius* being privy to it he went from the City directly to *Rome*, and not to the Camp, where leaving his Son for Hostage, and receiving from the Senate a thousand Horse, makes a speedy return, already in his mind presaging the event. *Dasius* for some days after not seeing his adversary, strait way conjectured that having now his word, he was gone to perfect the business, and whilst he meditated upon the great distance he was to find the Camp at, slowly and securely he goes to *Hannibal* not doubting but to return time enough to be there before the other. And being come to the speech of *Hannibal*, Now, said he, whilst he is bringing an Armed Power into the City, I will in the very Action deliver *Blasius* into thy hands, and so telling the whole matter and receiving some Soldiers from *Hannibal*, he flies towards his Country which he imagined *Blasius* could not yet be come nigh to. But he having already slain the Punick Garrison which was but small took diligent care that none should go out of the City, and shutting all the rest of the Gates, left that only open by which *Dasius* was to return, he likewise to avoid all suspicion left the Walls every where naked; but the way within was so broken, and block't up with Ditches, that there was no way of breaking out. *Dasius* coming and finding the Gates open, rejoycing, and thinking he was got thither before his Enemy, entred the City triumphing, but he and all that came in with him being inclosed, and because of the Ditches, having no way of retreat *Blasius* easily slew them, except only a few that leaping over the Walls escaped. So *Blasius* catching *Dasius* in the snare at last overcame him.

Now whilst *Fulvius* the Roman Consul besieged *Herdonia*, *Hannibal* unknown to him pitcht his Camp close by him, putting out (the better to lie hid) all fires, and Commanding a strict silence through all the Camp. And the morning hapning likewise to be very cloudy, he sent before some Horse to provoke the Romans, they indeed with some trembling at first (as being railed out of their beds) but soon with better confidence (because they believed them only a few pickt up here and there) repulsed the Enemy, but *Hannibal* fetching a Compass about the other part of the Town, that he might take a view of it, and put the Townsmen in hopes, at length whether because they had spied him, or else by chance falls in upon the Romans and incloses them. Then set upon on both sides they rush'd on in disorder, so that the Consul *Fulvius* with eight thousand men were slain, the rest making a speedy retreat within a Trench before their Camp, and bravely fighting preserved both that and their Tents from being taken by *Hannibal*. After this whilst the Romans wasted the lands of the Apulians, because they had revolted, *Hannibal* did the like to the Campanians who were all but the *Attellani* returned to the Romans obedience whom (because they should not be vexed with the Wars of the *Brutii*, Lucanians and Apulians) he brought to *Thurium*, and the Romans sent the Exiles of *Nuceria* to inhabit *Attella*, and with their Army infesting *Hannibal's* associates, came to *Antonia* which they took, and laid wast all the Brutians Fields, and at the same time besieged *Tarentum* by Sea and Land, which then was kept by a Punick Garrison under *Carpalo* the Governor

vernor who because the Carthaginians were few, had taken the Brutians into association with him; the Commander of whose Forces loved a Wench, whose brother was a Soldier among the Romans, who by his sisters means wrought the Brutian officer to betray that part of the Wall he had the Charge of, so the Romans recovered *Tarentum* a Town very convenient for them both to Sea and Landward. *Hannibal* made all the hast he could to *Tarentum*, but on his march having certain intelligence of it's being taken, being much troubled he retreated to *Thurium*, from whence he went to *Venusium*, where *Claudius Marcellus* who had subdued *Sicily*, now the fifth time Consul, and *T. Crispinus* had their Camp: yet they forbore fighting. But *Marcellus* by chance espying a party of Numidians, going out upon the spoil, and thinking them but few, with three hundred Horse securely charged them, being a man of a daring courage, and in all dangers too rashly forward, but when the Africans coming in from all parts fell upon him, the Rear of the Romans first began to fly, but *Marcellus* who still thought they followed him, fought valiantly till struck through with a Dart he fell, his body being brought to *Hannibal* when he saw it wounded on all sides, he commended him as a Soldier, but much condemned him as a General, but taking off his Ring, he Magnificently burnt it, and sent the bones to his Son into the Camp. And then before the fame of his death should spread too far, being deadly mad with the Salatians he dispatched away a Roman fugitive to *Salatia* with letters sealed with *Marcellus* Ring, signifying that *Marcellus* with his Army was coming thither, and commanding them to open their Gates. The Citizens having a little before received letters from *Crispinus* (for he sent to all the Cities Messengers to acquaint them that *Hannibal* had got *Marcellus* Ring) lest if they stayd the messenger any time they should betray their own Counsels, sent him away with promise to obey the Commands. Mean while arming and disposing themselves upon the Walls, they expected the issue of the deceit, *Hannibal* coming with his Numidians wearing Roman Arms, the Port-cullis being drawn up, and the Gate opened, they with great joy and Alacrity received them, as if it had been *Marcellus*, but when as many were come in as they thought they were handsomely able to deal with, they let fall the Port-cullis, and slew all those were got within the City. *Hannibal* thus frustrated of his hopes at *Salatia* retreated.

Whilst these things were doing, *Asdrubal* brother to *Hannibal* had brought into *Italy* that mercenary Army leavyed by him in *Spain*, being in his march kindly received by the Gauls, and in two months passing the *Alpes* (before laid open by *Hannibal*, and which he very hardly effected in six) he falls down into *Hetruria* with thirty eight thousand Foot, eight thousand Horse, and fifteen Elephants; thence he wrote letters to his brother of his coming, which being intercepted by the Romans, who thereby understood his strength, *Salinator* and *Nero* gathering together all the Force they could make, met with him at *Siena*, he who did not yet design fighting, but to joyn as soon as he could with his brother by night, removes his Camp, and wandring through marshy places, and along the Banks of Rivers that were not fordable, made no great progress. At the break of day the Romans having discovered them, and following hard upon them tyred with labor and watching, many Centuries being drawn up together

XI.

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in a body, and coming up with them, fell all at once upon *Asdrubal's* Army, and taking many alive, routed his whole Army (which had it been joyned with *Hannibal* would have made him appear invincible) thereby freeing *Italy* from an unexpressible fear and terror. And 'tis my Judgment that Providence thought fit to give the Romans this victory by way of reprizal for the loss sustained at *Canne*, for this was equal and parallel to that both in the death of the Commander, and the utter ruine of the whole Army. It hapned likewise that in both many Captives were taken, and the next Morning the Conquerors in both became Masters of the spoil of the vanquished Camp. Of such various fortune, sometimes adverse and sometimes prosperous, did the Romans now make experience. The *Celiberians* who escaped from the slaughter, returned some of them to their own Country, and some got to *Hannibal*, who not a little tormented for this loss of his brother, and so great an Army, through too much hast and ignorance of the ways, slighting all the rest that in full fourteen years he had with vast labours been getting in *Italy*, retreated among the *Brutians*, who were the only people that continued in association with him, and there quietly expected new recruits from *Carthage*. And the *Carthaginians* did send him an hundred Ships laden with Corn, and supplies of Men and Money, which being conveyed by three hundred *Triremes*, the Prator of *Sardinia* set upon with his Gallies, and sinking sixty, the rest got back to *Carthage*; From hence the penury of all things in *Hannibal's* Camp much increased, but especially the despair of getting any help from *Carthage*; And to all these misfortunes this was annexed that *Mago*, who was sent into *Gaul* and *Liguria* to hire Soldiers, sent no aid, but lay idle expecting the Event of things. Wherefore *Hannibal* plainly foreseeing that he could not long continue in those parts, began to contemn the *Brutians* themselves, as men that would ere long be strangers to him, and to oppress them with heavier taxes, several towns fortified by nature as if they practised a revolt he forced to remove into the plain, and many persons whose Estates he had a desire to seize upon he condemned upon false accusations.

- XII. In the mean time there entred into the Consulate *Licinius Crassus* and *P. Scipio*, famous for his Conquests in *Spain*. *Crassus* went into *Apulia* against *Hannibal*. *Scipio* advised the people that *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*, could not possibly be driven out of *Italy*, till an Army were transported into *Africa*, and they terrified with Domestick danger. And assiduously insisting upon it, and daily urging them all to it, he at length got *Africa* decreed for his province. Then without any delay transporting his Army into *Sicily*, when he had spent a little time in Rendezvousing and Exercising his Soldiers, he was first carried to *Locrisa* a City of *Italy* (where *Hannibal* had placed a *Panick* Garrison) whom having overpowered, leaving *Pleminius* as his Lieutenant in that City, he passed over into *Africa*, but *Pleminius* forbore not to treat the *Locrians* with all manner of villanous and contumelious usage and cruelty, insomuch that he rob'd the very Temple of *Proserpine*. Wherefore the Romans for these horrible dealings with their Friends and Kindred put him to death in Prison, and confiscating his goods delivered them to the *Locrians* to be laid up in the

the Treasures of the Goddess, and of the Money taken away by Sacrilege they recovered as much as they could, and what remained it pleased them to supply out of the publick Exchequer. At the same time *Crassus* drew away from *Hannibal's* party, *Consentia* a great City of the Brutians and many other Towns; but when at *Rome* the dismal prodigies had filled the minds of men with superstition, the Decemvirs commanded to bring the Sibyls Books relating that few days before in *Pessinuntium* a City of *Phrygia*, where the Mother of the Gods is Worshipped, something was fallen from heaven which should be brought to *Rome*, and not long after the news of its falling came, and the image of the Goddess was brought to *Rome*, and on the same day that it happened to come thither was celebrated the Feast of the Mother of the Gods. There is a report that the Ship which brought it struck upon a Shoal in the River *Tiber*, and that when by no means possible it could be removed, the Southsayers foretold that it would follow, if drawn by a woman that was pure and chaste from any strange bed. *Claudia Quinta* suspected but not guilty of Adultery (but her too loose and free way of living had got her that ill report) first earnestly calling upon the Goddess to witness her innocency of that crime, and then tying her Girdle to the Ship was followed by the Goddess. So *Claudia* from an evil fame which she before lay under, got a most glorious name. But before this exploit of *Claudia's*, the Romans admonished by the Sibyls books, that by the best man of all the City they should send for the image out of *Phrygia*, presently sent thither a man judged to be the best of those times, *Scipio* Surnamed *Nasica* Son of *Cn. Scipio* who died General in *Spain*, and Cousin German to that *Scipio*, who abating the Carthaginian pride first bore the Surname of *African*. Thus was the Goddess brought to *Rome* by the best of Men and Women. But when the Brutians had intelligence that the Carthaginians in *Africa* had in several Battels been defeated by *Scipio*, they seemed to be at strife who first should desert *Hannibal*, and some of them slew the *Punick* Garrisons, and others thrust them out of their Cities. Those who could do neither, privately sent Deputies to *Rome*, to declare their good Will, though they wanted Power. *Hannibal* came with his Army to *Petelia*, which City was given by him to the Brutians after having expelled the former inhabitants. When therefore he expostulated with them that they had sent Deputies to *Rome*, and they earnestly denied it, he seemed to believe them, but that he might prevent any occasion of suspicion, he gave up their Great Men separately into the keeping of his Numidians, and disarming the Citizens gave their Arms to the Slaves, and to them committed the Charge of the City. Nor did he deal less severely with other Cities to which he went in progress, for the *Thurini's* goods he exhibited to his Soldiers Rapine, and besides three thousand Citizens whom he knew great lovers of the Carthaginians, and five hundred Country people he carried away, and leaving the City under the guard of the Presidionary Soldiers, brought them all to *Crotona*, which because of its convenient Situation, he chose both for his Granary and Seat of War.

XIII.

But when by his Citizens (who to hasten him sent for him *Asdrubal* their Admiral) he was sent for to come home, and bring relief to his Country then in danger by *Scipio's* many victories, he grievously complained of the Carthaginians, who had always been ingrateful and perfidious to their Generals, as he had sufficiently and for a long time experienced, and because he had given the first beginning to this War in *Spain*, he began to be apprehensive of himself; Yet he resolved since 'twas fit he obeyed to go, and forthwith caused a great Number of Ships to be built, *Italy* furnishing him abundantly with all Materials; But before his departure he exposed all the Associate, and subjected Cities, whom now he looked upon as Enemies to the Spoil and Plunder of his Army, that thereby enriching them, he might by their kindness be secure from his Citizens Calumnies. Yet ashamed himself, against Faith and Equity, to wrong in this manner the Associates, he sent *Asdrubal* the Admiral under a feigned pretence of visiting the Garrisons to do it, who going into every City and Commanding the Citizens and their Slaves to pack up what they could carry, and march elsewhere, he gave all that remained up to be plundered; Which usage being divulged, many before *Asdrubal* came to them, rose in Arms against the Garrison Soldiers, and with various fortune, sometimes the Townsmen, sometimes the Soldiers had the better, hence followed mighty slaughters, with the Rapes of Matrons, and Virgins, and other villanies usually committed at the Sack of Towns. As for those Italian Soldiers who had deserved well under him. *Hannibal* knowing them to be stout and well exercised Men, with magnificent promises tried to draw them over with him into *Africa*. Such as for any villanies committed were afraid to return into their own Country condemning themselves to voluntary banishment; followed him, but those who had no guilt upon their consciences refused to go. Those therefore who chose rather to stay, then go, having commanded to assemble all in one place (as if he either designed to speak to them or to reward them for past services or command them somewhat for the future) he encompassed with his Army, and commanded his men to chuse out among them as many as they listed for Slaves. Some there were that chose, others were ashamed to take into such base servitude, those who as fellow Soldiers had done so many brave things with them. Those that remained that they might never be useful to the Romans he caused to be thrust through with Darts: Likewise of four thousand Horses and Oxen, no small Number, he caused the throats to be cut, because he had not the Conveniency to carry them into *Africa*. After which embarking his Army leaving only a few for a show of a Garrison in the Country of the Brutians he stay'd only for a wind; but the *Petelini* and other Italians rising upon them at their departure slew some and so retreated. Thus *Hannibal* returning to *Africa* left *Italy*, which for sixteen whole years he had wasted, and by a thousand miseries often reduced the desolate inhabitants to the last Extremities, treating the Roman Subjects and Associates with all contumelious Cruelty, and for those whose service, not so much out of good will as necessity, he had formerly made use of, now they could yield him no more help or advantage, he treated them likewise as Enemies. *Hannibal* being gone, the Senate pardoned all those Italian people had revolted to the Carthaginians, granting a perfect act of Oblivion

vion for all things past. But the Brutians because they had continued his ready Associates to the last, they condemned in part of their Land, and took away all their Arms if they had any left after *Hannibal's* plundering them. All Service in the Militia (as people who had lost their right of Freedom) was likewise forbidden them, and when the Roman Consuls went into the Provinces to oversee any publick works, they Comanded them to follow them like Servants. This was the Conclusion of *Hannibal's* Expedition into *Italy* in the two and fiftieth year of the *Punick Wars*.

*The end of the Eighth Book of the Roman Wars
with Hannibal.*

APPIAN

A P P I A N
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars
OF
R O M E.

In Five BOOKS.

PART II.

BOOK I.

The Argument of this Book.

- I. **A** Short Recital of the several Dissentions and Civil Wars of the Romans, and the division of this History. II. Gracchus attempts passing the Law about Lands, wherein all the people are concerned; some for the Law, and some against it. III. It is at last passed. IV. Gracchus thereupon is slain. V. Flaccus, Carbo, and young Gracchus would notwithstanding
- A a a

standing put in execution: Scipio the African opposes it, and is found dead. VI. Young Gracchus and Flaccus pursue their enterprise, and declaring against the Senate, are at length slain. VII. The Enterprise of Apuleius and Glaucia against Metellus, who is banished. VIII. Apuleius and Glaucia slain, and Metellus recalled from Exile. IX. The beginning of the War against the Allies, and the death of Drusus. X. The Tyranny of the Roman Knights, occasioned by the Revolt of the Roman Allies, who at first prosper in their Attempts. XI. The Romans subdue them, and put an end to the War. XII. Sedition of Usurers within the City. XIII. The beginning of the War betwixt Marius and Sylla; and the entrance of Sylla and Q. Pompey Consuls, in Arms into the City. XIV. Orders imposed by the Consuls in the City: the death of Sulpitius: flight of Marius, and death of Q. Pompey. XV. Cinna being Consul strives to pass a Law in favour of the new Citizens, but is driven from the City, and deposed from his Consulate, whom Merula succeeds. XVI. Cinna and Marius besiege the City. XVII. They enter it, and make a dreadful Slaughter. XVIII. Sylla after his Victory over Mithridates, returns towards Italy, writes to the Senate; an Accommodation is debated; and Cinna preparing for War is slain. XIX. Sylla arrives at Brundisium, makes his preparations, as the Consuls do likewise. XX. Many Victories of Sylla's, who comes to Rome, where he is well received. XXI. Sylla again takes the Field, continues his Victories, and at last being Master of Rome, after the taking of Præneste and Norba, War ceases in Italy. XXII. The cruelty exercised by Sylla over his Enemies in the City. XXIII. He makes himself perpetual Dictator, and reigns like a Tyrant. XXIV. He lays down the Dictatorship, retires into the Country, his Death and Funerals. XXV. The War of Sertorius, his and Perpenna's death. XXVI. The War of Spartacus.

THe Roman People often fell into Dissentions with the Senate, upon the account of the Publication of Laws, the Abolition of Debts, the Division of Lands, and the Election of Magistrates, but yet they came not to Blows; for these Differences were decided by the ways of Justice, because both Orders bore to each other a mutual respect: so that though the people often saw themselves already armed against some Foreign Enemy, yet they abused not that power to make any Sedition. And then when they drew up to the * Mount, which therefore is called Sacred, they restrained themselves from committing any extraordinary violence, contenting themselves only to create for the maintenance of their Rights a new Magistrate, whom they called Tribune of the people. The creation of this Office was designed only to counterpoise the Power of the Consuls, whose Election then depended only on the Senates, and to keep them from exercising the whole authority in the Administration of their Republique: yet this bred abundance of Hate and Quarrels amongst these Magistrates, the one seeing themselves supported by the Senate, and the other by the favour of the people; and each party thought themselves robbed of that which was added to the other. These same Contentions were the cause that *Marcus Coriolanus*, being condemn'd without any desert of his, went into Banishment among the *Volsces*, and soon after made War upon his Country; and this was the first Civil Division wherein Arms were made use of, and which only began by a Fugitive: yet after this they never bore Arms in the Assembly nor began any Massacre of their Fellow Citizens, till such time as *Tiberius Gracchus* raised a Sedition, wherein he perished, and with him some

* *Aventine.*



some others, who being fled to the Capitol, were slain near the Temple. But after this Sacrilege, the Seditions were almost continual; the people mutinying upon the least occasion, the Assassins ran up and down the City, sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on the other, Persons of Quality were slain, either in some Temple, or in the Assembly, or in the Palace, and that by order of the Tribunes, Prætors, Consuls, or other Superior Powers; insomuch that these Reciprocal Offences increased by little and little the contempt of Justice and the Laws. This infection at last spreading it self through all parts, open Conspiracies were made against the Common-wealth, great Armies brought into the Field, sometimes those had been banished and condemned, attempting some Novelties, and sometimes the principal men of the City fighting among themselves, as well without as within for the Government of the State. There were likewise some powerful and ambitious Citizens who aspired to the Government, either by keeping the Command of Armies entrusted to them by the people, or levying fresh Soldiers by their own authority, to defend themselves, as they said, against their Enemies: but under pretence of making War against their Enemies, they made War against their Country, each party striving who should first seize upon the City; so that whilst they treated each other as Enemies, all places were filled with Assassinations, Proscriptions, Banishments, Executions and Tortures. In short, there was no cruelty left uncommitted, especially then when about fifty years after the death of *Gracchus*, one of the Factions driving away one mischief with another, became absolute Master of the Common-wealth, and for some time governed it alone under the Title of Dictator, a certain Magistrate among the Romans whom they never created but in extreme danger, for six Months only, and whose use seemed to be abolished when *Sylla* obtained that Dignity by force. Nevertheless, though all men believed that he was created Dictator to perpetuity, yet having glutted himself, as one may say, with power, he deposed himself; and certainly he was the first (at least that ever I could gain knowledge of) that was so bold as to change a Tyranny for a private life. He added to this action a discourse no less worthy of memory. He declared he was ready to give an account of his Administration to whoever should demand it; and some time after came and walked in the place in the habit of a private man, in the face of all the world, from whence he returned to his House without having received the least affront from any person; so much was that respect to the Sovereign Authority he had possessed, engrafted in the minds of men, whether that they were astonished at his laying of it down, or that they were ashamed to demand an account of that man who offered himself to give it, or that they thought it an inhumanity to hate that Power, how tyrannical soever it were, that was joyned with the publick good. Thus the Seditions ceased for a time; *Sylla* having applyed Remedies to the present Distempers, but they were only fallen asleep; for they awakened again, and continued till such time as *Fulius Cæsar* after having for some years made War in *Gaul*, would not dismis his Army, though the Senate decreed it; saying, it was not the Senates desire, but *Pompey's*, who being at present at the Head of the Army in *Italy*, and his Enemy, had designed to reduce him under his power as well as others. Yet he proposed these Conditions of Accommodation, that either both should keep their Armies, or that *Pompey* disarming as well as he, should live like a private man under the authority of the Laws. But not obtaining either the one or the other, he departed from *Gaul*, marched against *Pompey* and his Country, entred the City, drove thence his Enemy,

* Ptolomy
and Cleo-
patra Bro-
ther and
Sister.

overtook him in *Thessaly*, defeated him in a memorable Battel, and pursued him as far as *Egypt*. Finding *Pompey* slain by the Egyptians, he returned to *Rome*, after having settled the Egyptian Affairs, and settled their * Kings in that Kingdom; so that beholding himself secure by the death of so powerful an Enemy, the mightiness of whose Actions had gained him the Title of Great; and no person having thenceforth the boldness to oppose his will, he was created perpetual Dictator the next after *Sylla*. And now again the Seditious were quieted, till such time as *Brutus* and *Cassius*, either out of envy to his Power, or out of a desire they had to settle again the Common-wealth in it's ancient form, slew in open Senate this man, so cherished by the people, and so knowing in the Art of Reigning. He was so generally lamented, that they sought out for his Murderers, to put them to death, that they solemnized his Funerals in the publick place, and there where they had burnt his Body, erected a Temple, and offered Sacrifices to him as a God. But now the Civil Discords began again, and in a short time grew to that height, that they were followed by the Murders, Proscriptions and Banishments of many as well of the Order of Senators as Knights, the Faction interchangeably delivering up the Enemies of one another; so that to gain their own satisfaction, they spared neither Friends nor their own Brothers, so much were men hurried on by their passion to the prejudice of natural Piety. At last by a horrible boldness the Roman Empire, as if it had been the Stock of some private Citizen, was divided between *Anthony*, *Lepidus*, and he who at first was called *Octavius*, but afterwards took the name of *Cesar*, having been adopted by his Uncle. After this division they made War on each other, as it was but just they should, and *Cesar* more prudent and politick than the other, first despoiled *Lepidus* of *Africa*, which had fallen to his share. And in conclusion, after the Victory of *Actium*, which he gained over *Anthony*, drove him out of all the Provinces, extending from *Syria* to the Adriatick Gulf. The whole world astonished at these prodigious Successes, he made himself likewise Master of *Egypt*, the most ancient and richest Kingdom possessed by any of the Successors of *Alexander*, which only was wanting to complete the Roman Empire to that height we now behold it. That done, he was placed among the number of the Gods, whilst he was yet living, and beheld it; and being called *Augustus* by the people, he assumed an authority over his Country, and the subjected Nations, greater than ever was attributed to his Father *Caius*, not so much as in the least appearance asking the votes of the people: so that having secured his power by length of time, always happy, and feared by all the world, he left his Successors capable of sustaining the weight of that great Empire, and the Sovereign Power being reunited in a single person, Concordance once more took place of Sedition. This will be the subject of this work, which will contain the wonderful Adventures of those People who aimed at Honour and Dominion through all sorts of Calamities: and I shall write it the more willingly, because I am obliged to treat of all these things before I write the Affairs of *Egypt*, which are but a consequence of them; for those divisions wherein *Cleopatra* took the part of *Anthony*, were the cause of the Reduction of *Egypt* under the Roman Empire. And that I may settle some order in so great a confusion of things, I will first speak of what passed from the *Gracchi* to *Sylla*'s time, then what was done until the death of *Caius Cesar*, the following Books shall treat of the Wars of the *Triumvirs* with the Roman People, and against one another, until the last and greatest of these Misfortunes; I mean the Battle fought by *Cesar* at *Actium* against *Anthony* and

and *Cleopatra*, where I intend to begin the History of *Egypt*.

II.
The Romans, as they now subdued one, and then another of the people of *Italy* were accustomed to make seizure of a part of their Lands, to which they sent Colonies, or otherwise gave Cities already built, to be inhabited by their own Nation. These Colonies were placed in the conquered Provinces in the nature of Garrisons, and they either set out by shares to these new Inhabitants such Lands as were fit for Tillage, or otherwise sold them to them, or let them out to Farm. As for the unprofitable ground (as War often makes places desert) it not being qualified to bear a part in the Dividend, it was proclaimed and given to the first that made offer to manure it, on condition to pay an annual Tribute, the fifth part of the increase of Trees, and the Tithe of the Corn, with an Impost upon all sorts of Cattel, as well Flocks as Herds. Thus strove they to preserve the Italian Nation, esteemed very laborious, that they might always have in a readiness Soldiers of their own people to serve them upon occasion; but the success proved contrary to their expectations; for the rich undertaking at first the unprofitable or desert Lands, and by prescription of time, not only assuring to themselves the possession of them, but likewise joining to them the Dividend of their poor Neighbours, either by force, or by money, became possessed not of Villages, but of whole Countries, which their Slaves improved and manured for them, that they might not take Freemen from the profession of Arms. Thus they receiving vast Revenues, and their Slaves still multiplying, because they were not obliged to go to War: the most powerful among them grew prodigiously rich, and the Country was filled with Slaves, whereas there remained but very few of the Italian Nation, and those few too were oppressed with poverty, by reason of the continual Expeditions, in which they were forced to bear Arms, and the cruel Exactions of the Tax-gatherers: and if at any time they had some respite from their sufferings, then Idleness corrupted them, having no Land of their own to manure, nor finding any work from others, by reason of the multitude of Slaves. This extremity troubled and perplexed both the Senate and People of *Rome*, who with grief beheld that they could not as heretofore, upon any sudden occasion, draw together a considerable Force of Italians, and they began to fear their Government unsecure, by reason of the Countries being filled with such multitudes of Slaves. They sought long time for a remedy to these inconveniencies; for they neither judged it easie, nor indeed just to dislodge men, after so long a possession, from those Lands where they had habituated themselves, and been at great expence. In conclusion, after much debate the Tribunes made a Law whereby all persons were prohibited from keeping more than five hundred Acres of Land, one hundred Head of Cattle, and five hundred Sheep; and besides, they designed a certain number of free people to have the oversight of the Tillage, and care of the Corn. This Law was confirmed by solemn Oaths, and punishments decreed against the infringers of it: it was designed likewise, that all those Lands possessed by any above the proportion prescribed by the Law, should be equally distributed among the poor, but neither Oaths nor Law prevailed. Those who appeared most zealous in the observation of it, underhand made Contracts, conveying over their advance to their Friends, and others publicly laughed at it, till such time as *Tiberius Gracchus* of Noble Race, covetous of Glory, very eloquent, and well known in the City for all these qualities, having obtained the Dignity of Tribune, made a grave speech in favour of the Italian People, much lamenting

lamenting that a Nation so warlike, and allyed to the Roman People, should be reduced to so small numbers, and to such an oppressive poverty, that there scarce appeared any remedy, but that they must be utterly extinct. Then he declared against the vast numbers of Slaves, useless in War, and treacherous to their Masters, a fresh example of which he related of the Slaves, rebelling against their Patrons in *Sicily*, where the Slaves being grown numerous by reason of their being employed in Husbandry, had raised such a War against the Romans, as was not suppressed without much danger, and many bloody Engagements. This Speech did the work, and gained a new publication of the Law concerning Lands, whereby it was forbid any one to be possessed of more than five hundred Acres, adding to it, that the Children of the Family might be possessed of two hundred and fifty; and that after reduction made, the remaining Land should be divided among the poor by Triumvirs, who were to be changed every year, which sorely grieved the rich men, who durst no more attempt any thing against the Law, nor for the future buy other mens proportions; for *Gracchus*, to prevent frauds, had by the same Law forbid all such kind of Contracts, which occasioned, that in every corner might be seen people got together, reproaching the poor with the pains they had taken in manuring their Ground, and the charge they had been at in building, crying out, that it was not just to make them lose, not only their Lands, but likewise the money they had payed to their Neighbours, and withal deprive them of the Sepulchres of their Predecessors, interred in those grounds left to them by Succession. Others demanded the restoring of their Wives Dowry, which they had thus employed, or that their Children might have leave to enjoy those Farms they had settled upon them at their Marriage: others again shewed the Contracts and Statutes they had entred into, taking up moneys at great interests to purchase those Lands. In a word, all places were filled with murmuring and complaint. On the other side, were heard the lamentings of the poor, that from rich, that they once were, now they had reduced them to extreme poverty: nay, even to despair, having nothing left to feed their Children, they recounted the many Expeditions wherein they had served the Commonwealth, to the end, they might maintain themselves in the possession of these Lands, and vowed never to serve more, if they were not restored to what belonged to them. They likewise accused the rich men, that they disdained to employ them in their Tillage, but rather made choice of Slaves their Enemies, faithless people, and useless in War. During these reproaches, and mutual laments, the contagion of this Distemper spread it itself among the Colonies, the Municipal Cities, and in all places where Lands were possessed by what Title soever: every one feared to lose, and there as well as in the City the multitude was divided into two parties, and each relying on the number of their Faction, stirred them up against the other; and all people being concerned in the execution of this Law: one party disposing themselves to hinder it, and the other being ready to attempt any thing to maintain it, mens minds were strangely inclined to Sedition. So neither one nor the other party resolving to yield, they waited only the day appointed for the passing the Law in the Assembly.

III.

Gracchus's Design was not so much to relieve the poverty of particular men, as to repopulate the Country, because he believed it the interest of the Commonwealth, and that hereupon depended the fortune of all *Italy*: nor doubted he of the success of the Enterprize, though it were as difficult

as it was important. When the Assembly was met, after having a long time discoursed the business in Question, he asked the Auditors, if they believed it not just, that what belonged to the Publick should be shared among the People, if a Citizen were not to be preferred before a Slave, if a Soldier were no more serviceable to the State than a Ploughman, and if a natural Inhabitant were not more affectionate to the Common-wealth than a Stranger : and without insisting long upon these comparisons, as absurd, he began to discourse of the hopes and fears of the City. That the Romans had conquered many Countries, and been in hopes to extend their Conquests to the most distant Climates : but that as things now stood, there was cause enough to doubt whether they should be able to complete the Conquest of the rest, with that small number of Soldiers wherewith *Italy* was peopled, or should not rather lose their own Country, by reason of the weakness of their Armies, and the powerfulness of their Enemies, and withal exaggerating the Glory and Riches on one side, and the danger and fear on the other ; he exhorted the rich men to consider with themselves if it were not much more to the purpose willingly to quit to the unfortunate poor who had great charge of Children the possession of some Lands, out of hopes of those great advantages might thereby accrue, than to neglect things of most import, by disputing Trifles. That besides five hundred Acres of good Land well secured, and for those had Children, half as much for every Head, was no contemptible recompence of their past Services. After having largely discoursed on this subject ; and the minds of the poor people, and of all such as suffered themselves to be rather led by reason than passion remaining suspended, he gave command to the Serjeant to read the Law, when *M. Octavius* his Colleague, who was suborned by the rich men to prevent the passing of the Law, imposed silence upon the Serjeant. Whereupon *Gracchus* publicly reproaching him, adjourned the Assembly till the morrow ; when having caused some Armed Men to be there, as if by force he would have constrained *Octavius* to yield to him, whether he would or no ; he with threats commanded the Serjeant to read the Law, and *Octavius* on the contrary forbad him. Whereupon the Colleague quarrelling, and it being impossible to read the Law by reason of the Tumult, the most Considerate of the Assembly besought the Tribunes to refer the Difference to the Senate's judgment. *Gracchus* consented ; and out of hopes that this Law would displease no reasonable man, went straight to the Palace ; but not being received there with so great applause as among the Vulgar ; nay, on the contrary, having reviling words cast at him by the Rich Men, he returns to the Assembly, and promises that on the morrow he would gather their Voices both concerning the Law, and the dismission of his Colleague, who opposed the good of the People. He accordingly did it : And as *Octavius* presented himself unconcerned, he first put it to the Vote concerning him, The first Tribe having given their Vote against *Octavius*, *Gracchus* turned to him, and desired him to desist from his Enterprize ; but seeing him obstinate, he persisted to demand the advice of the rest ; for at this time there were five and thirty, of which seventeen all in a fury having voted with the first, if the eighteenth were joyned with them the Law became ratified. Wherefore *Gracchus* once more publicly besought his Colleague, now upon the very point of being deposed, not so stubbornly to disturb a Work so holy and so beneficial to all Italians, nor any more oppose a thing which the people so ardently desired, the Execution whereof his Office of Tribune obliged him to ; and in fine, not to suffer himself to be deposed. After which Entreaties he called the Gods to witness, that

that it was with regret he thus acted against the honour of his Colleague : but then seeing nothing would persuade him, he began again to gather the Votes. Thus *Octavius* being deprived of his Office and Charge, and retired out of the Assembly, they substituted *Mummius* in his stead ; and at the same time the Law was ratified. They created *Triumvirs* for dividing the Land, *Gracchus* himself, *Caius* his Brother, and *Appius Claudius* his Father in Law ; for the people were fearful the Law might remain without Execution, unless he that made it and his Alliance had the Support of it in their own hands.

- IV. As for *Gracchus*, ravished with joy that this Law had passed, he was carried back by the people to his House, as if he had been the restorer not of one City or one people, but of all the Nations of *Italy*. After which the victorious Party went into the Countries from whence they were come to this contention ; and the other in despair for being overcome, staid still in the City, publicly declaring that *Gracchus* should repent, as soon as he was out of employment, the daring to violate an authority so holy and sacred, and be the mover of such a Sedition in *Italy*. Summer being already come, the time of the Assembly for the Creation of *Tribunes* drew nigh, and it was very likely the rich men would so contrive it, that the dignity might fall upon *Gracchus's* enemies, which somewhat terrified him, and fearful lest any thing might pass in the Assembly to his prejudice, he did his endeavours to recal the people out of the Country. But all people being now employed in their Tillage, as is usual in Harvest ; and the day of Assembly approaching, he was forced to have recourse to the people of the City ; and with kindnesses and submissions sollicite every one in particular, to continue him in the *Tribuneship*, in acknowledgment of the dangers to which he had exposed himself for their service. When it came to the Vote, *Gracchus* had those of the two first Tribes : Whereupon the rich men cried out, that it was not allowed by Law to continue the same dignity in the same Person : and *Rubrius*, Tribune of the people, whom Lot made President of the Assembly, making a demur upon it, *Mummius* the Successor of *Octavius*, obliged him to resign his place, and suffer him to gather the Votes ; but the rest of the *Tribunes* maintained that Lots ought again to be drawn for the Preheminence, and that *Rubrius's* Resignation could not be made, but in equal favour of all the *Tribunes*. In this Contest *Gracchus* seeing his Party the weakest, adjourned the Assembly till the morrow ; and finding his Affairs grow desperate, before he was dismissed of his Charge, he spent the rest of that day in the place in mourning, having his Son with him, whom he recommended to all he met, as foreseeing himself likely to perish by the violence of his Enemies. The Rabble moved to compassion for the man, and withal judging that there must be no more talk of Equality between them and the other Citizens, but they must resolve to suffer the Tyrannick Rule of the Rich if they forsook their Protector in the danger he was in for their sakes, they carried him to his house in the evening, and wished him to be courageous next morning. Hereupon he took heart ; and assembling before it was day those of his Faction, gives them a word in case there should be occasion to fight, and so seizes on the Capitol and place of Assembly. The rich men, by the joining of some *Tribunes* with them, having hundred Votes to be taken about his Continuation, he gave to his Party the Signal agreed upon between them : whereupon they rose with great clamour, and straightway fell to blows ; some gathering about his Person as his Guards, and others tucking up their Robes, snatching the Rods
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out of the Lictors hands, and untying them, drave all the rich Men out of the Assembly with many blows and wounds ; in so much, that the Tribunes affrighted fled, and the Priests shut up the Temple. The terror of those who ran flying up and down, filled all the City with disorder and uncertain rumors. Some said *Gracchus* had taken the Tribuneship from his Colleagues ; which seemed the more credible, because none of them appeared in publick : And others, that without expecting the people's Votes, he had created himself Tribune. Mean while the Senate assembled in the Temple of Faith. And surely it is to me a wonder, that neither now nor afterwards it entred into the thoughts of any of the Fathers, to propose the saving way of a Dictator, so often tryed in the like Commotions. After a short Consultation they ascended the Capitol, led by *Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, High Priest ; who having cryed aloud, that all who loved the safety of the Commonwealth should follow him, cast one of the Skirts of his Robe over his shoulder and over his head ; whether for a sign to assemble the multitude, or to give them Signal of Battel, or to testifie his respect to the Gods, in concealing from them the design he had in his heart. Being come to the Capitol, and *Gracchus* people having made way for that great Man at the head of the Senate ; those that followed him snatcht the Clubs out of their Enemies hands ; and getting pieces of Forms which they broke, or any thing that might serve for offence, they fell upon the others with so much fury, that they drove the greatest part of them down the Precipices, and slew *Gracchus* himself near the Temple Gates before the Statues of their Kings, with a great number of his followers ; whose bodies were in the night cast into *Tyber*. Thus ended *Gracchus*, Son to a Father that had been twice Consul ; and to *Cornelia*, Daughter to *Scipio* the Affrican. He was slain being Tribune, and in the Capitol, serving his Country but with too much violence. And this Riot, the most infamous we have upon Record, was committed in the sacred place where Magistrates are chosen. His death wrought two different effects in men's minds ; some rejoyced, and others mourned, for many lamented not less their own condition than his ; calling the present State not the Republick, but the Insolence of the victorious Party ; whilst others, believing they had nothing more to fear, found themselves at the top of their wishes. All this happened in the time of that War, when *Aristonicus* fought with the people of *Rome* for the Empire of *Asia*.

After *Gracchus* death, *Appius* being likewise deceased, *Fulvius Flaccus* and *Papirius Carbo*, together with the young *Gracchus*, undertook to cause the Law about Lands to be put in Execution. And when the ancient Possessors stood off what they could to hinder the Arpentage or Division of Lands, they caused Proclamation to be made, that whosoever would might summon them before them, which gave Rise to numberless difficult Law-Suits ; for all contiguous Lands that either had been sold or divided, fell into dispute, to know how they were sold or divided : no Writing of Sale appearing, and many having lost the Possession of what was let out to them by Division ; and besides, whatever did appear done by contract, was very doubtful. And moreover, in making a general Survey, in order to a new Division, some who had sowed or otherwise improved their Farms, were transplanted to a corner that at present lay Fallow ; and others from Arable, to a Wast, Clay or Marshy Ground. For from the first, there had been no very exact Division made of the Lands gained from the Enemy. And because it was enacted that Lands so set out should be tilled by the Possessors,

some that were more diligent had advanced upon their Neighbours, and so confounded the Bounds : Besides, time having changed the face of places, it was no easie matter to discover the Ineroachments of the rich Men, though they were very great. In a word, by the often change of Dwellings, all things were in confusion and disorder. The Italians, tired with their Law-Suits, and feeling themselves oppressed with the Exccution of Judgments ; that they might be no longer subject to these Injustices, besought *Cornelius Scipio* the African to undertake their Protection. They had served him so well in many occasions of War, that he could not refuse them his Assistance : He therefore went to the Senate ; where at first dath he struck not directly at the Law for fear to offend the people ; but having touched somewhat upon the difficulty of the Affair, he moved that the cognizance of such Causes as should happen might be taken from the Tribunes as Men suspected, and others be sent in their stead. His Opinion being found very just, the Senate confirmed it by Decree, and gave the Commission to *Tuditanus*, then Consul. But he having undertaken a businels which he found very difficult, taking for a pretence the War of *Illyria*, went into that Province ; and no man longer acknowledging the Triumvirs for Judges, all matters were at a stand. This lost *Scipio* in the hearts of the Common People ; who believed that this Man, for whose sake they had often offended the prime Men of the City, and without consideration of the Law, twice made Consul ; now served the Italian Allies to their prejudice. Which coming to the knowledge of *Scipio's* Enemies, they ran up and down the Streets, exclaiming that he was resolved to abolish the Law by Arms, and by the Massacre of the Citizens ; and thus they terrified the multitude. In short, *Scipio* being one evening retired into his Chamber, with Table-Books to write, during the night, an Oration he was to make to the Assembly, was found dead without the appearance of any Wound : Whether he were poysoned by *Cornelia*, the Mother of the *Gracchi* (who feared lest this Law should be abrogated) having for an Accomplise *Sempronia* her Daughter, *Scipio's* Wife ; who being ugly and barren, was neither beloved, nor loved him : Or whether (as some believed) he gave himself this death, because he saw he could not perform what he promised. Though there be others say that his Slaves under Torment confessed that some unknown men they had let in at the back door, had strangled him ; and that they durst not discover the Murther, because they knew the people hating *Scipio*, rejoyced at his death. Thus died that man, so serviceable to the Roman Empire, for whom no publick Funerals were celebrated ; so much did present Indignation transcend the power of those Acknowledgments the people owed to his past Services. And this gave occasion of encrease to the Seditions about the Law concerning Lands.

VI.

Mean while the Division of Lands was delayed by reason of several Intreagues practised by those in Possession : And some were of opinion that the Freedom of the City should be given to all those Allies principally concerned, to make them by that favour quit all other pretences. The Italians were herewith well content ; and much rather would have chose the Freedom offered, than the new Division they demanded. *Fulvius Flaccus*, now Consul, and likewise Triumvir for the Execution of the Law, stood stiffly to this Proposition. But the Senate could not endure that the Subjects of *Rome* should be made equal to her Citizens : So there it stopped to the great displeasure of those people, troubled to see their hopes frustrate. Matters standing thus ; *Caius*, Brother to the Elder *Gracchus*, and heretofore his Colleague in the Triumvirate, offered himself very seasonably to be Tribune.

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He had layen still some time after his Brother's death, contemned by the Fathers ; against whom he could not defend his Authority. But having put himself in the number of those who stood for the Tribuneship, he carried it roundly to the general satisfaction of the people ; and forthwith began to put in practice all ways possible to revenge himself of the Senate : For he made a Law, that every Month a certain quantity of Wheat should be delivered to the people by head, at the publick Expence. This had never before been practised. So that having suddainly gained the people by this new Establishment ; and withal, being supported by *Fulvius Flaccus*, he was again chosen Tribune for the Year following. For it was already enacted by an expresse Law, that if it were necessary for a Tribune to be continued in order to the perfecting of something begun, he ought to be preferred before any of the Competitors in the next Assembly. This Dignity being then prolonged to him for the following Year, and the people already engaged to him for the fore-cited favour, he cast about, how to gratifie the Knights the next Order after the Supreme, and proposed the Transferring to this Order, the Cognizance of all Concussion, publick Extortion, or evil Management of Offices and Charges ; reproaching them with the fresh Examples of *Aurelius Cotta*, *Salinator* and *Manlius Aquilius*, Conqueror of *Asia* : All which being accused of mis-employing the publick Treasure, had been cleared by the Corruption of their Judges ; which was likewise attested by the Deputies of the Provinces still in the City, and loudly complaining of the Injustice done them. The Senators were so ashamed to hear these discourses, that they never opposed the publick Decree ; so that the cognizance of those Crimes was consigned over to the Knights : And it is reported that at the ratifying this Law *Gracchus* was heard say, *That the power of the Senate was thoroughly quashed*. And indeed the consequences proved the saying true : for another Order being henceforward Judges, both of the Affairs of the City, and of *Italy* ; nay, even of the Senators themselves : whether the Question were concerning a Pecuniary Fine, or Condemning to Banishment or Infamy, the whole power seemed to be in the hands of the Knights, and the Senate reduced to depend on them. Besides, the Order of the Knights contributing to the Election of the Tribunes of the people, and the Tribunes being ready to return them kindness for kindness, the Senate began to be startled ; and there wanted very little but by overturning the whole Frame of the Commonwealth, the Knights had had all the Authority in effect, leaving the Senate only the Honour and Shew : For some time after not only this Supreme Order was submitted to the Knights, but the Senators daily received Injustices from their Judges ; who tickled with the sweetness of the profit they had now tasted, abused their Power with all sorts of infamy and disorder. They suborned Accusers against the Rich ; and entring into a Cabal, eluded those Laws made against corrupt Judges, or with scorn contemned them. Hence came it, that because no account was required of their Proceedings, a new Sedition was raised, because of Judiciary Laws, which proved not less than others, and likewise lasted some time. *Gracchus* likewise set on work the Levelling, Paving and Repairing the High ways of all *Italy*, wherein he employed Multitudes of people living only by Day-labour ; whom by this means he perfectly gained to attempt any thing for his Service. He founded several Colonies ; and obliged the Latines to demand a Right of Freedom of the City ; alledging it was an unworthy thing for the Senate to hinder what people, their Allies, desired with so much passion ; and at last he gave to other Allies a Right to give in their Votes, contrary to ancient Custom, because he hoped to make

use of them in the Publication of Laws he designed to prefer. This more alarmed the Senate than all had passed before. Wherefore after a Consultation the Consuls published their Defences, forbidding all persons not having Right to vote to stay in the City, or to come within the * fifth Stone. They likewise drew in *Livius Drusus* to oppose all Laws proposed by *Gracchus* his Colleague, without giving any reason of his Opposition before the people; which liberty they likewise gave to all Opposers whatsoever. Lastly, to sweeten the Multitude, they granted them twelve Colonies; which Concession so charmed their minds, that they began to disgust the new Laws. So that *Gracchus* frustrated of the people; and *Fulvius Flaccus*, a Consular, who had been made *Gracchus* his Colleague, went over for the same reason into *Africa*; where by reason of the fertility of the Soyl, a Colony was appointed to be established, and Inhabitants expressly sent thither, that the City being disburthened, the Senate might in some measure be delivered from popular Seditions. The Tribunes set out the place of their Habitation among the Ruins of *Carthage*; without consideration that *Scipio*, when he demolished it, had decreed it to remain eternally desert, with Imprecations against all those who should attempt to rebuild it. They likewise made account to bring over six thousand Inhabitants more than were appointed by Ordinance of the Senate, to gain so much the more the people's good grace. From thence they returned to *Rome*, with design to gather together from all parts of *Italy* those six thousand persons destined for *Carthage*. But those who stayed in *Africa*, to lay the first Foundations to that Colony; having writ to the City that the Wolves had tore away the Mark set by the Tribunes, the Augurs declared it Sacrilege to send Inhabitants thither, and the Senate published an Assembly to consult of the Abrogation of the Law in what related to that Colony. Whereupon *Gracchus* and *Fulvius* having likewise lost this hope, ran like mad men through the Streets, crying out that the Prodigy of the Wolves was a lye of the Senate's. The most resolute of the people took their parts; and armed, they came to the Capitol, where the Tribes were in Convocation to give their Votes, touching the Colony. After the people were assembled, and *Fulvius* had begun to speak, *Gracchus*, who to that end had ordered his people to follow, attempted to go up to the Temple of *Jupiter*; but being hindred by those who knew he had some ill design, he returned no more into the Assembly, but retreated into the Porch, waiting an opportunity to engage the adverse Party. Mean while a certain man of the people called *Attilius*, who sacrificed under the same Porch, seeing him moved, went to accost him: and whether knowing any thing, or having some suspicion, or else only by way of entertainment, besought him to have compassion of his Country: Whereupon seeming troubled as if he had been discovered; and looking awry upon the man, one of his followers, without receiving any Command, or staying for a Signal; but judging by his Master's Countenance that it was time to strike, and that by beginning first, he would be the more obliged to him; drew his Sword, and run *Attilius* into the Belly. Whereupon, a great cry being raised, when the dead body was seen upon the Pavement, all the people were affrighted, and every man fled from the Temple as fast as he could. *Gracchus* went into the Assembly, to give an account of this Action; but when none would hear his Justification, but all looked upon him as impious and irreligious. *Flaccus* and he, troubled to have lost the opportunity of executing their design, went to their several Homes, whither others of the same Faction retired to them. The rest of the people, as it happens in a publick Tumult, being about midnight got together in Arms in the place, *Opimius*, one of the Consuls, who was

was left in the City, at break of day places Guards in the Capitol, gives order to call together the Senate, and himself seizes on the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, which stood in the heart of the City ; that he might be in readiness, whatever should happen. Things disposed in this order, the Senate sent to summon *Gracchus* and *Flaccus*, to come and give an account of their Actions : but they having betaken themselves to Arms, hastned to seize on the Mount *Aventine* ; hoping if they made themselves Masters of that place, the Senate would not refuse some conditions of Peace. They endeavoured likewise to raise the Slaves under promise of Liberty, but in vain. So they fortified themselves in *Diana's* Temple with those people they had ; from whence they sent *Quintus* the Son of *Flaccus* to the Senate, to treat of an Accommodation. Answer was given, they should lay down their Arms and come themselves, and then they should be heard ; but that upon any other terms they should send no more. But *Quintus* again returning, contrary to this Declaration made him by the Senate, *Opimius* no more considering him as a Deputy, commands him to be Arrested, and at the same instant gave Order to march against *Gracchus* ; who fled over the wooden Bridge, to the other side of *Tiber*, into a certain Thicket, followed only by one Slave ; to whom, because he would not fall alive into his Enemies hands, he presented his throat. *Flaccus* escaped into a Shop of one of his Friends, where his Pursuers lost him ; but because they knew not which House he was run into, they threatened to burn the whole Street : Whereupon, he who had received him not having the heart to deliver him up himself, gave notice to another, who discovered him. So he was taken, and slain upon the place. The two heads were brought to *Opimius*, who payed for them their weight in Gold. Their Houses were pillaged by the people, and their Fellow-Confederates strangled in the Prison by the Consul's Order. As for *Quintus* the Son of *Flaccus*, they gave him leave to chuse his death. After which, the usual Ceremonies for purging the City, polluted by these Massacres, were performed ; and by Decree of the Senate, the Temple of Concord was built in the place.

The second Sedition of the *Gracchi* ending in this manner, soon after a Law was made, by which it was permitted to any to sell their Lands, contrary to the defence made by the elder *Gracchus* ; so that the Poor were soon thrust out by the Rich of all that they possessed in the Country, either by Power or Money ; till such time as *Spurius Borius* absolutely abolished the Law of Lands ; leaving the Country in possession of the ancient Masters, on condition of paying a Tribute to the People, and the Money arising thereby to be divided by head ; which was a great comfort to the Poor, and a Remedy against unpeopling the Country. Thus *Gracchus* Laws, very advantageous to the Commonwealth if they could have been executed, being once shaken, another Tribune of the People took off the Tribute ; so that there remained nothing to the poor People. Hence proceeded it that the Country became depopulated, Soldiers grew scarce, the Revenue of the Roman People diminished, Military Establishments were reduced, the Laws lost their Authority, and Men ceased to do Justice. And this was fifteen years after the Publication of the Law concerning Lands. About the same time the Consul *Scipio* caused the Theatre begun by *L. Cassius*, to be demolished, though almost brought to perfection, (whether he thought it might breed new matter of Sedition, or whether he thought it not for the Commonwealth's good to accustom the People to the Grecians Voluptuousness.) And the Censor *Q. Cecilius Metellus* did all he could to expel *Glaucia* and

VII.

and *Apuleius Saturninus*, who had been Tribune, out of the Senate, for their debauched life; but his Colleague opposing it, he could not succeed in the Attempt. For this reason *Apuleius*, to revenge this Affront of *Metellus*, once more demanded the Tribuneship; and took the opportunity when *Glancia*, then Prator, presided in the Assembly. Notwithstanding, *Nonius*, of Noble Race, having with bloody Reproaches declaimed against *Apuleius* and *Glancia*, was designed Tribune. But they fearing lest he having obtained that Dignity, should handle them roughly, broke up the Assembly; and presently slipped after him a Troop of Murderers, who reached him as he was escaping into a certain House, and slew him. And because this Murder struck all the World both with horror and compassion, those of *Glancia's* Faction being got very early in the morning about him in the place of the Assembly, before the people were come, gave the Tribuneship to *Apuleius*: So no more Inquest was made after *Nonius* death, none daring to accuse the Tribune of such a Riot. *Metellus* was likewise sent into Banishment by a Cabal of his Enemies, upheld by *Marius*, now the sixth time Consul, who bare him a private Grudge. And this was the Trap they layd for him: *Apuleius* made a Law touching the Division of Lands in the Province of the Gauls, out of which *Marius* had lately driven the Cimbrians; so that now it was under dependence of the Romans, and not of the Gauls: By this Law it was enacted, that if the People passed it, the Senate should approve it in ten days, and by Oath oblige themselves to stand to it; and whosoever would not swear, to be expelled the Senate, with twenty Talents Fine. Thus an opportunity of Revenge presented of it self; for there was not any likelihood that many of the Senators, but especially *Metellus*, Noble minded as he was, would endure to be forced to swear. *Apuleius* appointed a day of Assembly; and mean time sent Messengers from himself, to give notice to the Tribes in the Country, in whom he had great confidence, because the greater part of them had born Arms under *Marius*. This Law which seemed made in favour of the Allies, was not very pleasing to the Roman People. So that no Order was kept in this Assembly; and whosoever stood up against it, was thrown headlong down by *Apuleius*. Hereupon the People of the City began to cry out that they heard thunder, as often as which happens, it is Sacrilege to enact any thing. But when *Apuleius* Party gave not yet over their Violences, the Citizens trusting up their Gowns, and seizing on the Arms of all they met, dispersed the Country-men; who, notwithstanding, being recalled by *Apuleius*, Rallyed, and returning to the Charge with Clubs likewise in their hands, made such a bustle, that at length the Law past. That done, *Marius* assembled the Senate to consult about the Oath demanded from the Senators; and because he knew *Metellus* constant and steady in his Resolutions, he spoke his opinion first, and assured them he would never willingly swear; *Metellus* did the like: and the rest of the Senate praising both one and the other, the Consul dismissed the Assembly: but on the fifth day, the time prescribed by the Law to swear on, *Marius* having about ten of the Clock assembled the Senate in great haste, told them he was afraid of the People, eager for the Execution of the Law; but that he had found a device to secure them: That they ought to swear to that Law so far as it was legitimate; with which the Country People, whom they had most cause to apprehend, being satisfied, would be gone; and then it would be very easie to make it appear to be no Law, being published by force, and whilst it thundred, contrary to the Customs of their Ancestors. And having thus said, without staying to ask any one's opinion, or so much as giving time to think of it; whilst all kept silence through fear

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and surprize, he rises up and goes to the Temple of *Saturn*, where the Treasurers of the Exchequer were to swear them; and first of all himself and Friends oblige themselves by Oath to the Observation of the Law. All the rest of the Senators, every one in fear for himself, swore likewise, save only *Metellus*, who remained stedfast and fearless in his Resolution. So *Apuleius* next morning caused an Usher to lay hold of him, to make him go out of the Palace; and when the other Tribunes of the People commanded the Usher to let him go, he ran to the Country Men, and told them they could have no Lands, nor would the Law be of force unless *Metellus* were driven out of the City. In so much that it was decreed in the Assembly of the people that he should be banished, and that the Consuls should forbid him Fire and Water; and they allowed one day to the Senate, to consider of the matter. The Citizens enraged at this Action, assembled with Arms under their Gowns, to conduct him through the City. But he thanking them for their good will, with all the Civilities imaginable, told them he would never suffer his Country to run any hazard for his sake. Then *Apuleius* published the Ordinance for his Banishment, which *Marius* soon confirmed by Decree. And thus this man, esteemed by all the World, went into Exile.

After this *Apuleius* was again nominated Tribune of the people for the third year, and they chose for his Colleague one, who most said, was a Fugitive Slave, and who boasted himself to be Son to the elder *Gracchus*, for whom all the rabble gave their votes with much eagerness, out of the respect they had to the said *Gracchus*. After this, was held an Assembly for the election of Consuls, where *Anthony*, by general consent of all the world was nominated to this Dignity. 'Twas not yet known who of *Glaucia* or *Memmius* that strove for it, should be his Colleague; but because *Memmius* was of much the better House, *Glaucia* and *Apuleius* fearful he should carry it, caused him to be set upon in the very assembly of the People, by certain Murtherers, who in the face of the whole world slew him with Clubs; so that by reason of this disorder, the Assembly broke up, after having beheld the violation of all that respect due to the authority of the Laws, to Justice, to Men and to God. On the morrow the people incensed with the horror of the Action, gathered together to punish it in the person of *Apuleius*, but he assisted by great numbers of the Country people, whom he had caused to come of purpose, and taking along with him *Glaucia* and *C. Sulpicius* Quæstor went to seize the Capitol. The Senate declares them Enemies, and *Marius* with regret arms against them; but so few people, and so slowly, that the people tired with his delays, cut the Pipes which carried water to the Temple, till *Sulpicius* no longer able to endure thirst, gave advice to fire the Capitol, but *Glaucia* and *Apuleius*, out of the confidence they had in *Marius*, yielded first, and *Sulpicius* after them: but when the people cryed out with one voice to put them presently to death, the Consul shut them up in the Palace, under pretence to punish them by form of Justice: the multitude thinking it a Fiction, climbing up on the Roof of the Palace, and pulling off the covering, never left throwing down Tiles on the Heads of those within, till the Quæstor, Tribune and Prætor lost their lives, having yet on the Habits and Badges of their Magistracy. All the rest of their party perished likewise in the same tumult, and among others, the Tribune who said he was Son to *Gracchus* on the first day of his Tribuneship. No person could any longer promise himself to preserve his liberty, there was now only the shadow of a Common-wealth, no regard being had to Laws or Dignity, or Magistracy, since the holy
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VIII.

and sacred power of the Tribunes, which was established to oppose Riots and Murders, and to protect the people, was become polluted with the crimes of those which exercised it, and violated by the outrages which they received from others. After they were thus rid of the Tribunes, all the Senate and People of *Rome* began to demand the repeal of *Metellus*, save only *P. Furius*, whose Father was but a Freed-man, who opposed it with boldness, and would never be moved from this opposition, though *Metellus* the Son of him banished, besought him on his Knees, with tears in his Eyes, which was the cause that this Sen whom all men saw in that condition, so worthy of compassion, got the Surname of *Pious*, and that *C. Canuleius* the Tribune, offended at *Furius* his obstinacy, undertook to cause him to be condemned to death by the people, and pleaded his accusation so vehemently, that without hearing the Accused's defence, the incensed multitude tore him in pieces: so ordinary it was now grown, daily to commit some new murder, in the place designed to do justice: at length they agreed to *Metellus*'s return; and it is said, that when he entered the City, the whole day was not sufficient to receive the Complements of those went to meet him at the Gate. Thus the stirs made by *Apuleius* in *Rome*, were the third in order after those Tempests raised under the Tribuneship of the two *Gracchi*.

- IX. Mean while began the Social War, by the conspiracy of all the Nations of *Italy*, which not being foreseen, and increasing prodigiously in a short time, put some stop to Domestick Seditions, by the fresh terrour it brought. After it was ended, other flames of Division were kindled between the chief Heads of the Common-wealth, which were not quenched by making new Laws, or raising sudden tumults; for they charged each other at the Head of mighty Armies. I have especially thought fit to insert this War in this History, as well because it took birth from a popular tumult, as because it was followed by another Dissention, much more pernicious to the Common-wealth than any of the former. It began then in this manner, *Fulvius Flaccus* being Consul, was the first that ever blew up the desires of Freedom in the minds of the Allies, out of hopes to be no longer subject to the Romans. but to share with them the Honours and Dignities of the City; and because he was obstinate in this proposition, the Senate sent him to a certain War, where the time of his Consulship being expired, he came to demand the Tribuneship, and prevailed so, that they gave him young *Gracchus* for his Colleague. Both one and the other being slain for making Laws of that kind in favour of the Italians, as we have already related, the spirits of the Allies were embittered more and more, incensed, that they were treated rather like Vassals than Allies, and that *Fulvius* and *Gracchus* had perished so miserably, for declaring themselves their Protectors. After them *Livius Drusus* Tribune of the People, of Noble Race, upon the request of the Allies, promised, to pass the Law they desired, touching the right of Freedom: for it was all they longed for, having no other way to become Masters as well as the others, to whom now they were but Subjects. Mean while, the Tribune, to gain the favour of the People, settled many Colonies in *Italy* and *Sicily*, in pursuance of an ancient Decree which had till that time lain dormant. He undertook likewise to reconcile the Senate and Knights, mightily imbroiled about the cognizance of crimes of concussion assigned to the Knights. He could not openly restore it to the Senators, wherefore he devised this stratagem, whereby he thought to content both one and the other. The number of the

the Senators not amounting to above three hundred, by reason of all the past Seditions, he made a Law, ordaining the taking a like number of Knights of the worthiest men to fill up the Senate, and that all these together should for the future chuse Judges, before whom all that were suspected of Corruption or Concussion, should appear to give account of their Actions; for that mischief was now so common, that men forbore to account it a crime, so boundless was impudence grown. But this design succeeded quite contrary to his imaginations; for the Senators thought it strange, that in a moment so many Knights should be mounted with them to the supreme Order, who probably seeing themselves raised to a new Dignity, would never well accord with the ancient Standers. And the Knights, who had tasted of profit and power, feared, (and that surely with reason) lest by this means all the authority should be restored to the Senate, to their detriment. Besides, it raised a jealousy between the Knights themselves; for no man could resolve to yield that to another (as more worthy) which he thought himself well deserved; and most certain it is, no one could be preferred, but with the Envy and Hate of all the rest. But nothing disturbed them more than the Prosecutions which ought to be recommended against those who had suffered themselves to be corrupted by Bribes, the practice of which seemed quite abrogated. So that though the two Orders were at no good accord among themselves, yet they agreed in this point, equally to hate *Drusus*; and there were none but the People satisfied with him, and that because of the Colonies. For the Allies themselves, though the Tribune had done all these things with design to serve them, had an aversion to the Law of Colonies, because if the Lands were not divided, the rich men seized them partly by force, and partly by cunning, framing Intreagues with their Neighbours to enlarge their own bounds, by driving them from their proper Inheritances. The contagion of these Disorders had spread it self even to * *Hebruria* and * *Umbria*, whose people whom the Consuls had caused to come into the City, (in appearance to oppose the publication of the Law, but indeed to rid themselves of *Drusus*) cried out publicly, that they waited for the Assembly, which being come to the Tribunes knowledge, he went very seldom abroad in publick, but held his ordinary audiences at his House in a kind of a dark Gallery, where one Evening, as he dismissed the multitude, he cried out he was wounded, and at the same instant falling, was found struck in the Thigh, and a Shoemakers Knife in the Wound. Thus *Drusus* as well as others was slain in his Tribuneship.

* Tuscany.
* Dutchy of
Spoleto.

The Knights were not wanting to draw advantages against their Enemies, out of *Drusus* his Designs, and to find out matter of Calumny, and to this effect they perswaded *Q. Valerius* Tribune of the People to make a Law, declaring all such Criminals, who openly or underhand favoured the Allies, in their design to enter into the Government of the Republick, out of hopes soon to expose to their Accusers the Head Men of the City, to become the Judges of this crime, so odious to all Citizens, to destroy their Enemies, and make themselves almighty; wherefore when the other Tribunes opposed the publication of this Law, the Knights all drew their Swords, and presenting the points to the Throats of the Opposers, made them pass it by force. That done, they presently suborned Accusers against the most considerable of the Senate. *Bestia*, one of the first accused, would not come at their Summons, but went of himself into exile, rather than submit himself to the power of his Enemies. *Cotta*, called next to judgment after him,

X.

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appeared,

appeared, but after he had given a brave account of the Employments he had undergone in the Republick, and declared against the Knights, he left the City without staying for their Sentence. *Mummius* surnamed the *Achaick*, after having been fooled by his Judges, who promised to absolve him, was banished to *Delos*, where he ended his days. This mischief falling upon the worthiest and best men, the People began to be afflicted to see themselves in so short time robbed of the presence of so many great persons, and the Allies when they knew of *Drusus's* Death, and the cause of the Banishment of so many illustrious men, thought it was no longer time to suffer their Protectors to be so unworthily treated; and seeing no other way to succeed in their hopes, resolved to revolt against the Roman People, and to make War upon them with all their power. To this purpose they sent secret Deputations to each other, signed an Union, and gave reciprocal Hostages, of all which they had but late notice in the City, now wholly busied in trials and tumults. At last when they had advice of it, they sent into all corners the properest people they could find out, to discover the truth of this news, under pretence of doing something else; one of which espying a Child of *Ascoly* in another City, whither he had been sent for Hostage, advised *Servilius* thereof, who governed as Proconsul in those Quarters: from whence we may gather that even from those times the Countries of *Italy* were distributed to Proconsuls, a custom which many ages after the Emperour *Adrian* revived, though not to last long after his death. *Servilius* came forthwith to *Ascoly*, when the Inhabitants happened to celebrate a Solemn Festival, where whilst he thought to frighten them with his threats, when they perceived the League was discovered, they slew him, and with him *Fontinus* his Lieutenant. After having begun with them they spared no Roman, but put all to the Sword, and plundered their Goods. Thus they proceeded to an open Revolt, and all the Neighbouring People took Arms, the *Marrians*, the *Pelignians*, the *Vestins* and the *Marucians*, who were followed by the * *Picenians*, the *Ferentins*, the *Hirpins*, the *Pompeians*, the *Venusines*, the *Apulians*, the * *Lucanians* and the * *Samnites*, all Nations long time Enemies to the Roman Name. And in short, all the people from the River * *Liris*, which I believe is at this day called *Literus*, to the bottom of the *Adriatick* Gulf, as well within Land, as on the Sea-Coasts. Their Deputies going to *Rome* to complain that the right of Freedom was not granted them, though by their assistances and Services they had highly contributed to the increase of the Empire. The Senate answered them very roughly, that when they were returned to their duty, they would hear their Deputations, but otherwise they would give them no audience; so fallen from all hopes, they prepared for War, raised Forces, and set out a hundred thousand men as well Horse as Foot. The Roman Army was not less numerous, comprizing those Allies continued faithful to them: *Sext. Julius Caesar* and *P. Rutilius Lupus* Consuls, commanded for the Romans; for this Intestine War was thought so important, that they put them both in Commission. They began to keep Guards at the Gates for the security of the City, and likewise of the Neighbours; for since these Novelties were set on foot, they knew not whom to trust. There was great likelihood of division, even in the City it self. To the Consuls they appointed Lieutenants, the greatest men of the Age, *A. Rabirius*, *Cn. Pompey* Father to him gained the Surname of Great, *Q. Cepio*, *C. Perpenna*, *C. Marius*, *Valerius Messala*, *A. Sextus Caesar*, *P. Lentulus* his Brother, *T. Didius*, *Licinius Crassus*, *Cornelius Sylla* and *Marcus Marcellus*. To each they assigned his Quarter with the authority of

* The
Marches of
Ancona.

* Those of
the Basilicate.

* *Abruzzo*.

* *Garigliano*.

of Proconsul, and from time to time sent them Recruits, so dangerous did this War appear: as for the Allies, besides particular Captains chosen by every City, they gave command to *T. Afranius*, *P. Ventridius*, *M. Egnatius*, *Q. Popedius*, *C. Papius*, *M. Lamponius*, *C. Fudacilins*, *Hirius Asinius*, and *Vetius Cato* who likewise divided the Forces among them, and took every one his portion to make Head against the Roman Forces. There happened several Defeats on both sides, which I will succinctly relate. *Vetius Cato* killed two thousand of *Sextus Julius* his Men, and forced him to shut himself up in *Isernia*, (which remained firm to the Roman Alliance) with the remainder of his Forces, of whom *L. Acilius* and *L. Scipio* got thence in Slaves Habit, the rest pressed with hunger, yielded at discretion. *Marius Egnatius* took *Venaфра* by treason, and cut in pieces two Roman Cohorts. *P. Presinteius* encountring *Perpenna* with ten thousand Men, put him to flight with the slaughter of four thousand, and taking most of the others Arms, who threw them away to hasten their Flight. Wherefore the Consul *Rutilius* took the Command from *Perpenna*, and gave the remainder of his Army to *C. Marius*; *M. Lamponius* engaging *Licinius Crassus*, killed eight hundred of his men upon the place, and pursued the rest fighting, as far as * *Grumentum*; *C. Papius* possessed himself of *Nola*, which was delivered up, and made offer to two thousand Romans that were there in Garrison, to receive them into his Army if they would joyn party with him, which they accepted all, save the Officers, whom he put in prison where they died by Famine. The same took *Stabia*, *Minterna* and *Salerna*, which were a Colony of the Romans, and gave employment in his Army to all the Inhabitants of those Towns, and likewise to their Slaves, after which, having spoiled all the Country of *Nocera*, the Neighbouring Cities yielded to him for fear of the spoil, and sent him ten thousand Footmen, and one thousand Horse, which he had demanded of them, with which Recruits he went and besieged *Acerra*: *Sextus Cesar* came with ten thousand Gaul Foot, and the Numidian Horse, and encamped near unto *Papius*; who, to debauch the Numidians from the Roman Party, took *Oxinta* Son of *Fugurtha*, formerly King of *Numidia*, out of the Prisons of *Venusfa*, where he was kept, caused him to be cloathed in Purple, and to shew himself to his Subjects; insomuch that the Consul perceiving that some of the Numidians were dayly running away to their King, sent the rest into *Africa*, as suspected. After this, *Papius* was so rash as to attempt to force the Roman Camp, and was already pulling down the Palisade, when a great Body of Horse sallying out of the Postern Gate, charged him, and slew six thousand of his men. However, this Victory prevented not the Consul's quitting that Post, and marching elsewhere with his Army. In *Povilla* the Canusians together with the Venusians and several other People, yielded to *Fudacilins*, and those who would not submit he subdued by force, slew all the Noble Romans, that he found, and made the Citizens and Slaves serve in his Army. Mean while the other Consul *Rutilius*, together with *C. Marius*, having built two Bridges over the *Liris*, not far distant from each other, with intent to pass over their Armies, *Vetius Cato*, who was encamped on the other side with his Army directly opposite to *Marius* his Bridge, to dispute their passage, laid by night an ambush in a Valley near *Rutilius* his Bridge; and after having let him (heedless as he did) pass, on a sudden fell upon him with his Ambush, who cut in pieces great numbers of the Romans, and drove multitudes into the River. The Consul himself was wounded in the Head, and sometime after died. But when *Marius*, who was still at the lower Bridge, understood the misfortune by the number of

Bodies brought down by the Current, he presently passed with all his Army, and forced the Enemy's Camp, which had but a slender Guard; so that *Cato* was forced to stay that night on the place where he had gained the Victory, and on the morrow to march away for want of Provisions. The Bodies of the slain Consul and other Persons of Quality, which were no small number, being carried to the City to give them Burial, occasioned an universal sadness in Men's minds which was not soon shook off, so grieved they were to behold the loss of so many Citizens. Wherefore the Senate upon Consultation enacted, that hereafter the Bodies of all such as died in Battel should be buried in the same place where they were slain, lest the sight of them should daunt the Courages of others, and dishearten men from going to the War. Of which as soon as the Enemies had advice, they made a like Ordinance. No person succeeded *Rutilius* in the Consulate for the remainder of the year, *Cæsar* not having leisure to go to the City to hold the Assembly: What remained of his Army was divided between *C. Marius* and *Q. Cepion*. But *Cepion* suffered himself to be deceived by *Q. Popedius*, who Commanded a Body of the Enemy's Forces. He came to him as a Run-away, bringing along with him as Hostages two young Slaves, clad in the * Robe worn by the Sons of Persons Free and Noble; and the better to gain his Confidence, brought him some Bars or Pigs of Lead, covered with Gold and Silver. After which, he perswaded him to go and charge the Enemy's Army, whither he would conduct him, and that instantly, while there was no one to command them. So he placed himself at the head of *Cepion's* Forces: and when he was come to the place where he had laid his Ambush, he put on his Horse towards a rising Ground, as if he would discover where the Enemies were, and from thence gave the Signal to his Men; who falling upon *Cepion's*, slew him with many others; those that escaped were by the Senate's Order joyned with *Marius*. About the same time *Sextus Cæsar*, whose Army was composed of thirty thousand Foot and five thousand Horse, having marched among certain difficult Streits, was unexpectedly fallen upon by *Marius Egnatius*; who drove him into a Valley, and forced him to run away in his Litter (because he was sick) towards a certain River, passable only by one Bridge; where, after having lost the greatest part of his Army, and the Remainder at every step throwing away their Arms, with much difficulty he at length secured himself in *Theana*. He armed again as well as he could those men he had left; and with a Recruit sent him, took the Field to go and relieve *Acerra*, which *Papius* still besieged; where encamping near the Besiegers, they lay a long time without either daring to assault the other.

XII. For *Cains Marius*, he bravely repulsed the Marsians who came to engage him, and gave them chase to the very Hedges of their Vineyards; which seeing they had clambered over with much difficulty, he would pursue them no farther. But *Sylla*, who was encamped on the other side the Vineyards, encountering the Flyers, slew likewise a great number of them. So that that day the Marsians lost six thousand Men, besides great quantity of Arms, which the Victors got. Yet this Victory did but the more increase the fierceness of the Marsians. They gathered new Forces, and had the boldness to come and offer Battel to the Romans; who, for fear of being overpowered, kept within their Trenches: For this Nation is very Warlike; and as report goes, never lost the Day before; and indeed to this very day never any triumphed in *Rome* over the Marsians, or without the Marsians. On another side of the Country about Mount *Falerinus*, *Fudacilius*, *T. Afranius*

nius

nus and *P. Ventidius*, with all their Forces joyned together, engaged the Army of *Cn. Pompey*; routed him, and pursued him to the very Gates of *Firmo*, where he shut himself up: And leaving *Afranius* to besiege the City, the other two went each a severall way about other Affairs. *Pompey* presently gave new Arms to such as were preserved from the Defeat, but he durst not adventure a Shock till such time as a fresh Army being come to him, he caused *Sulpitius* to take a Compass by unfrequented ways, and gain the Backs of the Enemy; giving him Orders to fall on in the Rear, whilst he charged them in Front. They fought so well on both sides, that the Victory remained a long time in equal Ballance; but when the Enemies saw their Camp burning, which *Sulpitius* had set on fire, and that *Afranius* was slain upon the place, their hearts failed them, and they fled away in disorder; and as many as could, escaped to *Ascoly*. *Pompey* forthwith besieged the Town; which *Fudacilius*, who was a Native of it (fearing for his Country) strove to succour with eight Cohorts. He gave advice hereof to the Besieged, with Orders to make a Sally upon the Besiegers so soon as they should discover him coming at a distance, that the Enemy might not know on which side to defend themselves: But the Inhabitants were so cowardly, that they never stirred foot; which yet hindred not *Fudacilius* from forcing a Passage through his Enemies, and with as many as could follow him entring the place, where he reproached them with their Cowardice and Disobedience. After which, despairing of the safety of his Fellow-Citizens, he caused all his Enemies to be slain, as well out of former hate as because of the fault lately committed in despising his Orders, and giving by their Example occasion to others to do the like. Then he caused a Pile to be raised in the Temple; upon which setting up a Bed, after having been very merry at a Feast, to which he invited his Friends, he took a draught of Poyson; and laying himself upon the Bed, desired them to set fire to the Pile, and so died, that he might not survive his Country. Mean while the time of *Sex. Caesar's* Consulate was expired, but the Senate prolonged his Command for the year following, with the Authority of Consul. As soon as he had his new Commission, he fell upon twenty thousand of his Enemies as they discamped; killed eight thousand upon the place, and carried off the Field an infinite number of Bucklers which the rest that fled had left. But his Sicknes having forced him to stay some time about *Ascoly*, at length carried him off; and according to his desire, *C. Bibius* succeeded in his Charge. Whilst these things passed on the Coast of the Ionian Sea, on the other side the *Hetrurians* and the *Umbrians* with some of their Neighbouring People, drawn on by the Example of others, inclined to a Revolt. It was soon known at *Rome*, and the advice of it put them in new fears: Wherefore the Senate, apprehensive of seeing themselves encompassed by Enemies on all sides, caused the Coasts between *Cume* and the City to be guarded by new Forces, in which for want of men, they entertained the Freed Men, a thing never before done; and granted to those Allies who had continued faithful the Freedom of their City, which was the only thing in the World they desired. This Decree being published by all the People about *Hetruria*, was received with general satisfaction. By this Act of Grace they engaged more firmly the true Friends of the people of *Rome*, settled in their duty such as were wavering, and made the Enemy more mild, in hopes of the same favour. They distributed not these new Citizens into the Tribes, which were already five and thirty, for fear they should outnumber the old ones; but they formed new Tribes, wherein they were put by Decuries; so that they gave last of all their Voices, which were often super-

superfluous, because the five and thirty Ancient were more than half the number of the Tribes. This design was not at first observed ; or perhaps the Allies contenting themselves at present herewith, demanded no more. Notwithstanding, being afterwards considered, it gave fresh occasion to Tumults. The people above the Coasts of the Ionian Sea, who yet knew not that the *Hetrurians* had changed their minds, had sent fifteen thousand Men to their Assistance, whom they had ordered to march through all the by ways imaginable. *Cn. Pompey*, lately made Consul, surprized them, killed about five thousand of them, and the rest dispersed, endeavouring to recover their Countries through rough and craggy ways, and in all the Rigors of a sharp Winter ; having nothing but Acorns to eat, perished almost all with Cold and Hunger. During the same Winter *Portius Cato*, Colleague to *Pompey*, going to War upon the *Marsians*, was slain. After which *L. Cluentius*, to brave *Sylla*, who lay encamped on the Pompeian Hills, went and encamped within three Furlongs of him : And *Sylla*, not able to brook the affront, without staying for those that were gone to Forage, went out and charged him ; but he was beaten and forced to retreat. The Foragers being returned, he once more fell on, put *Cluentius* hard to it, and forced him to remove his Camp further off ; whither there coming to him a Recruit of *Gauls*, he returned once more to try the Fortune of the Field. As the two Armies were drawn up, a *Gaul* of very large Stature advanced, and dared any Roman to a single Combat ; but he being slain by a very small *Numidian*, struck all the rest of the *Gauls* into such a Panick, that they turned their backs ; and by the disorder of their Flight, caused all the rest of *Cluentius* Army to do the like, and fly by the way towards *Nola*. *Sylla* pursued them so eagerly, that he slew thirty thousand of them by the way ; and because they would not open more than one of the Gates of *Nola*, to let them in, the Inhabitants fearing lest the Enemy should press in with them, there were twenty thousand more slain under the Walls ; among whom was *Cluentius*, performing to the last all the Offices of a brave and gallant Leader. The General going, marched against the *Hirpini*, and began to besiege * *Equilania*. Whereupon, the Inhabitants expecting the Assistance of the *Lucanians*, who were to come the same day, demanded time to consider about their Surrendry. He who knew their Cunning, gave them an hours time ; during which he caused to be brought great quantity of Bays of Vine-twigs to the Foot of the Wall, which was only of Beams of Timber ; and the hour being past, set fire to them. So they surrendring only for fear, he gave the Plunder of the Town to the Soldiers as if it had been taken by Storm ; which Example made other Cities of the *Hirpini* willingly submit themselves to the Romans. Those being yielded, he carried the War to the * *Samnites* ; not by those Avenues which were guarded by *Mutilus* their Chief, but by fetching a Compass through Ways by which they never thought an Enemy could come. So that falling in among them, at unawares, he slew great numbers ; the rest flying every way they best could ; and *Mutilus* himself being wounded, escaping with very few into *Isernia*. *Sylla*, after having pillaged the Camp, marched to * *Boviana*, where was held an Assembly of the Rebel People ; where because there were three Forts, whilst the Inhabitants thought only of defending themselves from him, he caused some Cohorts to march about, with Order to storm each of these Forts on the other side, and signify to him by the smoke when they were Masters of them : Which succeeding happily, he approached the Walls ; and after three hours Assault, took the Town. This was what past under *Sylla*'s Conduct during this War ; after which he went to

Rome

* *Boiana.*

* *Abruzo.*

* *Troja.*

Rome, to demand the Consulate. As for *Cn. Pompey*, he reduced the *Martians*, the *Marcinians* and the *Vestins*. On the other side *C. Cosconius*, Pretor, burnt * *Salapia* after having taken it by force, reduced *Cannes* under * *Salpe*. the Obedience of the Romans; and having besieged * *Canusa*, which the Sam- * *Canosa*. nites came to relieve, after a stout and rugged Fight, with great loss of men on both sides, he was repulsed, and forced to retire into *Cuma*: But he soon got a Revenge; for as the Army of the Samnites lay only parted from the Roman by a River, *Trebatius* their General sent to *Cosconius*, that he should either pass the River, and he would retire; or that he should retire, and himself would pass the River, that they might come to a Battel. *Cosconius* chose rather to retire; and as soon as *Trebatius* was passed, defeated him; pursuing his routed Men to the River side, where most of them were drowned: So that the Enemy lost fifteen thousand men, and the rest with *Trebatius* escaped into *Canusa*. *Cosconius* after this Victory, went to spoil the Countries of *Larinate*, *Venusia* and *Ponilla*; and assaulting the *Pediculi*, in two days became Master of all the Nation, who came and submitted themselves. His Successor *Cecilius Metellus*, to whom he delivered up the Army, defeated those of *Ponilla* in a Battel, where *Popedius*, one of the Authors of the Rebellion, being killed, the Remainder of his Forces came by Bands to submit to the Conqueror. Thus the War of the Allies continued with much heat until in the end all *Italy* obtained the Right of free Citizens of *Rome*, save only the *Lucanians* and the *Samnites*; who notwithstanding, soon after were admitted as well as the rest, and distributed by Tribes, as we have said before, for fear they should have more Votes than the ancient Citizens, being indeed more numerous.

About the same time there arose another Tumult in the City about Debts; for some exacted the Interest of money lent with more rigor than was permitted by the ancient Laws. For it seems the Romans, as well as the Greeks, abhorred Usury as a Trade ruinous to the Poor, and an occasion of Law-Suits and Enmities. The Persians themselves had no better opinion of it; and made the difference but very small between the practice of it, and cheating and lying. Notwithstanding, because Usury was now permitted by a Custom introduced some years past, the Creditors had some Right to demand it, but the Debtors delayed Payment under pretence of Wars and Tumults: Some there were likewise, that seeing themselves oppressed by the Usurers, threatened to have them condemned in a Fine. *Asellio* the Pretor, Judge of these matters, did all he could to compose all Differences; but not being able to compass it, he left them to the Law, after having explained to the other Judges, as in a difficult matter, what was Right, and what was Custom. Whereupon the Usurers, who could not endure mention should be made of the old Laws, got rid of the Pretor in this manner: One day, as he sacrificed in the Temple of *Castor*, surrounded with a great Croud of people, as is ordinary, some one having thrown a Stone at him he set down the Cup, and began to fly towards the Temple of *Vesta*; but being prevented by others who stopt his passage, he ran into a Tavern to hide himself, where they cut his throat. In this Confusion many who thought he had escaped into the Cloister of the *Vestals*, pursuing him with too much heat of passion, ran into those places where men cannot enter without Sacrilege. Thus was *Asellio* the Pretor killed in exercising his Office, clad in the holy Habit of Cloth of Gold, worn only on solemn Festivals, about two of the Clock, in the middle of the place, and offering a Sacrifice. The Senate caused to be published by sound of Trumpet, that they would give to whoever should discover the Authors of this Murder a Reward in Money, if a Free
man,

Man, his Liberty, if a Slave, and Pardon, if one of the Accomplices : Yet they could never gain any intelligence of it ; for the Usurers took a course to stifle even the Memory of this Riot, which we may likewise reckon among the Tumults of the City. It was followed by those Differences which happened between the Chiefs of the Factions, who as in open War assailed each other with formed Armies, each proposing no less price of his Victory than his Country, of which he pretended to become Master. It was immediately after the War of the Allies that these Dissentions took Birth, and thus they began.

XIII.

After that *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, and other Countries had seized on *Bythia*, *Phrygia*, and the neighbouring *Asia*, as we have said in one of our former Books ; *Sylla*, then Consul, obtained for his part of the Government the Province of *Asia*, with Commission for the War against *Mithridates*. Before his departure from the City, *Marius*, who thought there would be more profit than danger in this War ; and besides, spurred forward with a desire to Command ; engaged by a World of Promises *P. Sulpitius*, Tribune of the People, to serve him in this Affair ; and at the same time put the new Citizens in hopes to raise them to an Equality with the old ones in their Votes, and cause them to be distributed among the ancient Tribes. By doing them this kindness, he laboured for himself ; of which, though he made no shew, yet was it only for his own ends he sought their favour. *Sulpitius* presently made a Law, which if it had passed, had given *Marius* the whole Authority in the Commonwealth, so much would the New Citizens have out-voted the Old by reason of their numbers. The old ones who perceived it, opposed it with all their might ; and at last, upon this difference they grew to so much heat, as to come to handy Strokes and Stones. The mischief increasing, the Consuls fearing lest in the Assembly, which was nigh at hand, they should come to the last Extremities, ordained Feasts for several days like to the solemn ones, with intent to prolong the time of the Assembly, and the danger wherewith the City was threatned : But *Sulpitius*, without having regard to the Feasts, gave order to those of his Faction to meet forthwith upon the place, with Arms under their Gowns, to make use of upon occasion, even against the Consuls themselves : And prepared in this manner, he began to declare against these Feasts, as unlawful ; commanding *Sylla* and *Q. Pompey* to revoke them at that very moment, that the People might pass their Suffrages concerning the Laws. This discourse raised a great Tumult ; Swords were drawn as before was agreed on, and the Points presented to the Consuls, who would not yet give way to it, till such time as *Pompey* luckily and nimbly getting away, *Sylla* withdrew under pretence to go and consider of it. Mean while *Pompey*, Son to the Consul, and Son in Law to *Sylla*, for having spoken something (I know not what) too freely, was slain by *Sulpitius* Faction ; and *Sylla* returning in a small time after, revoked the Feasts ; and at the same instant went away for *Capua*, where his Army lay, with design to march from thence into *Asia*, against *Mithridates* ; for as yet he knew not the Plot laid against him. The Feasts being revoked, and *Sylla* gone, *Sulpitius* passed the Law about which so much stir had been made ; and withal, instead of *Sylla*, gave Commission to *Marius* to make War against *Mithridates*. *Sylla* having advice hereof, resolved to defend his Commission with Arms : And to this end draws together his Soldiers, who hoped as well as he every man to do his own business in this Expedition against *Mithridates* ; and judged if *Marius* went he would employ others. After having recounted to them all the causes of Complaint he had

against

against *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, without explaining himself farther (for he durst not openly declare himself in this matter) he exhorted them to be in a readiness to receive his Commands. They who knew his design, and feared to lose the Booty of the Asian Expedition, discover'd to him what he kept secret; and besought him to take courage, and lead them to the City. He received this discourse with infinite joy, and forthwith caused six Legions to march; whose Officers not daring to resolve to bear Arms against their Country, drew off, to present themselves at *Rome*; so that there remained not in this Army any Person of Quality but the Questor. Upon advice of this brought to the City, Deputies were sent to meet him, to demand of him, for what reason he came thus armed into his Country: To whom he answered, that it was with intent to deliver it from Tyranny. He made the same Answer to all those whom they sent one after another. Yet in the end, he promised, that if the Senate would assemble in the Field of *Mars*, and cause *Marius* and *Sulpitius* to be there, he would come likewise, and do all things that should be agreed on by all the World. As he drew nearer, his Colleague *Pompey* came to meet him; and having applauded his Action, promised his Assistance. As for *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, who had not had time enough to prepare themselves, they sent other Deputies in the Senate's name, who propos'd to him not to advance nearer the City than the fifth Stone till this Affair were more fully consider'd of. The Consuls, who discover'd the Cheat, granted the Deputies what they demanded; but scarcely were they gone but they followed them, and sieg'd on the *Celimontane* Gate, and the Contiguous Wall with one Legion; *Pompey* commanding another, sieg'd on the Little Hill, the third gained the Wooden Bridge, and the fourth drew up in Battel before the Wall, whilst *Sylla* entred the City in a fighting Posture. He was receiv'd as an Enemy, for at first they withstood him with hurling of Darts out of their Windows; but when he had threatn'd those in the Houses to set fire to the next Streets, they threw no more. *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, and the rest of their Faction, having presently armed themselves, encountred them in the place called the *Esquiline*; where was fought the first Battel ever seen in the City between two Contrary Parties; not in disorder, as formerly in their Tumults; but in open War, with Ensigns displayed, and Trumpets sounding: For their Animosities had urg'd things to these Extremities, because no person had endeavour'd to apply a Remedy in the beginning. *Sylla's* Party had at first the worst of it; and began to give ground; when himself took an Ensign, and ran to carry it into the Grofs of his Enemies. Then the Soldiers, either out of respect they bore their General, or fear of that Infamy wherewith those are brand-ed that forsake their Colours, quitted all thoughts of Flight, and returned to the Charge. There was brought to them likewise from the Camp another Body of fresh Men, and another was sent about by the way of the *Suburra*, to charge their Enemies in the Rear. Whereupon *Marius* Soldiers, who; already tired, defended themselves but faintly against fresh Men; and who besides, feared lest they should inclose them behind, invited those Citizens who still fought from their Houses to come down to them, and pronounced Liberty to such Slaves as would come to their Assistance. But when they saw that no one stirr'd to help them they lost all hope, and went out of the City, and with them all the Persons of Quality of their Party. *Sylla* being gone into the *Via Sacra*, (or the Holy Way) where the Soldiers had the boldness to take something by force, he caus'd them to be punished in the sight of all the people: And after having placed Courts of Guard through all the principal places in the City, he divid'd with his Colleague the labour of that

D d d night;

night, which they spent without any sleeping, still going from Quarter to Quarter to take care lest the Citizens should receive some injury from the victorious Soldier.

XIV.

Next day in the Morning they called an Assembly of the people, where they bemoaned the deplorable estate of the Common-wealth, abandoned for long time to the passion of Seditious People, saying, they had been constrained to do what they had done; and that it was their advice, that for the future nothing should be brought to the people, without having been first debated in the Senate; and that to that purpose the ancient custom which they had abrogated should be revived. They proposed likewise the holding no more Assemblies for the creation of Officers by Tribes, but by Centuries, according to the institution of *Servius Tullius*. That thus the first deliberation of Affairs depending on the Senate, and being no longer committed to the suffrage of the people, who having nothing to lose, feared nothing, violence would give place, and good order be established, nor would there remain any more matter for Sedition. Having by this means and many others retrenched the authority of the Tribunes, which was mounted even to excess, because the Body of the Senate was in a manner despised, by reason of the small number of the Senators, they added to them three hundred of the greatest and most worthy men of all the City: but before all other things they cancelled as void and contrary to the Laws all that *Salpiti* had done since the Feasts ordained by the Consuls. Thus from Tumults they came to Murders, and from Murders to Wars; and never before did any Roman Army enter their Country to commit acts of Hostility: but after this time all the Differences that happened between their Citizens, were determined by Arms: sometimes one party became Masters of the City, sometimes the other, which yet was no hindrance, that in the mean time other places were not besieged and sack'd, or that they felt not elsewhere those calamities usually attendant upon War: for in sum, there was no longer any Honour or Conscience; Love to the Common-wealth or their Country, which they violated not by numberless Crimes. After all this, *Salpiti* Tribune of the People, *Marius* who had been six times Consul, his Son, *P. Cethegus*, *Junius Brutus*, *Cn.* and *Q. Granius*, *P. Albinovanus*. *M. Lectorius* and other Senators, to the number of twelve, who were gone out of the City, accused to be the Authors of Sedition, and to have called the Slaves to liberty, were declared Enemies to the Roman People, with permission to the first that met them, to kill them unpunished, or to bring them to the Consuls; besides which they confiscated their Goods, and sent Men into all parts to search for them, some of which found *Salpiti*, and slew him. As for *Marius*, he escaped without Usher, or without so much as a Servant to *Minturnum*, where, as he slept in a Room into which there came not a spark of light, the Magistrate of the City fearing the Decree of the Roman People, whilst on the other side he himself could not resolve to kill a man who had been six times Consul, and done such great things, gave it in commission to a certain Gaul he met by chance, whom he furnished with a Sword to that purpose. But this man (as report goes) drawing near *Marius's* Bed in the dark, grew fearful, because he imagined he saw a flame dart out of his eyes; and when he raising himself up, cryed out, *Dar'st thou kill Caius Marius?* The Gaul astonished, fled hastily out of the Chamber, roaring with a loud voice, that he could not kill *Marius*. Whereupon the Magistrate, who before with much inward trouble had resolved upon the action, was now touched with

with a sense of Religion; besides, he remembered the presage which when *Marius* was yet an Infant, promised him the seventh Consulship. For 'tis said there fell upon his Bosom seven Eaglets, whereupon the Divines foretold, that he should seven times obtain supreme Honour.. Those of *Minuturnum* seriously weighing this, and judging what had happened to the Gaul, came from above, forthwith led *Marius* out of the Town to a place where he might be in greater safety, who knowing that *Sylla's* Horsemen sought after him, left that place, and went towards the Sea-side through By-ways, till he found a small Cabbin, into which he entred, and laid himself down among the Leaves to repose himself a little; he had not lain there long, but he heard a noise which made him creep closer under the leaves, but then the noise increasing, he leaped into a Fisher-boat which lay there by chance, out of which he put an old Fellow that was the Master of it, and then cutting the Boat-rope which fastened it, and hoisting Sail left himself to Fortune, he was carried to a certain Isle where he saw by accident pass by a Ship in which he knew some of his Friends, with whom he went into *Africa*, yet he could not land, being hindred by *Sextus* Governour of that Province, because of his being declared Enemy; so he was forced to spend that Winter on the Numidian Sea. The news whereof being come to *Cethegus*, *Granius*, *Albinovanus*, *Leitorius*, and those others condemned by the same Judgment, and who leaving the City with *Marius* the Son had taken Sanctuary in the Court of *Mandrestal* King of *Numidia*, they embarked and came to *Marius*, being themselves likewise jealous lest that King should deliver them to the Enemy. They wanted neither good will nor courage to assault their Country after *Sylla's* example, but because they had yet no Army they waited only an opportunity. Mean while, *Sylla*, who was the first ever made himself Master of the City by Arms, contenting himself with being revenged on his Enemies, without doing any violence to the other Citizens, sent his Army before to *Capua*, and resumed the charge of Consul. But the Faction of the Fugitives, and principally the rich, with some well monied women no longer standing in fear of Arms, desired the return of their Citizens; so that they spared neither pains nor cost, nor the attempting the lives of the Consuls themselves; for they thought their design would never take effect so long as they lived. As for *Sylla*, he might be safe in the midst of that Army granted him by the Senate to make War upon *Mithridates*, who would not forsake him, though his Consulship were expired; but for *Pompey* his Colleague he was in great danger, so the people took compassion of him, and gave him the Government of *Italy* with the Army then commanded by *Cn. Pompey*. This mightily troubled *Cneus*, yet when *Quintus* was come to the Army, and on the morrow began to exercise his Command, the other submitted to him as a private man; but a short time after all the Soldiery being crowded about the Consul, under pretence of hearing what he said, he was slain, and upon the action every one flying a several way, *Cn.* came in, feigning to be mightily troubled, as at a Villany committed against all Right and Justice. However, his anger lasted not long, but he presently resumed the Command of the Army. When the Consul's death was known in the City, *Sylla* began to be fearful of himself, and after walked not the Streets without a good company of Friends, who deserted him not by night, but not staying long after, he departed for *Capua*, and thence took his march towards *Asia*.

After this, the Friends of those Banished, supported by the authority of
D d d 2 *Cinna*,

XV.

* A place
called from the
Banks of the
river called
Tiberis, and
situated here.

† Tivoli.

* Marius.

Cinna, Successor to *Sylla* in the Dignity of Consul, began to let the new Citizens know the design *Marius* had to mingle them among the ancient Tribes, to the intent, that not giving their Votes last, they might have as much power in the Common-wealth as others, which was the first cause of *Marius* and the other Exiles return. The ancient Citizens opposed it all they could, upheld by *Octavius* the other Consul, while *Cinna* stood for the new, suspected to have been corrupted by three hundred Talents he had received. Now those of *Cinna's* Party came to the place armed with Swords under their Gowns, where with loud cries they began to demand their being mixed among the other Tribes, but the best part of the people came in like manner armed about *Octavius*, who attended in his House, what would be the issue of this Tumult. They brought him word, that the greatest part of the Tribunes opposing the Demand, the new Citizens had with Swords driven them from the * *Rostrum*, upon report of which he hastens by the *Via Sacra*, followed by a good company of men of Valour, and like a Torrent falls in upon the Assembly, passes over the Bodies of those that first encountered him, disperses the multitude, and after having terrified the contrary Party, returns to the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, without doing any more, for his Colleagues sake, to whom he bore respect. But those which followed him without staying for his command, threw themselves upon the new Citizens, and after the killing of many pursued the rest to the City Gates. *Cinna*, who confident in the multitudes of the Countrymen, had promised himself Victory when he perceived courage had made the lesser number victorious, he ran through the City, and called the Slaves to liberty; but when he saw no person joyn with him, he went out to the Neighbouring Cities to whom the Right of Freedom had been granted, as † *Tibur*, *Præneste*, and others as far as *Nola*; and after having solicited them to revolt, began to raise money to defray the Expence of the War. Whilst he made preparation for the execution of his Designs, *C. Milonius*, *Q. Sertorius*, and another *C. Marius* Senators of the same Faction came to him. But the Senate declared *Cinna*, for having forsaken the Common-wealth in imminent danger and called the Slaves to Liberty, to have forfeited his Freedom of the City, and Dignity of Consul, and substituted in his stead *L. Merula* then Priest of *Jupiter*, who is the only Priest that goes continually with a Mitre; for the others wear it only when they sacrifice. Mean while, *Cinna* went his way towards *Capua*, where lay another Army for the Roman People, being arrived he laboured all he could to gain the good will of the Officers and * Tribunes, and such Senators as were there, going to this purpose to the Assembly in the habit of a private man, without Rods, and tears in his eyes, he spake to them in this manner:

The Oration of Cinna.

YOU behold me here, (Gentlemen) despoiled of an Honour I received from you. The People gave it me by their Votes; and yet the Senate have deprived me of it, without asking the consent of the People. Though this Affront be done to my person, I complain less of my own interest than yours: for to what purpose now should we court the favour of the Tribes? In what can you be serviceable to us? or to what end are your Assemblies or your Votes, since they can cancel what you do; and you your selves so easily change your minds?

After

After having spoke thus to provoke them to anger, and made many complaints of the misery of his condition, he rent his Robe, and leaping from the Tribunal, threw himself upon the ground, where he lay extended a long time, till out of pure compassion they raised him up, returned him into the Tribunal-Seat, and having restored him the Rods in Quality of Consul, desired him to take heart, and lead them where-ever he had occasion for their Service. He accepted their offers, and improving the opportunity, received the Oath of Officers and Soldiers. Being in this manner confirmed, he went through the Cities of the Allies, exciting them as the causers of his present calamity, and for that reason drew from each good sums of money. There were likewise many principal men of the City, which came to joyn with him, only because it troubled them at any time to see the Common-wealth at quiet. Whilst *Cinna* was thus wholly employed in making his preparations, the Consuls *Octavius* and *Merula*, fortified the City, raised Engines on the Walls, and levied Soldiers as well among those Allies continued faithful to them, as among the Gauls; they likewise gave order to *Cn. Pompey*, who was with an Army on the Ionian Sea, to come speedily to the relief of his Country, which he forthwith did, and encamped before the Collatine Gate.

Cinna coming about the same time, pitched his Camp very near, and as soon as *Marius* had notice of it he came with the companions of his Banishment, and landed in *Etruria*, whither about five hundred of his Friends out of the City went to meet him. He appeared in a slovenly dress, his Beard and Hair long, untrimmed and unkembed, to beget the more compassion: thus went he from City to City, talking of his Fights and Victories against the Cimbrians, and (which they hearkened to with more delight) promising them to employ his utmost power and credit to procure the passing of the Law in favour of the new Citizens. Having by these means assembled six thousand Etrurians, he comes and joyns with *Cinna*, who was joyful to have this great man his companion in the War. All the Forces of that Faction being come up, they encamped in three Camps on the Banks of the *Tiber*, *Cinna* and *Carbo* directly against the City, *Sertorius* above it, and *Marius* to the Sea-ward: they likewise made Bridges over the River to cut off the City from Provisions. *Marius* took *Ostia* by storm, which he pillaged, and *Cinna* took *Rimini*, whither he sent part of his Forces, that no relief might come to the Besieged from the Province of *Gaul*. Mean while, the Consuls were extremely disquieted, because they still stood in need of an Army; and since they could not recall *Sylla*, who was already gon over into *Asia*, they sent to *Metellus* employed in the Remains of the Social War against the Samnites, to put an end to that Affair upon the best conditions he could, and come to relieve his besieged Country; but whilst he delayed granting their Demands, *Marius* having advice of it, prevented him, and promised them all they desired: so the Samnites took *Marius's* Party. He had likewise intelligence in the City with *Appius Claudius* the Tribune, who had the command of the Guard at the *Fanacula*, who in the acknowledgment of a favour formerly received from *Marius*, opened him one morning the Gate, and gave him entrance into the City, whither *Cinna* came likewise with him, but they were soon repulsed by *Octavius* and *Pompey*, who came speedily in. Soon after fell many Thunderbolts into *Pompey's* Camp, which flew fundry persons of Quality, and among the rest the Proconsul himself. And now that *Marius* had taken order that no Provision could come to the City neither by
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XVI.

the River nor by Sea, he assaulted the Neighbouring Cities, where lay the Granaries of the Roman People : He took by Stratagem *Antium*, * *Aricia*, * *Lavinia*, and several others ; and became Master of some by Treason. So that having now likewise cut them off from Provision to the Land-ward, he was so bold as to design going to *Rome* by the Appian Way, before the Besieged could get any Provision from elsewhere ; and to this end he with *Cinna*, *Carbo* and *Sertorius* went and encamped at the * twelfth Stone from the City. *Octavius*, *Crassus* and *Metellus* went and encamped right against them on the Alban Hill, to oppose their Enterprises ; and though they were the stronger both in the Valour of their Soldiers and their Number, yet they would not engage them, not thinking it convenient to commit the safety of their Country to the hazard of one sole Battel. But when *Cinna* had sent Cryers about the City, to proclaim that he gave liberty to all Slaves that would come list themselves in his Service, and that they saw they went away by whole Bands ; the Senate fearing lest by too long want of Victuals the People should grow mad, changed their mind, and sent Deputies to *Cinna*, to treat of Peace. He first of all demanded if they came to him as Consul, or as a private Person ; but they finding themselves perplexed with this Question, could answer nothing, and so returned : Soon after a great multitude of Free Persons left the City, and came and yielded to *Cinna* ; some for fear of Famine, and others as having no Aversion to his Party, and finding the Occasion favourable. Wherefore now, no more fearing any thing, he advanced with his Forces, and came and encamped within Flight-shot of the Walls, which put *Octavius* Party into great perplexity : Besides, they durst no more attempt any thing, seeing continually Run-aways and Messengers going and coming from one side to the other. Mean while the Senate knew not what to resolve on ; they looked upon it as an unworthy thing to depose *Mercula*, whom they had made Consul in the place of *Cinna* ; a man who was Priest to *Jupiter*, and never deserved any Reproach : Yet in the end they were constrained to send Deputies to *Cinna*, to treat with him for Peace, and to Complement him in the Quality of Consul. They were not to propose him any Conditions, but only to request him to swear he would not slay any in the City : He would not take an Oath in those terms ; However, he gave his Word, that by his good will, or by his consent, there should not be a Person put to death in the City ; and sent word to *Octavius*, who was entered the City by the Gate on the other side, that he should depart, lest something might happen to him which he could not prevent. He gave this Answer to the Deputies, seated in the Tribunal like a Consul. But *Marius*, who stood up by him, kept silence ; and by the sternness of his Looks made it sufficiently appear what a Slaughter he did intend. After this Word given, the Senate having recalled *Cinna* and *Marius* (for they well perceived this last was the Author, and that the other did but subscribe) *Marius* answered in a scoffing manner, that it was not lawful for banished Men to return into the City : So the Tribunes of the People immediately cancelled the Sentence of Banishment, given against him and the rest, under the Consulate of *Sylla*.

XVII.

Thus they were received into *Rome* with a publick Consternation, and presently they began to plunder the Goods of all such as seemed but any way enclined to the contrary Party, without any persons forbidding them. *Cinna* and *Marius* had upon Oath promised Security to *Octavius*. The Divines assured him he need fear nothing, yet his Friends advised him to leave the City ; but he answering them that he would never forsake his Country, especially

as long as he was Consul, retired to the *Faniculum*, with the most Considerable of the City, and a part of the Army, mounting the Tribunal habited like a Consul, and accompanied by Lictors with Rods and Axes. And just when *Censorinus* was coming with his Horse-Men, and that his Friends yet offered him a Horse to make his Escape on, he vouchsafed not to stir, but expected his death with an admirable Constancy. *Censorinus* carried his head to *Cinna*, who caused it to be fixed on the Tribunal for Orations; and this was the first Consul's head that ever was fixed there. Soon after the heads of others, who dyed in this raging fury, were likewise exposed as Spectacles in the same place: And this horrible Custom endured long after in all Massacres committed at *Rome* between the Enemy Factions. Every one of the Victors sought out his Enemy to destroy him; no person was defended from the cruelty of these Murderers neither by the Dignity of Senator, nor that of Knight; and as many Senators as they killed, they brought their heads to the Tribunal. There was no longer any respect either towards Gods or Men; and after having committed such dreadful Crimes, they sought to satisfy themselves with Spectacles yet more shameful, cutting off the heads of the Slain, and making a show of their misfortune, whether to strike terror into, or to give a Criminal satisfaction to the eyes of the Vulgar. Among those that perished, the two *Fulius's*, C. and *Lucius*; *Serranus*, Cousin to *Lutius*; *P. Lentulus*, C. *Numitorius*, and *M. Bibulus*, were found dead in the Streets. *Crassus* flying, killed his Son, for fear he should fall into the hands of those pursued him, from whom himself could not escape. *M. Anthony*, the Orator, escaped to a certain Farm-House, where the Farmer gave him a Retreat, and kept him some time concealed; but the Farmer's Servant, because of this Guest, going to the Tavern for Wine oftner than he was wont; the Vintner enquiring the reason, he privately told him; who, as soon as he had given him his Wine, gave present advice to *Marius*. Upon the News of it *Marius* was so transported with joy, that he would have come himself to have been his Executioner; but his Friends dissuading him, he sent a Tribune with Soldiers. *Anthony* discoursed them with so good a Grace, and perswaded them with so many Reasons, that he gained their Compassion; till such time as the Tribune, who had stayed below, wondering at this delay, came himself into the Chamber; and whilst he was yet talking, thrust his Sword into his Belly; and cutting off his head, sent it to *Marius*. *Cornutus* being hid under the Tiles, was saved by the Cunning of his Slaves; who having found a dead Body, cast it on a Pile; and when they saw those that came to search for him, putting fire to it, said, they burnt the Body of their Master, who was strangled. *Q. Acharius* waited an opportunity till *Marius* went to the Capitol to sacrifice, out of hopes that out of Religion to the place he would grant him Pardon: But as he was coming to do his Reverence to *Marius*; as soon as he perceived him, he commanded his People forthwith to cut his Throat, and that in the very Temple; and his Head served for a Spectacle as well as that of the Orator *Anthony*, and so many other Pretorians and Consulars. Nor was it permitted to give Sepulture to their Bodies, the conquering Party would have them exposed to be devoured by Dogs and Fowls of the Air. The Seditious themselves did, unpunished, kill one another at every turn. Some they drove from their Houses, others they spoiled of their Goods, others deprived of their Dignities, *Sylla's* Laws they cancelled, slew his Friends; and after having pulled down his House, and confiscated his Goods, declared him Enemy of the State. They sought likewise for his Wife and Children, to put them to death; and they escaped but very narrowly. Thus was the City oppressed with all sorts of Mischiefs and Calamities.

Calamities. At length, after so many Executions of Persons without Condemnation, they thought it convenient under pretence of observing Forms of Justice, to bring *Merula*, the Priest of *Jupiter*, to his Tryal; and to that end suborned Accusers. He was not guilty of any Crime; but *Cinna* hated him, because he had been named his Successor, though it was never his seeking. At the same time they gave a Summons to *Lucatius Catulus*, who had been Colleague with *Marius* in the Cimbrian War, and was obliged to him for saving his life; but forgetting that good turn, had been his cruel Persecutor during his Banishment. They appointed Guards, which they perceived not, to watch their Motions, till the day assigned; which being come, they were called four several times by the Usher, with the Interval of some hours between each Call: And when they should have come to have pleaded their Cause, Word was brought that *Merula* had cut his own Veins; having writ one Tablet, which he left, that he had first laid aside the Mitre, for it is Sacrilege for a Priest to die with the Mitre on. As for *Catulus*, he had shut himself up in a close Room, newly plaistered over, and still moist; where causing Charcoal to be kindled, he voluntarily smothered himself. What remains concerns the Slaves called to Liberty by *Cinna*, and now serving in the Militia; they broke open Houses, carrying away all they found, and killing the first they met; and some of them were found abusing their own Masters. He had tryed several ways to correct them; but seeing he lost his labour, he caused them all one night, as they slept, to be encompassed by the Gaul Infantry, who cut them in pieces. Thus were they punished for their Perfidiousness, as they deserved. The Consuls named for the year following were *Cinna* for the Second Time, and *Marius* for his Seventh; so that in spite of his Banishment and Proscription, the Augury of the seven Eaglets was accomplished. But whilst he was contriving ways to ruin *Sylla*, he was carried away by a Distemper in the first Month of his seventh Consulare. *Cinna* caused *Valerius Flaccus* to be substituted in his place, whom he sent into *Asia*; where he dying, he took *Carbo* for his Colleague.

XVIII.

Mean while *Sylla* hastning his Return, to be revenged upon his Enemies; after (having in a short time vanquished *Mithridates* (as we have before related) killed one hundred and sixty thousand Men in less than three Years; re-conquered *Greece*, *Macedon*, *Ionis* and *Asia*, and the other Countries which *Mithridates* had sieged upon; despoiled that King of his Fleet, and reduced him to the Kingdom of his Predecessors) he begun his Journey towards *Italy* with an Army that loved him, accustomed to Labour, and heightened with the happy Success of his Arms. He had likewise store of Ships and Money; and was, in short, in a Power capable of undertaking the greatest things; so that his Enemies began to be terrified: And for fear of him *Carbo* and *Cinna* sent Men through all *Italy*, to raise Money and Soldiers, and lay up Stores of Corn for their Service in the Depending War. They endeavoured likewise to engage on their side all Persons of Riches and Authority, and to gain the People, particularly the new Citizens; perswading them they had not fallen into the present danger, but for espousing their Interests. They fitted out a Fleet, and gave Orders to guard the Coasts with Ships they had caused to be brought from *Sicily*. In short, they forgot nothing that could be done to make speedy Preparations for their Defence against such an Allarm. As for *Sylla*, he wrote to the Senate a Letter full of Anger; wherein after having made an Enumeration of all the Labours he had undergone for the Commonwealth; in *Numidia* against *Jugurtha*, Questor; in the Cimbrian War, Lieutenant; in *Cilicia*, Pretor; and in the War

War with the Allies, Consul ; besides those great things he came from doing against *Mithridates* : Amplifying each Action in particular, and principally, the great number of Provinces he had reconquered from *Mithridates*, and reduced under the obedience of the Roman People : But above all, he put a value upon the Obligation they had to him, for having been the Refuge of those Roman Citizens driven from the City by the violence of *Cinna*, and for having comforted and assisted them in their Calamities and Distresses. Adding that for a full Acknowledgment of so many good deeds his Enemies had proscribed and set a price upon his Head, demolished his House, killed his Friends, and driven away his Wife and Children, who with much difficulty escaped to him ; but he should now suddenly be in the City, where he would revenge both private and publick Injuries, and punish the Authors of these Disorders, which notwithstanding, he did not impute to any of the Citizens, either Ancient or New. This Letter read in the Senate struck a terror into all the World ; wherefore they sent to him Deputies to reconcile him with his Enemies ; with Order to tell him, that if he desired any Security, the Senate would become bound for what they agreed on, provided he would forthwith declare his Intentions. And in the mean time they forbade *Cinna* from making any new Levies, until *Sylla* had returned an Answer. Hereupon *Cinna* said, that he would put all his Concerns into the hands of the Senate. But scarce were the Deputies gone, but he designed himself with his Colleague Consuls for the following Year, that he might not be obliged to return to the City to hold the Assembly. That done, they both left *Rome* ; and coasting all *Italy*, enrolled some Legions, and sent over several Troops, one after another, to *Dalmatia*, with which they pretended to go and meet *Sylla*. The first arrived safely at those Ports where they designed landing, but those who embarked afterwards were by Storms cast back on the Coast of *Italy* : where the Soldiers coming again to their Homes, protested that never by their good will would they bear Arms against their Citizens : Which coming to the knowledge of others that were ready to depart, they refused to pass into *Dalmatia*. *Cinna* enraged at this Refusal, gave them order to come to the Assembly, thinking to oblige them to obey by force of threats. They came thither as angry as he ; not sticking to say, that if they were too much pressed upon, they knew how to defend themselves. But as he was going away, the Licitor, who marched before to make way for him, having pushed one of them to that purpose, a certain Soldier returned him a Blow ; whereupon, the Consul commanding the Soldier to be arrested, a great noise suddenly arose, which was followed by throwing of Stones ; and some that stood next to *Cinna* drawing their Swords, ran him through and through. *Cinna* thus slain in his Consulate, *Carbo* caused those Troops carried over into *Dalmatia*, to be brought back ; and so doubtful he was what to do in this Conjunction, that he durst not return to the City, though the Tribunes of the People had summoned him to come, to the end he might in a lawful Assembly substitute another Consul in the place of him that was slain. At last however, when they threatened to reduce him to the Rank of private Men, he went and appeared at the day appointed for the Nomination of a Consul ; but because the Birds gave ill Omens of that day, he adjourned the Assembly to a farther day, on which the Thunder falling on the Temples of *Luna* and *Ceres*, the Augurs were the occasion that the Nomination of a Consul was deferred till after the Solstice, and that till then *Carbo* remained singly in that Dignity. Mean while *Sylla* had returned in Answer to the Senate's Deputation, That he would not contract Friendship with Men blackned with such horrible Crimes.

However he would not hinder the People of *Rome* from giving them security, but there would be much more for those who would joyn with him, being Master of an Army affectionate to his interests. This word alone was sufficient to make them believe he was resolved to keep his Command, and that he had a design to sit on the absolute Dominion; for he demanded likewise that they should entirely restore his first Dignity, his Goods, his Priesthoods: and in short, all the Honours that he had; and indeed he had sent with the Deputies of the Senate some to demand all these things, but when they heard at *Brundisium* that *Cinna* was dead, and the Commonwealth in trouble, they returned to find *Sylla* without proceeding farther.

XIX.

Upon this report brought to him, he left *Pyræum* with five Italian Legions, six thousand Horse, and the Auxiliary Forces of *Macedon* and *Peloponnesus*, which amounted to about sixty thousand Men: from *Pyræum* he came to *Patras*, from whence he passed over to *Brundisium* on a Fleet of six hundred Ships. He was received into the Port without any contradiction; and in acknowledgment of that seasonable kindness, he granted to the City an exemption from all kind of Imposts for the future, which they enjoy to this day. That done, he set forward with all his Forces, and by the way met with *Metellus Pius*, who some years before had commanded the Body of an Army in the War with the Allies; but not being willing to return to the City, for fear of *Cinna* and *Marius*, was retired into * *Liguria* expecting some change. Now therefore he came to offer *Sylla* what Forces he had, having still the Title of Proconsul; for when once that Honour is attained, it lasts till he enjoys it returns to his Country. Some time after *Cn. Pompey*, who afterwards gained the Title of Great, Son of that *Pompey* who was killed with a Thunderbolt, came to him likewise. In former appearance he was no Friend to *Sylla*, but now he made him lay aside all suspicion of him, by bringing with him a Legion out of the Country of † *Picene*, where he was well beloved in memory of his Father's name, he raised two other Volunteer Legions soon after; and among all those that took *Sylla's* Party none did him more important Service: and though yet very young, *Sylla* had so high a value for him, that whoever arrived he was the only person for whom he rose up from his Seat; that he sent him into *Africa* to put an end to the Remains of the War, quell *Carbo's* Party, and reestablish *Hyempsal* in his Kingdom, who had been driven out by the Numidians; and that for the Actions he there did, he granted him the Honour of Triumph, though he had not yet arrived to the age prescribed by the Laws, and was then but a plain Knight. In so much, that after so fair beginnings, being advanced in age as well as reputation, he was sent against *Sertorius* in *Spain*, and afterwards to the Kingdom of *Pontus* against *Mithridates*. *Cethegus* likewise came to meet *Sylla*, though he had been the greatest Enemy he had, and was therefore banished with *Cinna* and *Marius*, but now he presented himself before *Sylla* in the condition of a Suppliant, offering him to serve him in all he should be pleased to employ him. Thus beholding himself fortified with a great number of Soldiers and store of illustrious Friends whom he made his Lieutenants, he placed himself at the Head of his Army with *Metellus*, both being Proconsuls; for *Sylla* going to the War against *Mithridates* in Quality of Proconsul, had not yet quitted that Dignity, though *Cinna* had declared him Enemy to the State. He mortally hated those that had offended him, but he kept his hatred close, for which reason those which remained in the City knowing his temper, were sorely terrified. They had

* Genoa.

† Mar. of Ancona.

not

not forgot what passed the first time he entred in Arms, they knew he was incensed at the Sentences given against him, they saw his House pulled down, his Goods confiscate, his Friends killed, and his Family in flight, who very hardly escaped; and therefore thought they must resolve to overcome, or utterly to perish, so that in this common fear they threw themselves into the Consuls Party, and began to fetch from all parts of *Italy* Soldiers, Provisions and Money with all the diligence necessary in extreme danger. The Consuls *C. Norbanus* and *L. Scipio*, and with them *Carbo* Consul the year preceding (who hated *Sylla* as much as the others, but feared him more; out of a remorse for the injuries he had done him) after having levyed Soldiers throughout all *Italy*, took the Field with each his Body of an Army. They had at first but two hundred and fifty Men in each Cohort, but soon after they found many more; for all people had a far greater inclination for the Consuls than for *Sylla*, because *Sylla* seemed to come against the City like an Enemy, whilst the Consuls fought for their Country: but this was only in appearance, for in truth they laboured only for themselves. Besides the vulgar sensible they were sharers in the fault, were carried on to defend it by the same fear, and no person was ignorant that *Sylla* had not simply the thought of chastising, reforming, or striking terror, but that he meditated upon Sackings, Burnings, Massacres, and in a word, the general ruine of the City. And surely, they were not deceived: all places they soon found sacked and filled with slaughter by the continual Fights, in which there perished sometimes ten thousand, sometimes twenty thousand in one only Engagement, and at once in and about the City fifty thousand, where yet the Conquerour forgot no cruelty he could exercise on the Remainder as well in general as particular, till in the end he reduced the Roman Empire under his Dominion, and disposed of it at pleasure. They received from on High presages of these miseries by a great number of Prodigies, Ghosts presented themselves to an infinite many people throughout all *Italy*, as well alone as in company; they set themselves to examine ancient Oracles, where they still found matter of greater fear and distraction: a Mule engendred, a Woman was delivered of a Serpent, a great Earthquake overthrew some Temples in the City. And though the Senate and People of *Rome* keep constant watch against such Accidents, the Capitol built by the Kings above four hundred years before was set on fire, none could tell how. And indeed these were all Signs which threatened *Italy* with Murders and Desolations, and the Roman People with Servitude, and that Change which was to happen in the Common-wealth. The beginning of this War, accounting from the time that *Sylla* landed at *Brundisium*, happened in the hundred seventy fourth Olympiad. The Actions of it were much greater, than the time of its continuance long; for each party running with fury to the ruine of the other, the losses they sustained were so much the greater and more quick; yet it lasted three years, till such time as *Sylla* made himself Master of the State; and even after *Sylla's* death it yet continued a long time in *Spain*. There was through all *Italy* many Fights and Skirmishes, Sieges and other Exploits of War in great number, and very remarkable, as well in Pitch'd Battels as in Rencontres. We will only relate those Actions are most considerable, and best worthy memory, and that the most succinctly we can.

The first Battel fought was about *Cannusa* between the Consul *Norbanus* and the Proconsuls, wherein the Consul lost six thousand men, and those of the other Party only seventy, but they had many wounded, and *Nor-*

XX.

Varus retreated to *Capua*. After which, the Proconsuls being encamped near *Thurium*, *L. Scipio* led against them another Army, more disposed to Peace than War, which being observed by the Chiefs of the contrary Party, they sent Deputies to the Consul to treat of an Accommodation, not that they hoped to succeed, or that they stood in need of it, but with design to sow Dissention among Troops not very fiercely set on, as indeed it happened; for *Scipio*, after having received Hostages, went into the adjacent Fields to confer with the others, whom he found there likewise. They were but three of a side, so that it was not known what passed in the Conference, save only that they remained of accord, that *Sertorius* by the Consul's order should go and find his Colleague to communicate with him, and that while they staid for an answer, there should be a Cessation of Arms. But *Sertorius* having seized upon *Snæssa* that held for *Sylla*, and he making complaint to *Scipio*, whether he had consented to it, or knew not what to answer, surprised as he was with the unexpected news, he resigned up the Hostages to *Sylla*; whereupon the Army offended at the Action *Sertorius* had so unseasonably done, and at the redelivery of the Hostages, began to blame the Consuls, and caused *Sylla* to be privately informed, that if he would draw a little nearer, they would all come over to him. This composition made, the Consul found himself so forsaken, that he knew not what to resolve, he was taken alone in his Tent by *Sylla's* Men, having no body with him but *Lucius*, his Son. But certainly it seems to me a thing unworthy of a General not to have the foresight to perceive so great a Conspiracy of a whole Army. *Sylla* not being able, whatever he could plead to them, to make the Consul or his Son take his part, dismissed them both without any injury done; and at the same time sent other Deputies to *Capua*, to treat the peace with *Norbanus*, whether he indeed feared, seeing the most part of *Italy* took the Consuls part, or whether he laid the same snares for him he had done for *Scipio*; but seeing no one came to him, nor that any answer was returned him (for it's probable the Consul took care not to give his Army occasion of like scandal) he took the Field to march against *Norbanus*, wasting all the Country as he went; *Norbanus* on the other side did the like, and *Carbo* went before to the City, to declare *Metellus* and all the other Senators who were joyned to *Sylla*, Enemies to the Senate and People of *Rome*. 'Twas at this time that the Capitol took fire, about which ran divers reports, some accused *Carbo*, others suspected the Consuls, others said *Sylla* had caused it to be done. But it being hard to discover the truth of so uncertain a thing, we will leave it in its uncertainty. For *Sertorius*, who sometime before had obtained the Government of *Spain*, after having taken *Snæssa*, he went into his Province, where refusal being made him of quitting the Command, the Roman Armies had enough to suffer. Mean while the Consuls Forces increased dayly by the great number of Soldiers that came from the farthest parts of *Italy* and *Gaul*, about the *Po*: and *Sylla* on his side did not sleep, he continually sent Messengers to all the People of *Italy* to draw them to his Party, either by inclination, or fear, or money, or by the power of promises, insomuch that the rest of the Summer was consumed in these Affairs. In the beginning of the next year were named for Consuls *Papirius Carbo* for the second time, and *Marius* Son to the Brother of the illustrious *Marius*, of but seven and twenty years old; and because in this Season the Colds were too great, each Party drew into Garrisons, but as soon as the Spring was come on, there was fought by the River *Asis* between *Metellus* and *Carmus* Lieutenant to *Carbo*, a very fierce Battel, which lasted from Morning to Night, wherein

wherein the Lieutenant being defeated, with a great loss of Men, the Neighbouring Places that held for the Romans yielded to *Metellus*: but *Carbo* having reached *Metellus*, besieged him till such time as understanding that his Colleague had been defeated in a great Battel near * *Praneste*, he brought off his Forces to *Rimini*, pursued by *Pompey*, who sorely galled his Rear-Guard. Now the defeat of *Praneste* was thus, *Sylla* having seized on † *Setia*, *Marius* drew thither with his Forces, then falling off by little and little, when he came to *Sacriport* he drew up in order of Battel; *Sylla* having done the like, they fought bravely, till *Marius's* Left Wing beginning to stagger, five Cohorts and two Squadrons, who had turned their backs of set purpose, threw down their Colours, and went all and yielded to *Sylla*; which was the sole occasion of the Rout; for all the rest presently took their flight towards *Praneste*, *Sylla* still following them close at the Heels. The *Pranestines* let the first that presented themselves enter, but because the Enemy was so close in the Rear of them, they shut their Gates, and drew up *Marius* over the Wall with Ropes; and now there was a great Slaughter before the Walls, and many Prisoners taken, among which all that were found to be Samnites were by *Sylla's* command cut in pieces, as obstinate Enemies of the Roman Name. About the same time *Metellus* defeated another Army of *Carbo's*, five Cohorts having come over to his Party in the heat of the Fight, which much advanced the Victory. *Pompey* likewise beat *Marius* about *Siena*, and took and sacked the City. As for *Sylla*, after having shut up *Marius* in *Praneste*, he caused the place to be encompassed with a very large Circumvallation, which he gave in charge to *Lucretius Offella*, that he might take the Consul by Famine, there being no necessity of Fighting. He seeing his Affairs desperate, and unwilling his Enemies should survive him, wrote to *Brutus* Prætor of the City, that he should call the Senate upon any other pretence, and then cause *Antistius*; the other *Carbo*, with *Lucius Domitius* and *Mutius Scævola* the High Priests to be slain. The two first according to *Marius's* order were killed in the Senate by Murderers sent thither, *Domitius* flying, was slain at the Door, and *Scævola* at some distance from the Palace. Their Bodies were cast into the River; for the custom was now grown ripe, not to suffer Burial to be given to those were slain. Mean time, *Sylla* drew off his Forces towards *Rome* by several ways, with order to seize on the Gates, and if they were repulsed to retire to *Ofia*, which way soever they marched the terrour of their Arms made the Cities receive them, and *Rome* it self shut not her Gates; for the Citizens were straitened with Famine, and already accustomed no more with stubbornness to resist Calamities at hand. As soon as *Sylla* had this intelligence he immediately advanced, and drawing up his Army in Battalia in the Field of *Mars* before the Gate, entered the City, where not finding one of the contrary Faction, he forthwith confiscated their Goods, and publicly sold them; and assembling the people, complained, that he had been forced by the malice of his Enemies to come to these Extremities, exhorting the Citizens to take courage, with promise they should in a few days behold the end of their miseries, and the re-establishment of the Common-wealth.

After having applied some remedies to the most pressing Distempers, and left a Garrison in the City, he marched towards * *Clusa*, where there was yet a Remain of War not to be neglected. Whilst he was at *Rome* some Celtiberian Horse sent from the Prætors of *Spain* were joyned with the Consul's Army, which occasioned a Fight betwixt the Horsemen near the River

XXI.

* Chiusti.

River *Glanis*, where *Sylla's* Horsemen had the better, he killed about five hundred of the Enemy, and two hundred and seventy Celtiberians came over to his side; all the rest *Carbo* caused to be cut in pieces, either to revenge the treachery of their Countrymen, or for fear his Men should follow their example. At the very instant of this Victory, *Sylla's* Party fighting against their Enemies about *Saturnia*, defeated them; and *Metellus* going by Sea to the Borders of *Ravenna*, reduced under his obedience the Country of the *Uritanians*, which is a vast Champaign very fruitful in Corn. Another Body of *Sylla's* Men entering by night into *Naples* by treason put all to the Sword (save a few that escaped by flight) and made themselves Masters of all those People's Galleys. As for what passed at *Clusa*, *Sylla* fought a whole day together against *Carbo*, and the Field was so resolutely maintained, that only night parted them, Victory inclining neither to one side nor the other. But in the Country of *Spoletto* *Pompey* and *Crassus* both Lieutenants to *Sylla* cut in pieces about three thousand of *Carbo's* Men, and kept *Carinas*, who commanded them, blocked up, till *Carbo* sent another Army to relieve him, of whose March *Sylla* having intelligence, crossed their way, and charged so briskly, that he left about two thousand in the place: but yet *Carinas* taking the opportunity of a dark and rainy night, escaped from the Besiegers hands, who though they knew it well enough, yet let him pass because of the cruel weather. The same *Carbo*, to rescue his Colleague *Marius* besieged in *Præneste*, and ready to perish with Famine, sent *Marcus* with eight Legions, whom *Pompey*, that lay in ambush for him, so vigorously assaulted, that he slew the greatest part, and forced the rest to retreat to a rising ground, where he invested them; but *Marcus* causing great Fires to be kindled, to make the Enemy believe he still was there, marched off closely in the dark, but his Army imputing to him the fault committed in falling into the Ambuscade, mutinied, and whether he would or no took their march towards *Rimini*, where the greatest part disbanding themselves, went home; so that *Marius* had but seven Cohorts left, with which after all these misfortunes he went to find out *Carbo*. After this *M. Lamponius*, *Pontus Tellesinus* and *Gutta* of *Capua* being upon their March with seventy thousand Men, as well *Lucanians* as *Samnites*, to go and disengage *Marius*; *Sylla* seized of a certain Strait, by which only they could pass to go to *Præneste*, so that they were forced to return without doing any thing. And now the Consul falling from all hopes of being relieved, caused a Fort to be raised in a spacious place between the City and Trenches, whither he brought Engines, and drew together all his Forces with intention to make *Lucretius* retire, and open himself a passage by Sally: but after divers continued endeavours for many days he shut himself up again within the Walls of *Præneste*. About the same time *Carbo* and *Norbannus* after a long hard March perceived themselves towards Evening to be near *Metellus* his Camp, and though there were but an hour more of daylight, and that they saw all about the Vineyards lay very thick, yet they drew up their Army in Battalia with more passion than prudence. They thought to fright *Metellus* by this surprize, but both time and place being disadvantageous to them, they fell one upon another, and were so cruelly defeated, that they left six thousand upon the place, six thousand yielded to *Metellus*, and the rest fled every man his way, so that a thousand only retreated in order to *Arezzo*. Upon the news of this defeat a Legion of *Lucanians* commanded by *Albinovanus*, joyned with *Metellus's* Party, and that in despite, as it were, of their General, who yet not losing courage, went to find out *Norbannus*; and yet after all this, having un-

herhand

derhand treated with *Sylla*, upon condition to do some memorable service, he invited *Norbanus* to a Treat with his Lieutenants *C. Aufidius* and *Flavius Fimbria* Brother to that *Fimbria* who killed himself in *Asia*, together with all the Officers of *Carbo's* Party, who being all met save only *Norbanus*, he caused them to be slain in the midst of the Feast, and yielded himself to *Sylla*. After this Treachery *Norbanus* hearing that *Rimini* because of this accident, and of some Armies that lay nigh to it had likewise fallen off to *Sylla's* Party, and believing (as it generally happens to all men in declining fortune) that he could no longer confide in the friendship of any man, embarked on a Vessel belonging to a private man, and got safe to *Rhodes*, whither *Sylla* having sent to demand him, whilst the Rhodians were consulting about it he slew himself in the midst of the place: *Carbo* yet sent two Legions under the command of *Damasippus* to *Præneste*, to raise that Siege with all speed possible, but they could no more than the others force *Sylla's* Men posted in the Strait. Beside all this, all the Cisalpine Gauls yielded to *Metellus*; and *Lucullus* encountring another Army of *Carbo's* near *Placentia*, gained the Victory; so that this General after so many losses, though he had still thirty thousand Men about *Clusa*, the two Legions with *Damasippus*, and two others commanded by *Carinas* and *Marcus*, besides a great number of Samnites continually engaging with *Sylla's* Men to drive them from the Strait where they were posted, lost all hopes, and fled to *Africa* with his Friends, in which he certainly committed a great weakness to leave *Italy* being Consul, as if after having lost it, he could make himself Master of *Africa*. The Army which he left at *Clusa* engaging with *Pompey*, after the loss of twenty thousand Men, dispersed, and every man returned home. As for *Carinas*, *Marcus* and *Damasippus* having joyned Forces they marched towards the Strait of which we have so often spoke, hoping with the assistance of the Samnites to come to a good issue, but not succeeding better than others before them, they advanced towards *Rome*, which they thought might easily be taken, wanting both Men and Provision, and went and pitched their Camp upon the Alban Hill at the * tenth Stone. But now *Sylla*, who was afraid for the City, caused the Vanguard of his Horse to advance first to retard the Enemies March, and himself following with the rest of his Forces by great journies arrived about noon at the Colline Gate, and went and encamped near the Temple of *Venus*. The Enemies were likewise encamped on the Skirts of the City, so that though the Sun were declining, the two Armies came to a Pitched Battel, *Sylla's* Right Wing had the better of it, but his Left Wing being over-born, fled towards the Gates, where the old men that were upon the Walls seeing that the Conquerors and Conquered ran pell-mell together, let fall the Portcullis, which by it's fall crushed in pieces many Soldiers, and likewise some Senators. Then the greater Party forced through fear and necessity turned head upon the Enemies, and having continued the Fight all night cut in pieces a great number, among whom were found *Telphinus* and *Albanus*. Their Camp was taken, and *Lamponius*, *Lucanius*, *Marcus*, *Carinas* and all those Officers of *Carbo's* side that escaped took their flight several ways. The number of the dead on both sides was adjudged to amount to fifty thousand, and that of the Prisoners more than eight thousand: of which the greatest part being Samnites, *Sylla* caused them all to be slain by his Bowmen. On the morrow, *Marcus* and *Carinas* being taken in their flight, *Sylla* pardoned them not, though his Fellow Citizens, but causing their Heads to be cut off, sent them to *Lucretius* to be carried about the Walls of *Præneste*. When the Besieged saw them, and understood that all

Carbo's

Carbo's forces were lost, that *Norbannus* was fled from *Italy*; and in a word, that the City it self was in *Sylla's* power, they yielded up the place. *Marius* run into a Mine to hide, but there soon after flew himself. His Head was carried to *Sylla*, who set it up before the Tribunal for Orations, with some Railleries about the Consuls Age, who ought to have exercised himself at the Oar before he took the Helm. *Lucretius* become Master of *Præneste*, found there many Senators; some of which he caused to be slain, others he put in Prison, till *Sylla* coming upon the place, put them likewise to death: For the Soldiers, he caused them to march into the Field unarmed; and after having picked out some that had served him, he divided the others into three Bands; the Romans were set in one place, the Samnites in another, and the *Prænestines* in a third: Then he caused the Romans to be told by Cryers, that they had deserved death, but however he pardoned them; the rest were all slain, only the Women and Children were saved; and the City, which was one of the richest of those times, was plundered. *Præneste* being treated in this manner, yet the City of *Norba* held out stoutly, till such time as *Emilius Lepidus* getting in one night by Treason, the Inhabitants mad with rage and despight, found a way to die; some by their own Swords, others mutually killed each other, others died by strangling, and some, after having shut fast the Doors of their houses, set fire to them; which inflamed by a suddain Wind, at once devoured them and all that should have been the Soldiers Prey. The taking of *Norba* put an end to this War, which had been the occasion of so many miseries to both sides, and by Fire and Sword to all *Italy*. And now, the better to secure the Victorious Party, *Sylla's* Lieutenants went through all the Towns, and placed Garrisons in such as were suspected; and *Pompey* had Commission to go and pursue the Remainder of the War in *Africa* against *Carbo*, and in *Sicily* against those still held his Party.

XXII.

Sylla now become Master of *Rome*, called an Assembly of the People; where having spoken haughtily of his Actions, and said a great many things to strike terror into the People, he concluded his Discourse with saying he would make the people's condition better than it was, so they would obey him, but he would pardon none of his Enemies; on the contrary, there should be no Punishment nor Calamity which he would not make them undergo: And since *Scipio* had broke his Word with him, would likewise do all he could to destroy those had favoured the contrary Party, without sparing Pretors, Questors or Tribunes. The Assembly was scarce broke up, but he proscribed forty Senators and sixteen hundred Knights; for it is said that he was the first Inventor of the Proscription of Heads, and the first that proposed Rewards to Murderers and Discoverers of those Unfortunate Wretches that hid themselves, and decreed Penalties against those who discovered them not. Some time after he added likewise other Senators to the number of the Proscribed; some of which were slain before they heard any thing of it, in whatsoever place they were found; in the Streets, in their Houses, in the Temples. They hanged several whom they came and threw dead at *Sylla's* feet; they dragged along others, set their feet upon their Throats, whilst at all these horrible Spectacles no one durst say a word. Some they drove from the City, despoiled others of their Goods: And those sent into the Country to search for them that fled, ran up and down every where, searched in every hole, and murdered as many as they could find. The Allies who had obeyed the Orders of *Carbo*, *Norbannus* or *Marius*, or their Lieutenants, fared no better; all places were filled with Massacres,

eres, Plundring and Banishment. Throughout all *Italy* they set themselves to inform of these things, as of greate crimes, to be severely punished, who had born Arms, commanded Troops, furnished Money, or done any Service against *Sylla*, though it were but giving Counsel to his Enemies ; so that Men accused their Hosts, their Friends, their Creditors and their Debtors. Some were made criminal for only having given some relief to those of the contrary Faction, and some for but travelling upon the Road with them. But above all, the rich Men were in greatest danger. After the Acculations against particular Persons were over, *Sylla* undertook to punish whole Bodies of People, which he did in divers manners ; he demolished the Forts and rased the Walls of some, layed great Fines upon others, tormented others with cruel Exactions, transplanted others to another Country, that he might give their Lands to his Soldiers who had served him in the War ; to the end, that they being planted in the most commodious places of *Italy*, might reduce all people under his Obedience ; which fixed the Soldiery to his Interest for the whole Course of their life : For they knew they could not maintain themselves in those Inheritances, unless all that *Sylla* had done stood good ; and therefore were always ready to maintain his Authority, even after his death. Whilst these things passed in *Italy*, *Carbo*, who had escaped out of *Africa* into *Sicily*, with many Persons of Quality, was taken flying from thence to *Corcyra* by people sent after him by *Pompey*, with Orders to kill all the rest, without permitting them to see him ; but for *Carbo*, though he had been three times Consul, he suffered him to lie bound at his feet ; where, after he had said a thousand cruel things, he caused him to be put to death, and sent his head to *Sylla*. After he had thus treated his Enemies to his hearts content, so that there remained none of the contrary Faction but *Sertorius*, and he a great way off, he sent *Metellus* into *Spain* against him, and began to dispose of the Affairs of the City at his pleasure. There being now no regard to the Laws, or Votes, or any of the ancient Formalities ; all people hiding themselves for fear, or at least holding their peace, the People and Senate of *Rome* ratified all that *Sylla* had done, as well in his Charge of Consul as in the Quality of Pro-Consul ; and caused to be erected for him in the place for Orations a guilt Statue on Horse-back, with this Inscription.

*To CORNELIUS SYLLA, Emperor
the Happy.*

For his Flatterers called him happy, because of the continual Success of his Arms against his Enemies ; and it was only Flattery gave him that Sir-name. I my self found in certain Memoirs, that in the same Sessions of the Senate, they gave him the Title of THE GRACIOUS ; which I the easier believe because himself afterwards took the name of FOELIX, not much different in signification from that of GRACIOUS. There was likewise found an Oracle which confirmed him in the Resolution of undertaking all these things ; and ran thus,

*Believe, brave Roman, Venus guides thy Fate,
 Knowing thee sprung from Great Aeneas Line :
 By mighty Actions then advance thy State,
 Sure of Assistance from the Powers Divine.
 But let not Gods their Favours cast away ;
 Delphian Apollo waits for Gifts of thine.
 And when War brings thee to Mount Taurus, pay
 A Golden Axe to Carian, Venus Shrine.*

However it were or whoever it was that wrote either of these two Epithites on his Statue, in my Opinion good Raillery might be made of either. But they stopped not here to gain the good Grace of the Conqueror ; they sent to that place an Axe with a Crown of Gold, and put on it this Inscription.

*Great Venus, let this Gift Acceptance meet,
 Which Sylla, head of Rome, lays at thy Feet,
 Dreaming he saw thee ready for the Fight :
 Provoke his Soldiers to maintain his Right.*

Being then in Effect King or Tyrant, since he mounted not to this Supreme Power by the consent of the People, or the Authority of the Senate, but by force ; yet standing in need of some pretence, that he might seem lawfully elected, he made use of this Artifice.

XXIII. Formerly in Rome the most vertuous were Kings ; and when any King died, the Senators by turns from five days to five days presided over the Government of the Commonwealth, till such time as another, elected by the Votes of the people, succeeded in the Kingdom ; and this Five Days-Magistrate was called *Inter-rex*. Afterwards when the Republick was governed by Consuls, instead of Kings ; only those Consuls going out of Office, had Right to call an Assembly for the naming new ; and if by any Accident they happened to be wanting, they created an *Inter-rex* to preside in the Assembly. According to this custom Sylla took the occasion now there were no Consuls in the Commonwealth, Carbo being cut off in Sicily, and Marius in Praeneste ; and retiring for some time out of the City, sent word to the Senate, they should create an *Inter-rex*. The Senate having received his Orders, gave that Dignity to *Valerius Flaccus* ; hoping that by this means they should soon have an Assembly for the Election of new Consuls. But Sylla writ to *Flaccus*, to acquaint the Senate from him, that the present Estate of Affairs required they should name a Dictator ; not for a certain time, as the ancient Custom which had lasted four hundred years required ; but till the Affairs of the City, of Italy, and of the whole Empire, which till now had been shaken with continual Wars, were settled and put in better order. There is no doubt this new Proposition meant only himself, and indeed he was not shy in shewing he desired it ; for in the end of the Letter he wrote, that if the Fathers thought good, he offered himself to render that Service to the Commonwealth. When this Letter was read in the City, the Senate and people of Rome were grievously perplexed : They saw now they must no more hope for a lawful Assembly, and that they were no longer Masters ; wherefore under the Mask of an Assembly, they willingly accepted of this false Appearance of Liberty, granted them, and created

Sylla

Sylla Tyrant, with an absolute Power for as long time as he pleased ; for formerly the Dictatorship was a bounded Tyranny, for a certain time of short continuance : But having taken away these Bounds, there wanted nothing to make it an accomplished Tyranny. Yet they gave him a more honest name ; saying, that he was created Dictator to make such Laws as he should judge profitable to the Commonwealth, and to apply necessary Orders. Thus the People of *Rome*, who had been under the Dominion of Kings about a hundred *Olympiads* ; and almost as long under Popular Government, where Consuls presided, and changed every Year ; returned under a Form of Royalty in the Seventy fifth *Olympiad* of the Greeks : there was now no fighting at the *Olympick* Games, nor any other Exercise but running : For *Sylla*, after the War with *Mithridates* was ended, and the Intestine Disorders appeased, sent for all the Combatants, and whatever else could give any pleasure to the City, under pretence to recreate the people, wearied with so many Toyls. And that he might not seem to incroach upon the ancient form of Government, he permitted the People to chuse Consuls. They gave that Dignity to *M. Tullius* and *Cornelius Dolobellus*, but he, in Quality of Dictator, reigned absolutely, even over the Consuls themselves ; for they carried before him four and twenty Axes, as they did before the other Dictators, and as formerly before the Kings ; and he always went encompassed with Guards : Besides, he cancelled Laws, and made new ones. Among others he made one, by which he enacted, that none for the future should receive the Office of Prætor till he had been Quæstor, nor be Consul till he had been Prætor, nor obtain one Dignity twice until ten years after he had exercised it. As for the Tribuneship, he so enfeebled it, that it seemed quite under foot ; making a Law, by which it was enacted, that after being Tribune, no Man should be admitted to any other Dignity ; so that no Person either of Quality, or desirous of Honour, would accept that Charge. Yet it is not positively certain whether it was he that transferred it from the People's Choice to the Senate's, as it is at present. However it were, seeing the Senators reduced to a small number by reason of the Tumults and Wars, he added three hundred, whom he took from the principal Cavaliers ; yet not till having first demanded the Suffrage of the Assembly for each of them. He augmented likewise the number of the People with all the Slaves of the Proscripts, whom he found well made, and in the Flower of their Age, to the number of ten thousand ; first giving them their Liberty, then the Right of Freedom, with the name of Cornelians, as their Benefactor. Thus he had always ten thousand Citizens ready at the first beck. And to make himself Creatures throughout all *Italy*, he divided, as hath been said, among twenty three Legions great Parcels of Land, part Publick, and part confiscated from the Cities who favoured the contrary Party. But he was so terrible hasty and cholerick upon the least occasion, that he caused *Lucretius Offella*, who took *Præneste*, and gave the last stroke to the War, to be slain in the midst of the place, because being only of the Order of Knights, and having never past the Degrees of Quæstor or Prætor, against the new Law, he stood for the Consulate, contrary to the Dictator's mind, and in despite of those warnings he had given him to desist the pursuit of it ; grounding himself upon this, that he had served him well in his War. After this Action, he thus spoke in full Assembly ;

The Oration of Sylla.

K Now, Gentlemen, and take my Word for it, that Lucretius was slain by my Order, because he would not do what I commanded him. Then he added this Fable; *A Labourer troubled with Lice that bit him as he wrought, twice interrupted his Work, to search his Shirt; but finding they bit still, he pulls off his Shirt, and throws it into the Fire. This I tell you, that the Vanquished may be advised, lest Fire be the Punishment of their third Relapse.*

So that having terrified them by this discourse, he rendered them ever after absolutely submissive to his Will and Command. After this he triumphed for the Victory obtained against *Mithridates*; and in time of Triumph all men having liberty to say what they please, there were some gibeing People that called his Government a disavowed Royalty; because, though he was King in effect, yet he would not take the Title: Others, on the contrary, called it by its proper name, that is to say, a manifest Tyranny. This City being fallen into this sad degree of Misery by the Civil War, and *Italy* in like manner: The Provinces were not exempt, some having been ruined either by the Pyrates or by *Mithridates*, or by *Sylla*; others almost undone by new Imposts, after the Publick Treasure had been exhausted by the continual Seditions. For all Nations, all Kings in Amity, all Cities; not only those Tributary, but likewise the Allies, and those that for Services done the State had been made free: In a Word, all that depended on the Roman Empire, were constrained to pay Tribute, and submit to the Will of *Sylla*; in so much that some places, to which by solemn Treaties they had granted Ports and Lands, were not exempt. We have elsewhere spoke of a certain *Alexander*, Son to another *Alexander*, King of *Egypt*; who being bred up in the Isle of *Coos*, the Inhabitants delivered him to *Mithridates*: Now this *Alexander* flying for Refuge to *Sylla*, and gaining his favour, he gave him to *Alexandria* for their King, under pretence that there were no more Males of the Royal Line, and that the Daughters of the Blood-Royal could not marry, unless to one of their Kin; and indeed, out of hope to draw good store of Money out of so rich a Kingdom. But when this new King, upheld by *Sylla*'s Favour, began to reign too insolently, the Alexandrians drew him out of his Palace on the nineteenth day of his Reign and slew him in the midst of the Place for Exercises; so much boldness they still had, either because of their vast Riches, or because they were ignorant of the Calamities of other Nations, of which they had no experience.

- XXIV. The Year following *Sylla*, though Dictator, permitted the making of Consuls, to represent some Form of a Commonwealth; and was himself Colleague with *Metellus Pius*: From whence perhaps that Custom took Birth, which is to this day practised by the Roman Emperors; who have the power to create Consuls at their pleasure, to take that Honour to themselves, and think it a fine thing to join the Consulship to the Sovereign Authority. The Year following, the People, to flatter *Sylla*, having offered him the Consulate, he would not accept it, but gave that Dignity to *Servilius*

lius Isaurius and *Claudius Pulcher*. And for his part, not long after he deposed himself voluntarily from his Dictatorship, without any Man's proposing it to him : Which certainly appears to me a thing worthy of all Admiration, that this man, the most powerful of the Age he lived in, should of his own accord quit so great an Empire ; not to his Son, as *Ptolemy* in *Egypt*, *Ariobarzanes* in *Cappadocia*, and *Seleucus* in *Syria* ; but in favour of those over whom he had exercised an insupportable Tyranny, and indeed it seems quite contrary to Reason ; for why so much Toyl and Labour ? Why expose himself to so many dangers, to raise him to this high Authority ? Only to lay it down by his own Free Will. And I wonder no less at this ; that *Rome* being still peopled, after having lost more than a hundred thousand Men in this War, of whom ninety were Senators of the contrary faction, fifteen Consulars, two thousand six hundred Knights, comprizing those banished of that Order, whose Goods had been confiscated, and many of their Bodies left without Burial. *Sylla*, notwithstanding finding himself in Security both at home and abroad ; without fearing those whole Forts he had demolished, whose Walls he had thrown down, whose Goods he had pillaged, whose Immunities he had deprived them of, returns of himself to the Condition of a Private Man, such was his Boldness or his good Fortune. It is said, that when he deposed himself from his Dictatorship, in the middle of the place he cryed aloud, that he was ready to render an Account of his Actions to any one that demanded it, and at the same time sending away his Lictors with their Axes, dismissed his Guards, and walked yet a long time with some few of his friends only, before all the Multitude, astonished at this Change as at a prodigy. In the Evening he returned to his house, none presenting themselves to complain against him ; save one young Fellow, who not being hindred by any, had the Impudence to revile him with words : And he who had poured out his Anger against so great men, and against whole Cities, suffered with patience the reproaches of this Correction, by saying as he went into his house, either by natural Foresight or Inspiration from above ; *This Boy will be the occasion, that if any after me obtains the like Dignity, they will never lay it down.* The Event of which Prediction soon after happened : For *Cesar* mounted to a like Estate, would not descend. *Sylla* then immoderate (at least in my Opinion) in all he desired, being by the favour of Fortune, from a private man become a Monarch ; would from a Monarch become a private man, and spend the rest of his life in the Country. So retiring to an Estate near *Cuma*, he divertized himself with Fishing and Hunting, not that he was weary of a private life in the City, or need be troubled for want of Armies to Command, if he had a desire to undertake any thing, for he was yet young and vigorous , and had throughout all *Italy* about Sixscore Thousand Men bred up in Fighting under his Banners, and who possessed Lands and great Estates by his Liberality ; besides the Ten Thousand *Cornelians* of the City fixed to his Interest, with those of his Faction who all together hated and feared by the contrary Party, and could no way hope to avoid the revenge of those mischiefs they had done to others, but by his preservation. But I believe that finding himself glutted with Wars, and Dominion, and City Affairs, he began to love a Country life. After that he had laid down the Sovereign Power, the people seeing themselves delivered from Tyranny, and from the fear wherein they lived, suffered themselves by little and little to be carried on to new seditious, matter to which was furnished by the Consuls themselves, *Catulus* one of them was of *Sylla's* faction, and his Colleague

Emilius

Emilius Lepidus on the contrary party, they mortally hated each other ; and from the beginning of their Consulate, so little concord was perceived between them then, that no man doubted but their division would cause new miseries in the Common-wealth. Mean while *Sylla* retired in his solitude, dream'd one night that Destiny called him ; wherefore as soon as it was light he rose, and after having told his Friends his Dream, that day made his Will, which was no sooner sealed, but the Fever seized him, so that the night following was the last of his life. His death immediately gave occasion of new troubles ; for one side were of opinion, that his Body should be carried in Funeral Pomp through *Italy*, and so being brought to the City, they should give him Burial in the place at the publick Expence : which *Lepidus* and those of his Faction opposed : however *Catulus* and *Sylla's* Party carried it. So his Body was brought through *Italy* upon a Litter all covered with Gold, and adorned with Royal Ornaments, before which marched at the sound of a great many Trumpets Men carrying Axes and other Ensigns of the Dictatorship : the Light Horse, and Men at Arms armed Cap-a-pee followed next all about the Litter, which was followed by his Lieutenants and Tribunes in Arms, all following each other in their Order and Degree to honour his Funerals. The People likewise ran in from all parts in such vast numbers, that never were such crowds seen ; but when the Corps entered the City, the Pomp augmented much, before were carried above two thousand Crowns of Gold, which the Cities and Legions which he had commanded, and his own particular Friends had caused to be made to present him with : besides there were many other Magnificencies not to be expressed ; and because there was some reason to fear for the great concourse of Soldiery which were in the City, endeavours were used to bring things in order. The Corps then being conducted by the Priests and Vestals, each in their degree, after them marched all the Senate with the Officers, adorned with marks of their Dignity, next a Troop of Roman Knights, and at last a multitude of Soldiers that had served under him ; for upon the report of his death they made all the haste they could to come to his Funerals, with gilt Ensigns and Bucklers inlaid with Silver, as the fashion is at this day. There were likewise between distance and distance Trumpets that sounded some mournful air. There was nothing heard but fortunate acclamations of the Senate, Knights, Soldiers and People. Some lamented *Sylla*, others feared him yet, though dead, and the present spectacle did not terrifie them less than the remembrance of his past actions ; so that his Friends and Enemies remained of accord in this, that to the last day of his life he was useful to the one, and dreadful to the other : his Corps being set down in the place for Orations, the most eloquent Orator of the Age, mounting the Tribunal, made his Funeral Oration, because his Son *Faustus* was not yet of age to pay him that Office. After the Oration, some of the strongest Senators took the Litter upon their Shoulders, and carried it to the Field of *Mars*, where they had been accustomed to give Rights of Sepulture to none but Kings, and whilst the Corps burnt, the Knights and all the Soldiery kept marching round about the Pile.

XXV.

Scarce were *Sylla's* Funeral Ceremonies finished, but the Consuls, as they returned began to quarrel with each other, and the people of the City were divided in their favour. *Lepidus*, to curry favour with the people of *Italy*, having said, That he would restore them the Lands *Sylla* had taken away ; whereupon the Senate, who feared them both, obliged them to promise

promise upon oath they would not take up Arms. Mean while, *Lepidus*, to whom *Gallia Cisalpina* fell, in dividing the Provinces, staid till after the Assembly for election of Magistrates, as if the year of his Consulate being past, he had been discharged from his Oath, and free to make War upon *Sylla's* Party. But his Designs being known to all the world, the Fathers sent him command to return to the City, and he knowing the cause of his revocation, sets forward with all his Forces, with a resolution to enter *Rome* with them, which being forbid him, he causes his command to be proclaimed in the City for all those of his Party to take up Arms. *Catulus* on his part does the like, so there was a Battel fought between them, a little distance from the Field of *Mars*. *Lepidus* was defeated, and forced to fly into *Sardinia*, where he died of Sicknes; and his Army, after having troubled and over-run some places of *Italy*, mouldred away by little and little, what remained of it was carried by *Perpenna* to *Sertorius* into *Spain*, who being the only General remaining of all *Sylla's* Enemies, made yet eight years War upon the Romans; they had a vast trouble to put an end to this War, having not only the Spaniards to deal with, but likewise their own Citizens under the conduct of *Sertorius*, who having obtained the Government of that Province in the time he commanded *Carbo's* Forces against *Sylla*, had retired into *Spain* in Quality of Prætor, after having taken *Suessa* during the Truce. This Government was disputed with him by those that commanded, for they were of *Sylla's* Party, but he having joyned with those Forces he led out of *Italy* some Auxiliaries of the Celtiberians drove them out, and *Metellus* himself being by *Sylla* sent against him, he defended himself generously. At length his valour having gained him a fair reputation, he formed a Council of three hundred of his Friends, which he called a Senate, in derision to that at *Rome*. *Sylla* being dead, and some time after him *Lepidus*, *Sertorius* recruited with the Forces brought him by *Perpenna*, thought himself in a condition to march into *Italy*, and possibly he had done it, if the Senate, who were fearful of it, had not sent *Pompey* with a new Army to joyn the first: *Pompey* was yet but a young man, but already in high esteem for those brave things he had done under *Sylla* in *Africa*, and likewise in *Italy*: so he undertook this Expedition with great courage, and to pass the *Alpes* after the example of *Hannibal*, he made a new way between the Springs of the *Po* and the *Rhofne*, which are separated one from the other only by some small Mountains, from whence these two Rivers go to discharge themselves in two different Seas, the *Rhofne* into the Tyrrhene Sea, taking its course through the Transalpine Gaul, and *Po* into the bottom of the Adriatick Gulf, gliding along the Cisalpine Gaul. As soon as he got to *Spain* he lost a Legion, which he had sent to convoy his Foragers Beasts of Loading, and Boys; nor could he hinder *Sertorius* from taking and pillaging the Town of *Aurona* in the sight of him. In the taking of this Town a certain Woman, exceeding the ordinary strength of her Sex, with her Fingers thrust out the eyes of a man that would have ravished her, which coming to *Sertorius's* knowledge, he put the whole Cohort to death, though they were all Romans, because they had already committed the like crimes. Hereupon, Winter being come, the two Armies separated; but at the beginning of the Spring they again took the Field. *Metellus* and *Pompey* setting forth from the Pyrenean Hills where they kept their Winter Quarters, and *Sertorius* and *Perpenna* from **Lusitania*, they met near *Sacrona*, and gave Battel: where as they were hotly engaged, there not being a Cloud to be seen just before, on a sudden the Air was full of Thunder and Lightning, which would have passed for a Predigy with some o-

ther

† Norvicia.

ther Armies; but these being all old Soldiers minded it not, nor did it hinder them from making a great Butchery on one side and the other: *Metellus* having defeated *Perpenna*, pillaged his Camp; but on the other Wing *Sertorius* having wounded *Pompey* on the Thigh with a Javelin, routed him, so that it is incertain which side had the better. *Sertorius* had a tame white Hind which had used to go at liberty in the Fields, she having been some days wanting, he counted it an ill presage, and as long as he thought her lost, would not fight with the Enemy, who scoffed at him; but seeing her come running to him, he took the Field, and rejoycing at her return as a good Augur, began himself the Skirmish. Short time after there was another great Battel fought near † *Saguntum*, which lasted from Morning to Evening, without advantage on one part or the other: but at last *Pompey* was fain to yield, after having lost six thousand Men, and *Sertorius* three thousand; and for *Metellus*, he likewise cut in pieces five thousand of *Perpenna's* Men. The next day *Sertorius* taking along with him a great number of Barbarians, went in the Evening to assault *Metellus* his Camp, who doubted of no such thing; and he had certainly forced it, if *Pompey* bringing timely relief had not put him by his Enterprize. Mean while, the Summer being slipped away, both Armies parted, and went to their Winter Quarters. The year following, which agrees with the hundred seventy sixth Olympiad, the Roman Empire encreased two Provinces by the last Testament of two Kings, *Nicomedes* having left to the Romans *Bythia*, and *Ptolemy* surnamed *Apion*, of the Race of the *Lagides*, the Province of *Cyrene*: but they had likewise great Wars; in *Spain* this we are now speaking of; in the East with *Mithridates*; over all the Sea with the Pyrates; about *Crete* with the Inhabitants of the Island, and in *Italy* against the Gladiators, who rose all upon a sudden, and gave them a great deal of trouble. Though they had so many Affairs upon their Hands, yet they forbore not to send to the Army they had in *Spain* two Legions, which being arrived, *Metellus* and *Pompey* came down from the Pyrenean Mountains; and *Sertorius* and *Perpenna* left *Portugal* to go meet them; when they drew near, a great number of *Sertorius's* Soldiers went and yielded to *Metellus*, which so angered *Sertorius*, that he treated many others with great cruelty, and by his ill conduct got the hate of all the rest. But the greatest complaint his Army made against him, was, that instead of Romans he had taken Celtiberians for his Guard, and chose rather to trust his person with Strangers than those of his own Nation. They could not endure to be accused of inndelity, though they bore Arms under an Enemy of the Roman People; and that which troubled them the more, was, that he, for whose sake they had been perfidious to their Country, would not trust them; besides they thought it very unjust, that they should be punished for Runaways, they who had kept constant to their duty. Moreover, this gave occasion to the Celtiberians to tell them upon all occasions, that they doubted of their fidelity. However, *Sertorius* was not quite forsaken, the Soldiers standing in need of such a General; for indeed there was not any in this age more successful, nor that better understood War: wherefore the Celtiberians because of his activity and diligence, called him *Hannibal*!, whom they esteemed the most hardy and most prudent General of all the Earth. Upon these wavering inclinations of *Sertorius's* Army, *Metellus* went daily out in parties, and never returned without bringing in whole Troops of Prisoners: and *Pompey* besieging *Palenza* had undermined the Walls, so that they were only supported by Stanchions of Timber; but *Sertorius* coming on, he was forced to raise his Siege, and the besiegers having set fire

fire to the Stanchions, retreated with *Metellus*. *Sertorius* having repaired that part of the Wall that was fallen, set himself to pursue the Enemies; and overtook them on the Borders of *Calagya*, and slew three thousand Men, and this was all passed in *Spain* this year. In the beginning of the next the Roman Generals finding themselves the stronger, assailed without fear those Cities that held on *Sertorius's* Party, whose Affairs were now in an ill condition, and their first successes having heightened their courage, they made great progress, yet there was no set Battel; but having continued the War till the next year, they began to despise *Sertorius* in such manner, that they wasted all his Province. For when he saw fortune had turned her back to him he gave ground too, and abandoned himself in such manner to the pleasure of Wine and Women, that he never afterwards engaged the Enemy but he was beaten. He grew likewise extremely chole-
rick, his passion took fire on the least suspicion, punishing with cruelty, and confiding in no man; so that *Perpenna*, who after *Lepidus's* Death was come of his own accord to joyn him with considerable Forces, began to fear, and having suborned ten Soldiers, took a resolution to destroy him, but the conspiracy was discovered, some of the Conspirators punished with death, and others escaped by flight, *Perpenna* was so fortunate beyond his own hopes, as not to be comprised in the accusation, which hastened so much the more the loss of *Sertorius*; for seeing he never went unguarded, he invited him to a Feast, where, after having made him drunk, and his Guards too, he executed his enterprize. The Soldiers at the first knowledge of it detested the Parricide, and changed into good will all the hatred they bore *Sertorius*, as ordinarily all anger is appeased by the death of him from whom we believe we have received an offence, they now stood no longer in fear of him, and compassion recalled into their minds the memory of his virtue: besides, they considered the danger to which they were now exposed to, *Perpenna* was despised by them as a vulgar man; whereas they believed, that on *Sertorius's* valour only depended the safety of the whole Army. In this general hate of *Perpenna* the Barbarians were most violent, especially the Portugals, for whom the dead General had always a particular esteem. But when after opening his Will they found his Murderer amongst his Heirs, it is scarce possible to believe, how much it added to their horror of this Villany, committed upon the person, not only of his General, but likewise of his Friend and Benefactor. And possibly they had done him some violence, if he had not appeased them, some with gifts, and some with promises, and killed some with his own hands to strike terrour into others. He went likewise from City to City, making Orations to the people; and to gain their good Will set at liberty those *Sertorius* had laid in Irons, and returned the Hostages he had taken from the Spaniards. These good deeds sweetened in some measure the minds of men; so that they obeyed him in quality of Prætor, and Successor to *Sertorius*; but yet they were not quite appeased: for as soon as he saw himself settled, he grew extraordinary cruel, killing three Roman Gentlemen had fled to him for Refuge, and putting to death his Brother's Son. After *Sertorius's* death, *Metellus* withdrew to the other side of *Spain*, thinking there was no danger in leaving *Pompey* alone to deal with *Perpenna*. They several times engaged, and for divers days skirmished together to try their Men, but the two Armies stirred not till on the tenth day, when they had a Battel: both one Party and the other thinking it convenient to come to an end of the business: for *Pompey* slighted *Perpenna*, whom he thought no great Captain; and *Perpenna* fearing lest his men would not long continue in good order and

duty, made as much haste as he could to try the fortune of Arms. The Fight was not long, *Pompey* having to deal with an ordinary Captain, and an Army weak and discontented, soon got the advantage : so that scarce any Stand being made, *Perpenna* took his flight in disorder, and fearing to fall either into his Enemies, or his own mens hands, he hid himself in a Thicket, from whence he was pulled out by some Horsemen that found him. The Soldiers began to revile him, calling him the Murderer of *Sertorius*; and he began to cry out aloud, that he had many things to discover to *Pompey*, touching the Seditions of the City, whether it were true, or only an invention to make them carry him alive before *Pompey*. But *Pompey* commanded them to dispatch him before he saw him; for fear lest if he told them any new thing it might occasion fresh calamities in the City; and surely he did prudently; and all men praised his discretion. Thus the death of *Sertorius* put an end to the Wars of *Spain*, which certainly had lasted longer, and not been so easily determined, had he longer lived.

XXVI.

About the same time *Spartacus* a Thracian by Nation, who had formerly born Arms in the Roman Militia, and was now a Captive in *Capua* to serve as a Gladiator, perswaded about seventy of his Comrades to fight rather for their own liberty, than to please the Spectators, and breaking Prison he gave them such Arms as he took from Passengers, and went and posted himself on Mount *Vesuvius*. Store of fugitive Slaves, and likewise some free people of the Country flocking to him upon the news of his Revolt, he received them, and began to make Incursions and Robberies in the Neighbouring Places, he made *Oenomaus* and *Crixus* two Gladiators his Lieutenants, and because he equally divided the Prey among his Companions, in a short time he gathered together so great Forces, that first *Varinius Glaber* and then *P. Valerius* being sent against him not with formed Bodies, but such men as they could get together as they passed along, were beaten : for the Roman People esteemed these only a concourse of Thieves, and not worth the name of a War. *Spartacus* in the Fight took *Varinius's* Horse, and there mist little but that the Gladiator had taken the Pretor. After these Victories such multitudes came in to him, that he soon beheld seventy thousand Men under his Command. He then set himself to provide Arms, and to make great Preparations; so that the Consuls were sent against him with two Legions, one of which engaging with *Crixus* near Mount * *Gorgannus*, the Gladiator was killed with thirty thousand of his Men, scarce a third part of his Army escaping: *Spartacus* having taken his March by the *Aventine* to gain the *Alpes*, and thence pass into *Gaul*, one of the Consuls got before him to stop his passage, and the other Consul followed him at the Heels. He fell upon them one after the other, and made them give ground, and indeed put them to flight, in which the Vanquisher having taken three hundred Roman Prisoners, he cut their Throats, and offered them in sacrifice to *Crixus's* Ghost, his forces being afterwards swelled to sixscore thousand Men, he marched directly towards the City, and to make the quicker way, caused all the Baggages to be burnt, his Prisoners murdered, and his Beasts of Loading slain. Upon the way several Runaways offered themselves to him, but he would accept of none. And when the Consuls to stop his March, engaged him once more in the Country of † *Picene*, he defeated them with a great loss of their Men. However, he changed his design of going to the City, because he found himself too weak, his Army not being sufficiently furnished with all things necessary for War: for he was not aided by any Commonalty; and all his Forces were com-

* Mount S. Angelo.

† Marshes of Ancona.

posed of fugitive Slaves and Runnagate People. He went therefore and seized upon the Mountains, and likewise of the City of *Turme*, and caused Proclamation to be made, that he forbid all sorts of Merchants to bring any Gold or Silver into the Camp, and all Soldiers to keep any: so with what they had they bought Iron and Copper, without doing any wrong to those which brought it; and by this means they got together abundance of Materials, with which they fixed themselves up Arms of all sorts. Mean while they went dayly out a skirmishing, and having once more encountered the Romans, gained the Victory, together with a good store of Spoil and Booty. It was now three years that this formidable War had lasted, which only for having contemned it at first, because of the meanness of the Authors of it, was so prodigiously augmented, and withal the ancient Roman Valour was so bastardised, that when the Assembly was held for naming of Prætors, there was none found that demanded that Dignity, till *Licinius Crassus* a man of Quality, and mighty rich, resolved to accept of the Pretorship offered; and with six other Legions marched against *Spartacus*, there were joyned to him the other two Legions which the Consuls had, but he first decimated them as a punishment of those shameful losses they had suffered: though some say, that going to assault the Enemies with all the Legions together, and being beaten by their fault, he then decimated them without considering the great number of Men, amounting to no less than four thousand by which he weakened his Army. However it were, after having managed so his Affairs, that his own men were more afraid of him, than of the Enemy: ten thousand of *Spartacus's* Army being encamped severally, he fell suddenly upon them, and made so great a slaughter, that scarce a third part escaped into the Grofs, commanded by their Captain. Soon after he undertook *Spartacus* himself, defeated him, and drove him to the Sea side, where, as he laid a design to get over into *Sicily*, to hinder him, he shut him up with a Circumvallation he drew round his Camp, with a Ditch and Palisade. *Spartacus* seeing himself invested, endeavoured to break his way out, to get into the Country of the * Samnites, but *Crassus* made him turn in again, after having killed him six thousand Men in a Morning, and as many in the Evening, with the loss of only three of his own, and seven wounded, so much did the recent memory of their chastisement contribute to the Victory. After which *Spartacus*, who expected some Horse which were to come to him from elsewhere, durst no more engage with all his Forces, but contented himself to incommode the Besiegers with frequent sallies, which he made sometimes on one side, and sometimes on another, and with throwing flaming Faggots into the Ditch, to burn the Palisade, and hinder the Work. Mean while he caused one of the Roman Prisoners to be hanged up in the middle of the Place between his Camp and *Crassus's* Trenches, to let his men know what they were to trust to, if they did not gain the Victory. The news of this cruelty coming to the City, moved their spirits to indignation, that a War should last so long against Gladiators. So that judging the Remains of it were not despicable, they gave order to *Pompey*, newly returned from *Spain*, to go thither. But *Crassus* fearing lest *Pompey* should carry away all the Glory of the end of this War, did all that he could possible to draw *Spartacus* quickly to a Fight. On the other side, *Spartacus*, who thought it not convenient to stay *Pompey's* coming, sent to demand peace from *Crassus*, which being refused him as a thing unworthy the Grandeur of *Rome*, and some Horse being come to him, he resolved to try the fortune of a Battel, and having with all his Army forced the Circumvallation, he took his way towards

Pompey, pursued by *Crassus*: but when he understood that *Lucullus* returning to *Rome* after his Victory against *Mithridates*, was landed, he lost all hope of Retreat, and drew his Forces (which were yet numerous) into *Bithynia*. The Fight was very fierce, *Crassus* having to deal with so many that kind desperate people, till such time as *Spartacus* wounded in the Thigh with a Javelin, fell upon his Knees, where still he defended himself for a while, covered with his Buckler, but at last was killed with all that were fighting about him, all the rest were presently routed, and there was so great a Butchery, that the dead could hardly be counted, nor could they find the body of *Spartacus*. The Romans lost scarce a thousand men. Those that remained of *Spartacus's* Men fled to the Mountains, whither *Crassus* having followed them, to give the last stroke to the Victory, they formed of what were left forty Battalions, and in that posture yet defended themselves valiantly, till they were all killed, save six thousand, who were afterwards hanged along the way between *Capua* and *Rome*. *Crassus* having done all this in six Months, thought now he yielded nothing to *Pompey* in Glory, and kept his Army as well as he. They both demanded the Consulate, *Crassus* having passed the charge of Pretor according to *Sylla's* Law, whereas *Pompey* had neither been Pretor nor so much as Questor, and not above four and thirty years old, but he promised the Tribunes to re-establish their ancient power. Thus these two Generals designed Consuls, did not dismiss their Armies, but kept them near the City, and shewed their reasons for it, *Pompey* that he waited for *Metellus*, who ought to triumph at his return from *Spain*; and *Crassus* that *Pompey* ought first to dismiss his Forces. Now the people seeing this difference tended to new Dissentions, and that the City was besieged by two Armies, besought the Consuls who were eminently seated in the view of all in the great place, to be reconciled, at first both the one and the other rejected their Prayers; but when the Divines told them that the City was threatened with great miseries if the Consuls did not agree, the people weeping, and casting themselves upon their Knees, renewed the same entreaties, for they had not yet lost the memory of those miseries caused by the Dissentions of *Sylla* and *Marinus*. Hereupon *Crassus* beginning first to be moved, rises from his Seat, and goes to present his hand to his Colleague, as a sign of reconciliation: the other rising likewise went to meet him, and having joyned hands, all the people made acclamations of joy, wishing them all happiness; so that before the Assembly broke up, both Consuls dismissed their Armies. Thus was the Common-wealth happily delivered from the fear of a Civil War. And this happened sixty years after the death of *Tiberius Gracchus* the first mover of Seditions.

The End of the First Book of the Second Part.

A P P I A N
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars
OF
R O M E.

PART II.

BOOK II.

The Argument of this Book.

- I. **C**atiline's Conspiracy. II. Cæsar returned from Spain, renounces the Triumph, and obtains the Consulate by the means of Crassus and Pompey. III. During his Consulate he endeavours to get the favour of the People and Knights, and obtains the Government of Gaul. IV. Cicero banished by

by Clodius, and recalled by the favour of Pompey. V. Pompey underhand foments the Disorders of the Commonwealth, to oblige the Citizens to create him Dictator: Milo kills Clodius, and Pompey created Consul without a Collation. VI. Pompey, Sole Consul, issues out Warrants against those that had any way abused their Charges. VII. Cæsar demands the Consulate, which Pompey secretly opposes. VIII. Curio declares for Cæsar against Pompey; but at last in spite of Curio, the Senate gives Power to Pompey to Arm against Cæsar. IX. Curio, Anthony and Cassius, Tribunes, go to Cæsar; who receives them as Friends. X. Cæsar passing the Rubicon, strikes a general terror into Rome. XI. Pompey leaves Rome, goes to Capua, the Consuls and most of the Senate follow him: He carries over his Forces to Dyrrhachium, which he makes his Seat of War. XII. Cæsar comes to Rome; thence goes to Spain, to make War with Petreius and Afranius. XIII. Curio goes to Africa, is defeated and slain. XIV. Cæsar appeases a Mutiny of his Army at Placentia, and prepares to pass into Epire. XV. Pompey having made his Preparations, makes a Speech to his Army, and sends Garrisons into Thessaly. XVI. Cæsar, after encouraging those Forces he finds at Brundisium, goes over Sea in Winter, and takes some places. XVII. Cæsar endeavouring to seize Dyrrhachium, is prevented by Pompey. XVIII. Cæsar endeavouring to come over Sea himself to fetch the Remainder of his Forces out of Italy, being driven back by Storm, sends Posthumus in his stead. XIX. Anthony being landed with the rest of Cæsar's Forces in Dalmatia, some light Skirmishes happen. XX. Pompey gains a great Victory over Cæsar. XXI. Cæsar retreats with his Army into Thessaly, and encamps about Pharsalia. XXII. Pompey hopes to overcome him by Famine, without fighting. XXIII. At length he yields to give him Battel. XXIV. Number of the Forces on both sides. XXV. Pompey and Cæsar encourage their Armies. XXVI. They draw into Battel, and give Orders. XXVII. The Battel of Pharsalia. XXVIII. Pompey escapes into Egypt, where he is murdered. XXIX. Cæsar follows, revenges his death, and thence goes against Pharnaces in Asia. XXX. He returns to the City; where after appeasing his mutinous Soldiers, he resolves on his Expedition into Africa. XXXI. He defeats Scipio, and the rest of Pompey's Party. XXXII. The death of Cato at Utica, and the end of the African War. XXXIII. Cæsar returns to the City, triumphs, and rewards his Soldiers. XXXIV. He goes into Spain, and puts an end to the whole War. XXXV. He returns to the City, where he takes on him the Sovereign Authority. XXXVI. Lays a Design of War against the Parthians, and is thereupon slain in the Senate. XXXVII. Brutus and Cassius retire to the Capitol. XXXVIII. They treat an Accommodation with Lepidus and Anthony. XXXIX. Question put in the Senate, if they ought to be justified; which Anthony with much Artifice opposes. XL. He comes to the place of Orations, where the People applaud him; he speaks against Brutus and Cassius in open Senate. XLI. Piso about to produce Cæsar's Will: Brutus and Cassius endeavour to justify their Action. XLII. They descend from the Capitol, but are forced to leave the City: Cæsar's Funeral Honours celebrated. XLIII. His Elegy, and Comparison between him and Alexander.

THe Dominion of *Sylla*, and all those things which passed afterwards in *Spain* under the Conduct of *Sertorius* and *Perperna*, were followed by divers Commotions, till the Civil War of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, which ended by the death of *Pompey*; after which *Cæsar* himself was slain in the Senate, as may be seen in this Second Book of the Civil Wars. Now when *Pompey* had cleared all the Seas of Pyrates, than whom a greater Number was never seen in the Memory of Man; brought to his end *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, and reduced his Kingdom and those other Countries he had conquered into what Form he pleased. *Cæsar* was yet but a very young Man; he was Eloquent, Capable of great things, Hardy, Presumptuous, Ambitious beyond his Power; and being yet but *Ædile* and *Prator*, was run prodigiously in debt to gain the favour of the People, which is usually given to the most prodigal. *Catiline* now likewise appeared at *Rome*, being of one of the best Families of the City, but of no sound Wisdom; and besides, of an ill Reputation, being suspected to have committed a Parricide on his own Son, that he might espouse *Aurelia Oristilla*, whom he was in Love with, and who would not contract Marriage with him as long as he had Children. He was with all this, a great Friend of *Sylla's*, and very affectionate to his Party. Being fallen into Poverty by his ambitious Profuseness, and yet considerable among many powerful Persons, as well Men as Women, he set himself to demand the Consulate, as a Step to raise him to the Tyranny: But he fell from his hopes; most Men having conceived an ill Opinion of him, because they perceived him affect an Authority not fit to be suffered in a Free City. Being then refused the Consulate, which was given to *Cicero*, a Man well spoken of, and very eloquent, he began to mock at the Suffrages of the People who had chosen this Consul, whom out of Raillery he called New Man (for they had got a custom to give that name to those who rendered themselves Illustrious, not by the Glory of their Ancestors, but their own proper Vertue) and because that he was not born in the City, they said that he was an Inmate, like those that lie in hired Lodgings. After that time he meddled no more with the Government of the Commonwealth; judging that it exposes Men to Trouble and Envy, and sets them not a Round higher towards mounting to the Tyranny. Notwithstanding, he drew great Sums of Money from many of those Women, who, weary of their Husbands, hoped to get rid of them if any Change happened in the State: and with some Senators, a quantity of Roman Knights, Plebeians, Slaves, nay, very Strangers, formed a Conspiracy to seize on the Commonwealth: But his greatest Confidants in this Affair were *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Cethegus*, at that present *Prators* of the City. He sent likewise throughout all *Italy* people to solicit those who being enriched in *Sylla's* time, had ill spent what they had ill got, and would be very well content to reach at such another Fortune. He sent *C. Manlius* to *Fesula*, and others to the Marches of *Arcona*, and into *Pouilla*, secretly to levy Soldiers. The first advice of all these secret Preparations was given to *Cicero* by *Fulvia*, a Woman of Quality, with whom *Q. Curius* (one of the Conspirators, expelled the Senate for his scandalous life) was deeply in Love: He boasted to his Mistress, that in a short time she should see him a great Lord. Already the noise of the Attempts of those who had been sent throughout all *Italy* increased, when the Consul set Guards in the City, and sent certain Persons of Quality to the suspected Places. But *Catiline*, though no one durst yet arrest him, because

* Tribune of the
People.

† Savoy and
the Dauphin.

because the business was not absolutely discovered, was fearful lest Delay should increase the Suspicion; and hoping that the greatest diligence would be most advantageous to him, sent Money before to *Fesula*, gave Order to the Conspirators to kill *Cicero*, and by night to set fire on divers Quarters of the City; and he causing Rods and Axes to be bore before him as a Pro-Consul, and raising Soldiers all the way he passed, goes to find out *Caius Manlius*, with design to fall upon the City as soon as it should be set on fire with all the Forces he could get together. As for *Lentulus*, after having given to the Conspirators every one his Quarter, *Cethegus* and he agreed that as soon as they should have advice that *Catiline* was arrived at *Fesula*, they should go with Daggers under their Robes very early in the morning to *Cicero's* House, where by reason of their Offices they might without difficulty get entrance; and drawing him into a private place under pretence of some secret Conference, stab him. That at the same time * *Lucius Sextus* should assemble the People, and accuse *Cicero*, that being fearful by Nature, and suspicious without cause, he unseasonably and to ill purpose troubled the City; and that the night following with a Band of Conspirators they should set fire in twelve places, pillage the City, and kill all the honest people they met with. Whilst *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius* and *Cassius*, who were the Heads of the Conspiracy, formed these Designs, and waited only for Opportunity to execute them, the Deputies of the † *Allobroges* being come to *Rome* to complain of their Magistrates, were drawn into this Conspiracy out of hopes they would cause the Gauls to rise against the Republick. *Lentulus* being about to send them to *Catiline*, accompanied with *Vulturcius* of *Crotone*, who carried Letters without Supercription: The *Allobroges*, irresolute what they had to do, discoursed the matter with *Fabius Sanga*, Protector of their City; for it is the custom of the Provincials, that each Nation hath his Protector at *Rome*. *Cicero* having received this advice from *Sanga*, gave Order to arrest the Deputies as they were upon their Return, and with them *Vulturcius*; who being brought into full Senate, confessed all that they had negotiated with *Lentulus*, and attested that they had often heard him say, that the Destinies had promised the Dominion of the City to three *Cornelius's*; of which *Cinna* and *Sylla* had been the two first, and he should be the third. Hereupon the Senate degraded *Lentulus* of his Dignity of Senator, and *Cicero* went to cause the Conspirators to be arrested; whom having placed under sure Guards in the *Prators* Houses, he returned to the Senate to deliberate. Mean while the knowledge of this Affair not being yet publick, a great Tumult was raised about the Palace; and all the Accomplices of the Conspirators took the Alarm; in so much, that the Slaves and Freed Men of *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* having raised a great number of Artisans, used their endeavours to break open the Back Doors of the *Prators*, to take thence their Masters by force: Which being told *Cicero*, he came hastily out of the Senate; and having placed Courts of Guard every where, returns and presses the Senate to give their Judgments. The first whose Advice was demanded was *Sillanus*, designed Consul; for it is the Custom to begin to demand Opinions by those nominated to that Dignity, because, as I imagine, the Execution of the Senate's Decrees regarding them, they ought to utter their mind with more Circumspection and Prudence. His Advice was, the Conspirators should be punished with death; in which many others followed him. *Nero* speaking in his turn, was of opinion they should for some time be kept Prisoners, till *Catiline* was defeated, and they more fully informed of the matter; which was also the Opinion of *C. Cesar*, who was in some kind suspected as if a Partner in their designs,

designs, or at least to have had knowledge of them : of which however, the Consul spoke not a word ; not daring to cope with a Man so beloved of the People. He added to *Nero's* advice, that they should be distributed in the Cities of *Italy*, such as *Cicero* should chuse ; and after the War was finished, be called to Judgment ; for it was not reasonable to condemn Persons of that Quality, without granting them a formal Tryal. This seemed just, and many returned to this Opinion, till *Cato* openly declaring his suspicion of *Cesar*, and the Consul fearing that the night following a multitude of Conspirators which were now in the Palace, and in fear for themselves, should attempt some desperate Action, brought back the greatest part of the Senators to the Opinion, that the Conspirators being taken in a Flagrant Offence, ought to suffer without being allowed the Formality of a Process. In so much, that before the Senate rose, *Cicero* himself caused the Accused to be brought from the particular Houses where they were guarded, to the Prison ; where, without the knowledge of the People, he caused the Sentence of death to be executed in his presence ; then going to the place, attested to all the World, they were no longer among the Living. Hereupon the rest of the Conspirators dispersed, every one contenting himself that he had escaped ; and the City was that day delivered from great Inquietude. *Catiline* had already assembled twenty thousand men, about the fourth part of which were armed ; with which he took his March towards *Gaul*, where he hoped to compleat his Preparations : But *Anthony*, the other Consul, overtaking him near the *Alps*, defeated him without much pains ; for as he had laid this Design with little Prudence, so he as imprudently managed it, and was forced to fight before he was prepared. Notwithstanding, most true it is, that neither *Catiline* nor any of those Persons of Quality with him would fly, but were all slain fighting in the midst of their Enemies. The death of *Catiline* was the end of this Conspiracy, from which *Cicero's* Prudence secured the Commonwealth : So that being before known only for his Eloquence, he in this Occasion made himself famous for his Actions ; and no Person doubted but he had saved his Country from the Ruin wherewith it was threatned. Wherefore publick thanks were given him : and after many Acclamations, *Cato* saluting him, called him *The Father of his Country* : Which is indeed an Appellation so glorious, that *Cicero* having been the first to whom it was given for his Merit, it is the Custom to this day to honour only such Emperors with it as are worthy : For as soon as any come to the Monarchy they joyn not this Title with their other Surnames, nor is it granted but by a publick Decree, and as a Testimony of accomplished Vertue.

As for *Cesar*, being ready to go for *Spain*, the Government of which he had obtained, he was arrested by his Creditors, whom he could not pay, having drained himself by Ambitious Expences ; and he was heard at that time to say, that he wanted * two Millions and five hundred Thousand Deniers to be worth nothing. He agreed with them as well as he could ; and being entred into his Government, he amused not himself to go from City to City to hear talk of Affairs, or to administer Justice ; such things had no Correspondency with the Greatness of his Designs : But he began to raise Soldiers, and to make War with the rest of the People of *Spain* ; whom after having plundered their Territories, he made Tributary to the Romans : In so much, that having sent a great Summ of Money to the Treasury, the Senate granted him the Honour of Triumph. As they were making in the Suburbs Magnificent Preparation for his Entry, the day designed for the

II.

* According to Buda's Computation, this will not amount to above forty thousand Pounds.

Plutarch says he owed one hundred and thirty Talents ; which according to the same Computation of Buda, will be one hundred ninety five thousand Pounds.

H h h

Election

Election of Consuls drawing nigh, of necessity those who demanded that Dignity must be present : and it was not permitted after entering the City without Pomp, to make another Entry in Triumph. He had a long time passionately desired the Consulate, and the things necessary for his Triumph were not yet ready : Wherefore he presented a Request to the Senate, that he might have permission to demand that Dignity by his Friends, which he knew had been granted others, though it were forbid by the Law. The last day being come whereon those that pretend to the Consulate must give in their Names, and *Cato* continually opposing *Cesar's* Request, he renounced his Triumph, entered into the City, and made his Declaration, expecting the day of the Assembly. Mean time *Pompey*, Illustrious and Powerful, because of the great Actions he had done against *Mithridates*, demanded of the Senate the Ratification of many things he had granted to Kings, Tetrarchs and Cities, which many opposed out of the Envy they bore this Great Man : But especially *Lucullus* ; who being recalled out of *Asia* when he had quite weakned the Forces of that King, having left the same *Pompey* that War easie to terminate, vaunted that the Honour of that Victory belonged to him ; and had drawn *Crassus* to his side. *Pompey* vexed that his Designs were opposed, makes Alliance with *Cesar*, promising him upon Oath that he would serve him to get the Consulship ; and soon after by *Cesar's* means *Crassus* was reconciled to *Pompey*. Thus these three great Men served one another, to obtain what they desired : And the Historian *Varro*, who writ a Book of their Union, calls it the Three-headed Conspiracy. Wherefore the Senate beginning to suspect their Power, gave to *Cesar*, *L. Bibulus* his Enemy for his Colleague ; between whom there soon happened such a difference as made them take up Arms, one against the other.

III.

But *Cesar* knowing the Art of Dissembling, made in full Senate an Oration to *Bibulus* upon the Subject of Concord, as if he would prevent their Dissentions from causing any Inconveniency to the Commonwealth. Now, whilst it seemed in all outward appearance that he endeavoured seriously for Peace, and that the other, who doubted nothing, stood not upon his Guard, all on a suddain he comes to the Senate accompanied with a great Multitude of People, and proposes a Law in favour of the Poor : He distributed Lands to them ; gave to them that were Fathers of three Children *Campania*, the most fertile Territory belonging to *Italy* ; and by this means got the Love and favour of the People, for there were twenty thousand found under that Qualification. And when many of the Senate opposed the Publication of these Laws, he withdrew from the Palace, as if not able to endure their Injustice ; and all that Year there was no more Session of the Senate. But he went to the place for Orations ; and mounting the Tribunal, demanded of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, who still assisted him, if those Laws did not to them seem reasonable, and after having received their approbation, demanded the suffrages of the people, who came to that Assembly with Arms under their Gowns. As for the Fathers (for the Senate could not Assemble but by the order of both Consuls) they held some private meetings in *Bibulus* house, but all that did nothing against the Power and Interest of *Cesar*, yet they ceased not to provoke *Bibulus* to oppose the Laws of his Colleague, whatever should happen by it : That it might rather be said he was overcome by the Malice of another, than by his own remissness. He ventured therefore upon the place one day as *Cesar* was making an Oration to the people, and a Tumult arising about some words they had together, they came to blows. *Bibulus* his Rods were broken, and

and some Tribunes that took his part wounded, but he without being daunted, presented his naked Neck to *Cæsar's* Faction, with these words; *If I cannot persuade my Colleague what is just, I will at least by my death make him Criminal and Execrable.* However, his Friends pulled him thence, and caused him to enter the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, which is nigh the place. Then *Cato* being strong and vigorous, overthrew all those stood in his way, got up into an eminent place, and began to speak; but those of *Cæsar's* Party drew him out of the place: which yet made him not give over; for he returned again by another way, crying out continually against *Cæsar*; till being again carried away by force, the Consul got the Laws past. The People having sworn to observe them, they would have the Senators take the same Oath; which some by *Cato's* persuasion having refused to do, he proposed to the People, to declare Criminal whoever would not swear: And this Declaration being passed, they all took the Oath for fear; even the Tribunes themselves, who had opposed in vain, since the Law was ratified. Mean while a certain man of the People called *Vetius* ran into the middle of the place, crying out he was sent by *Bibulus*, *Cicero* and *Cato*, to kill *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; and that Dagger was to that purpose put in his hand by *Posthumius*, Lictor to *Bibulus*. Though this matter were much suspected, *Cæsar* made use of it to embitter the Multitude, and referred the Information till the next day; but *Vetius* was the night following killed in Prison. This Accident admitted of divers Interpretations; but *Cæsar* cast the fault on some who had a sense of their being guilty; and managed things so, that the People permitted him to take Guards, to secure him from such Attempts as might be made upon his Person. And now *Bibulus* quitted absolutely the Government of the Commonwealth, and remained in his house as a private Person all the Remainder of his Consulship. But his Colleague seeing himself Master of all, without troubling himself to make any Information about *Vetius's* business, laboured to make more Laws in favour of the People; and according to his promise, made all that *Pompey* had done to be approved. In these times the Knights, who were the middle Order, between the Senate and the People; powerful, both by reason of their proper Riches, and the Profits which they made of the Imposts which they farmed from the People, highly courted *Cæsar*; in so much, that supported by his favour, they presented their Request to the Senate for an Abatement of the Rent of their Farms: And when the Fathers demurred upon, and withstood it, without taking notice of their Oppositions, by the sole consent of the People he abated them a third part. Whereupon the Knights having received a greater favour than they demanded or durst hope for, cried up to the Skies him from whom they had received it: And now *Cæsar* grew stronger than he was before in the favour of the People, for by this only benefit he gained a great number of interested Persons to sustain his Dignity. Besides all this, to gain so much the more the good Grace of the Citizens, he gave them often the Divertisements of Shows and Chases; by which he ran in debt every where, much beyond what he was worth, every day surpassing himself in the Magnificence of his Gifts, and the Profuseness of his Largesses. At last he brought Matters so about, that they gave him the Government of the Gauls, as well on this side as beyond the Mountains, for five Years, with four Legions. After having obtained it, knowing that he must be a long time absent from the City, and that Envy has more power than Favour, he gave his Daughter in Marriage to *Pompey*; not but that they were already very good Friends, but he was fearful lest the too great Success of his Arms might stir up Envy even in a Friend. More-

Pompey, Cras-
sus, Cæsar.

over, he designed for Consuls the Year following the stoutest of his Faction, *A. Gabinus*, one of his greatest Confidants ; and *L. Piso*, his Father in Law, with whom he had lately Allied himself (*Caro* perpetually crying out that these Marriages tended to a Tyranny) and for Tribunes of the People he nominated *Vatinus* and *Clodius Pulcher*. This *Clodius* was infamous for having slipped into the Sacrifices of the good Goddess, where none but Women ought to enter : in which place he had layed a Blemish upon the Chastity of *Cæsar's* own Wife ; who yet never expressed any Resentment, because this Man was beloved by the People ; but however he repudiated his Wife, there were some who afterwards made him come to a Tryal as a Prophaner of Sacred Things. *Cicero* pleaded his Accusation, and *Cæsar* himself was called in as a Witness ; but he deposed nothing against him : On the contrary, he advanced him to this Office of Tribune in hate to *Cicero*, who frequently used to blame the Union of * these three Men, as tending to the Ruin of the Publick Liberty. Nor thought he much to pardon one of his Enemies the Affront he had received, so he might be revenged of another, who had only offended him in suspecting he had an ill Design ; so much was his Ambition more violent than his Love. And yet there is some appearance that *Cæsar* received the first Obligation from *Clodius*, who served him with all his Credit and Interest when he demanded the Government of the Gauls. However it were, this is what passed in *Cæsar's* Consulate ; which being expired, he went into the Province in Quality of Pro-Consul.

IV.

After his departure from the City, *Clodius* caused *Cicero* to be called to Judgment, for having contrary to Law put to death *Cethegus* and *Lentulus* before they were condemned. But he bore this Accusation with as much Cowardice, as he had shewed Courage in the Noble Action he did ; for he went through the Streets with his Beard grown, his Hair unkembed, clad in a sad Colour, and begging of every one he met to assist him, he was not ashamed to be importunate with People that were utterly unknown to him ; in so much, that having no regard to Decency, whilst he would have moved Compassion, he made himself ridiculous ; and that Man who all his life had managed others Affairs with so much Courage, suffered himself to fall into the Excess of Fear in his own Cause. It is reported, the like happened to *Demosthenes* in *Athens* ; and that Orator who had so bravely defended so many accused, being accused himself, chose rather to fly than to defend himself before the Judges. In like manner *Cicero* seeing that *Clodius*, whom he followed through the Streets in the posture of a Suppliant, derided his Prayers and Submissions, and reviled him with words, lost all hope, and resolved to go into a Voluntary Exile, whither many of his Friends followed him, the Senate having given him Letters of Recommendation to all Kings and Sovereigns where he designed to make his Retreat. Whereupon *Clodius* demolished his Houses as well in the City as the Country ; and became so fierce and arrogant, that he esteemed himself equal to *Pompey*, the most powerful Man of that time in the City. Wherefore *Pompey* made an Agreement with *Milo* his Colleague, a Man of Enterprize ; to whom he promised the Consulate, to serve him against *Clodius*, and obliged him to propose to the People the Return of *Cicero* ; believing that being returned, he could talk no more of the present Estate of the Commonwealth, that he would have in mind the benefit newly received, and be always ready to oppose the designs of *Clodius*. Thus *Cicero* banished by *Pompey's* means, was by the favour of the same *Pompey* again recalled to his Country, about
sixteen

sixteen Months after his departure, and his Houses both in City and Country were rebuilt at the Publick Charge. When he returned there went such a Concourse to meet him at the Gates, that the whole Day was scarce enough for their Complements; which happened also to *Demosthenes*, when after his Exile he was received into *Athens*. Mean while *Cæsar*, glorious for the great things he had done in *Gaul* and *Brittany* (as we have said, speaking of the Affairs of *Gaul*) and laden with vast Riches, repassed into *Cisalpine Gaul*, that he might a little refresh his Army, wearied with continual War. As soon as he was arrived there, and that he had sent store of Silver to a great many Persons in the City, the Officers of the Commonwealth for that Year, together with all the other Governors of Provinces, and Generals of other Armies, came to salute him; so that there was sometimes sixscore Rods about his Person. There came likewise more than two hundred Senators; some to thank him for Favours received, some to get Money of him, or something else of that kind. For now he alone could do all things, having so many Forces at his Service, and so much Money in his Coffers; and besides, he was always ready to oblige all the World. *Pompey* and *Crassus*, the Companions of his Power, being come as well as others to see him, they consulted together about their Affairs; and agreed, that *Pompey* and *Crassus* should take the Consulate, and should prolong to *Cæsar* the Government of *Gaul* for other five Years; after which they parted. At the time for Election of Consuls, *Domitius Ænobarbus* standing up Competitor with *Pompey*, and the day of Nomination being come, they came both before Day to the place where the Assembly is held; and after some sharp words, fell to blows. In the Tumult he that carried the Light before *Domitius* received a Wound with a Sword, upon which all his People fled, and he with much hazard escaped to his House: *Pompey's* Robe was also brought home bloody; so much danger did they both run in this sudden Broil. *Crassus* and *Pompey* having obtained the Consulate, gave *Cæsar*, according to their promise, the Government of *Gaul* for five Years longer, and between themselves they divided the Provinces and the Armies. *Pompey* had the Governments of *Spain* and *Africa*, whither he sent Friends to command in his place, and he stayed in the City: And *Syria*, with all the Neighbouring Countries remained to *Crassus*; for his Head run upon a War against the Parthians, as a thing easie, and which would yield no less Glory than Profit. But when he left the City to go towards it, there happened a great many ill Presages: The Tribunes of the People forbid him to go to make War against the Parthians, from whom the People of *Rome* never received any Cause of Complaint: And because he did not forbear at their defence, they cursed him with publick Execrations; in contempt of which having passed farther, he perished in the Enemy's Country, with all his Army, together with a Son he had of the same name; for of a hundred thousand Men he lead thither, scarce ten thousand escaped into *Syria*. But we have spoke of this Defeat in what we have already writ of the Affairs of *Parthia*.

The People about this time being oppressed with Famine, gave to *Pompey* the Superintendence of Provisions; and as he had done before in the Pyratick War, so now he named twenty Senators for his Lieutenants in this Employ: By sending of whom into the several Provinces, he in a short time filled the City with great abundance of all things necessary to the Life of Man; which much augmented his Glory and Power. At the same time *Fulia*, *Pompey's* Wife, dyed great with Child, and by her death left all the
City

About one hundred and twenty thousand pounds Sterling.

City in Alarm, for fear lest the Alliance between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* being exterminate, they should not e'er long take up Arms against each other; for now for a long time there had been nothing but Disorder and Confusion in the Commonwealth. No Dignities were attained to but by Factions, or by Gifts, or by Criminal Service, and sometimes by blows of Stones and strokes of Swords. No man was ashamed to buy Votes, for the People sold them in open Assembly. In short, there was one, who, to obtain an Office in the Commonwealth, spent * eight hundred Talents. Besides, the yearly Consuls now made had no hopes to make War or to command Armies; being excluded by the Management and Workings of the three sworn Friends. Ill men enriched themselves with publick Moneys, or by taking Bribes from those they designed for their Successors; wherefore no honest Man would put in for an Office; in so much that in this Disorder the Commonwealth was eight Months without Officers. *Pompey* set his hand to all this, that they might be obliged to chuse a Dictator; and it was openly talked already in the Companies, that there was no other Remedy for the Present Distempers, than by giving the Sovereign Authority to some Person of Probit and Power. This Discourse could mean no other than *Pompey*, who commanded great Armies, and seemed affectionate to the Publick Good, respectful to the Senate, modest, prudent and desirable by all Men for his Courtesie, whether true or feigned. *Pompey* appeared by his words, not to be at all rejoiced with the Opinion the Citizens had of him; nay, he seemed to be troubled at it: but yet he did all that was possible secretly to advance the Execution of his Designs. He fomented the Disorders of the Commonwealth by leaving it without Magistrates: And though *Milo*, who was now Tribune, had served him in the reducing of *Clodius*, yet he hindered him from demanding the Consulate; still temporizing, till *Milo*, vexed to see himself so deceived, left the City, and retired to *Levinia*, the place of his Birth: That City is reported to be the first built by *Æneas* in *Italy*, nineteen Miles from *Rome*. As he was going, *Clodius* on Horse-back was by chance returning out of the Country, to the City: they met about *Bovillæ*, and passed by without saluting each other; but a Servant of *Milo's*, whether he had received Command to do it, or that of his own accord he would rid his Master of an Enemy, fell upon *Clodius*, and with his Sword cut him into the Head that he fell: His Groom carried him into the next Inn, whither *Milo* with all his Followers hastening to him, in the uncertainty he was in, whether he were yet dead, or that there was some life left in him, thrust him into the Belly; protesting, that what had before passed was without his order or consent, but he willingly finished a Crime, for which he knew he must answer. The People astonished with the report of this Accident, spent all that night in the place in Arms; and when it was day, the Body was brought before the Tribunal for Orations: Soon after it was taken up by some Tribunes his Friends, assisted by the Multitude: Who, whether it were to honour this Man of the Senatorian Order, or to shame the Senate, who by their negligence seemed to favour such Actions, carried him into the Palace; where some of the most violent of them, breaking down the Benches, made a Pile; and setting fire to it, burnt not only the Body, but likewise the Palace and some Private Houses adjoining. As for *Milo*, he still had so much boldness, that the fear he stood in of being punished for such an Assassinate was much less than his indignation to see so much Honour payed to the Memory of *Clodius*. Therefore taking in his Train great numbers of Country People, together with his own Household: And having gained the People by Largesses, and corrupted

rupted *M. Cecilius*, Tribune, with Money, he came to the City full of Confidence. As soon as he appeared, *Cecilius* arrested him in the midst of the Street, and led him as it were by force into the place where those who had received his Presents were assembled, under pretence of making him answer for his Action. The Tribune seemed to be so enraged against him, that he would not grant him any time to prepare himself for his Defence: But indeed he pressed the business out of hopes that *Milo* being acquitted by this Judgment, might not be obliged to answer before other Judges. *Milo* having at first declared that this Death was not premeditated, for had he any such design he would never have taken his Wife and whole Family along with him to execute it, spent the rest of his time in Invectives against *Clodius*, who he would have pass for a debauched Cast-away, and the Head of those Debauchees who, in burning his Body, had burnt the Palace. Before he had finished his Speech, the other Tribunes of the People and the Citizens who had not been corrupted by his Presents, came running into the place, from whence *Cecilius* and *Milo* withdrew disguised like Slaves; yet they failed not to make a great Slaughter, making no distinction between *Milo's* Friends and others; but charged indifferently on the Citizens and those that were none; especially on those were best clad, or had about them any rich Ornaments which they had a mind to; for there being no Form of a Commonwealth, in the first Tumult that happened every Man gave himself over to Rage and Passion. And because in this Occasion numbers of Slaves had taken Arms against People that had none, they set themselves to rob, and run into Houses to see what they could catch, under pretence to seek for *Milo's* Friends. Thus some Days passed in these Disorders, wherein Fire and Stones, and all other Instruments of Fury and Rage were made use of. Mean while the Senate affrighted, assembled in the Palace, and cast their eyes on *Pompey*, as if they designed him presently Dictator; and indeed there appeared no other Remedy for the Miseries wherewith the Commonwealth was oppressed. But *Cato* dissuaded the Fathers, and brought them to his Opinion, to make him Consul without a Colleague; so that he might have the Power of a Dictator, disposing all things alone, but was subject to be called to an Account of his Administration, according to ancient Custom. Being then the first that ever was created Consul alone, Governor of two great Provinces, General of an Army, and powerful in Treasure; he obtained the Sovereign Authority in the Commonwealth by the Advice of *Cato* himself; who gave him his Vote for fear he should hinder his Voyage to *Cyprus*, whither he was to go to reduce that Kingdom into the Form of a Province. *Clodius* had got it so decreed, to revenge himself of *Ptolemy*, King of that Island; who, out of Covetousness, had contributed but two Talents to redeem him from Pyrates when he was formerly taken. And *Cato*, when he went, had not much trouble to settle the Affairs of *Cyprus*; for as soon as the King had advice of the Decree of the Senate and People of *Rome*, he threw all his Treasure into the Sea, and killed himself.

At first Entrance into his Charge *Pompey* brought to a Tryal all those who stood accused of any Crime, particularly of Corruption or Ill Administration in their Offices; for this he thought the Original of all Publick Miseries; and that having purged that Humour, the Commonwealth would soon recover its former Vigour. He therefore made a Law, by which leave was given to demand an Account of all those who had exercised any Office from the time that he was first made Consul, to his present Consulate. Now

this

VI.

this space of time being almost twenty years, comprised likewise the Consulate of *Cæsar*, and those of his Party had some suspicion that it was done to affront him; for why run so far back? they remonstrated therefore to *Pompey*, that it was more convenient to provide against present Evils, than to go to rip up old sores, and put to pain so many considerable persons, among whom they named *Cæsar* himself. He seemed to take it amiss they had alledged *Cæsar*, as not being suspected with any of those crimes; notwithstanding he reduced the time to begin from his second Consulate, but he would not utterly suppress the Law, saying, that the punishment of these crimes was of great importance towards the re-establishment of a perfect good order in the Commonwealth. After this Law was ratified, great number of Processes were formed, and that the Judges might be free from all fear, himself sat President, attended by a strong Guard of Soldiers. The first condemned in their absence were *Milo* for the death of *Clodius*; *Gabinus* convicted to have violated Humane and Divine Right, by entering armed into *Egypt* without the order of the Senate, and against the prohibition of the Sibyls; with *Hypseus*, *Memmius*, *Sextus*, and many others for having bought their Offices. As for *Scaurus*, when many people tumultuously entreated for him, *Pompey* caused the Usher with a loud voice to tell them they should expect the sentence of the Judges; and because notwithstanding they continued to make a great broil with the Accusers. *Pompey's* Soldiers fell upon and killed some of them; so after silence made, *Scaurus* was condemned to Banishment; and for *Gabinus*, besides Banishment his Goods were confiscate. The Senate after having given praises to *Pompey*, augmented his Forces with two Legions, and extended his authority over all the Provinces of the Empire. Some days after, the Law of *Pompey* promising impunity to whoever would accuse another: *Memmius* one of the condemned summoned to Judgment *L. Scipio* Father-in-law to *Pompey*, and guilty of the same crime: upon which, *Pompey* having changed habit: imitated him; and *Memmius*, after having complained of the ill orders in the Commonwealth, let fall his suit.

VII.

And now as if the time of his Dictatorship were expired, *Pompey* made *Scipio* his Colleague for the rest of his Consulate. Notwithstanding he laboured hard for those were to succeed him in that Dignity, keeping the same power he had before, and disposing alone of all things in the City; for the Senate had so great an affection for him, that *Cæsar* grew jealous. And indeed in his Consulate he had not at all considered that supreme Order, whereas *Pompey* in a little time had restored the languishing Commonwealth, without disobliging any of the Senators, unless where his Office forced him to it: but though the banished men from all parts gathered themselves about *Cæsar*, giving him counsel to have a care of *Pompey's* Law, of which he was the principal object; he seemed not to believe any thing of it, and comforting them in their misfortunes, still spoke of *Pompey* with applause. However, he obliged the Tribunes to pass an Ordinance by which he had leave to make a demand of the Consulate the second time, though absent, the which was granted him by the consent of *Pompey* himself yet Consul. But doubting the Senate owed him no good will, and fearing if he descended to the condition of a private man, his Enemies would treat him but ill, he contrived all ways possible, that he might not quit his Army till he was designed Consul; wherefore he demanded of the Senate the continuation of his Commission for some time, at least in the latter *Gal*, if he could not obtain it in both. *Marcellus*, who succeeded *Pompey*,

Pompey, opposed it; whereupon *Cæsar* told him that brought him the news, *This here shall gain it*: clapping his hand on the Hilt of his Sword. He had formerly founded the new *Coma* under the *Alpes*, and given to the City the Privileges of the Latine Cities, that is to say, whoever had been Magistrate a whole year together was by right a Freeman of *Rome*, which gave another occasion to *Marcellus* to shew his spite; for finding at *Rome* an Inhabitant of *Coma*, who the year before had exercised the Magistracy, and was therefore reputed a Citizen of *Rome*; to affront *Cæsar*, he caused him to be beaten with Rods (a punishment they never make a Roman Citizen suffer, what ever his crime be) and treating him as a Stranger, bid him go find out *Cæsar* and shew him the print of his stripes. So arrogant was this man; nay, so far did malice transport him, that he would have sent Successors to *Cæsar* before the time of his Commission was expired; but *Pompey*, whether he thought it dishonourable for him to suffer it, or that he seemed to be *Cæsar*'s Friend, would not let that brave man who had so well served his Country receive an affront for so short a time. Besides, none doubted but at the time limited he must return to the condition of private persons; wherefore they designed Consuls for the approaching year *Emilius Paulus*, and *Clodius Marcellus* Nephew to that *Marcellus* we were speaking of. And the Dignity of the Tribune of the People was given to *Curio* a man in favour with the multitude, and withal very eloquent. These were three declared Enemies to *Cæsar*, of whom *Clodius* would never be drawn to his Party what ever money he offered him; *Paulus* by means of* fifteen hundred Talents was wrought upon so as not to be against him; and *Curio*, who was almost ruined with his debts, gave himself wholly up to him for somewhat a greater sum. *Paulus* with his money built a most magnificent Palace, which is still to be seen, called by his own name, and is one of the most beautiful Works of the City. *Curio*, that he might not appear to pass all of a sudden to the contrary Party, proposed a Law for the reparation of the High-ways, of which he demanded a Commission for five years, he had no thoughts of gaining it, but only sought an occasion of Rupture with those of *Pompey*'s Party, who he knew would not fail to oppose it; in which he was not deceived.

* About two hundred and twenty thousand Pounds.

Clodius then spoke of sending Successors to *Cæsar*, because the time of his Commission was past; whereupon *Paulus* kept silence: *Curio*, who seemed concerned for neither Party, applauded *Clodius*'s motions; but he added, that *Pompey* ought likewise to quit his Provinces, and dismiss his Armies, and thus the Common-wealth delivered from all fear, would be in perfect liberty. And when several alledged that not to be just, *Pompey*'s time not being expired, *Curio* began to cry out aloud, and proclaim to all, that they ought not to send Successors to *Cæsar*, if *Pompey* did not likewise quit his Governments, and that they being one jealous of another, the City would never be in peace, but by taking the command from both. He said all these things because he knew *Pompey* would keep his Provinces and his Armies; and perceived well that the people had an aversion for him, because of the Law he had made against Largeesses and Bribes; wherefore the people, who thought this opinion generous, highly praised *Curio*, who only for the defence of the publick liberty, did not stick to oppose himself to the hatred of both of them; so that sometimes they brought him to his House with universal applauses, strewing Flowers in his way as he passed, who like a courageous Wrestler durst engage in a Combat so hard and adventurous; for nothing was accounted more daring than to oppose *Pompey*:

VIII.

yet at this time he was not in the City, being sick and gone to take the Country Air, from whence he wrote to the Senate : his Letter began with praising *Cæsar* for his noble Actions ; then he proceeded to amplify what he had done himself, and that the third Consulate being offered him, together with the Provinces and Armies, he had not accepted of all these things, only to settle a better order in the Common-wealth : *But*, said he, *what I have accepted almost against my will, I will willingly resign to those that would resume them, without expecting till the time limited by the Command be past.* This Letter was writ with much artifice to perswade all the world of *Pompey's* integrity, and make *Cæsar* at the same time odious, who even after the time of his power expired, would not lay down Arms. Being returned to the City, he talked after the same manner, nay, promising at present to depose himself, and saying, that *Cæsar* his Friend and Ally would not think it hard to do the like ; and that it was easie to believe, that after long and laborious Wars against the most warlike people of the world, and having so far extended the Dominion of his Country, he would be content to pass the rest of his life in Honours, in Sacrifices, and in Repose, of which he stood in need. He said not all this but with design to hasten the sending Successors to *Cæsar*, whilst he contented himself to promise. But *Curio* discovering his cunning, told him, it was not enough to make promises if they were not presently executed, that *Cæsar* ought not to disarm unless he disarmed also ; and that it was neither advantageous for him to foment private enmities by this authority ; nor for the Common-wealth, that so great power should be in one man's hands ; whereas being divided between two, one would curb the pride of the other, if he attempted any thing against the Senate and People of *Rome*. He pursued his Discourse, declaiming against *Pompey*, saying, that he aimed at Sovereign Power, and if the fear of *Cæsar* could not keep him within bounds of Duty, he would never be kept in ; and therefore it was his advice, that if they would not obey the authority of the Senate, they should declare them both Enemies, and raise Forces to make War upon them. *Curio* deceived all the world by uttering this his judgment, and quite cancelled the opinion, that ever he had been corrupted by *Cæsar's* Gift ; but *Pompey* grew angry, and after having severely threatened him, retired in discontent to a House he had in the Suburbs, that the Senate began to enter into distrust both of the one and the other. However, they esteemed *Pompey* more affectionate to the publick good ; for they had not yet forgot the odious Consulate of *Cæsar*. There were likewise some who seriously believed, that the City could not be secure if *Pompey* first dismissed his Forces, because his Rival puffed up with the success of his Arms was abroad extremely powerful. *Curio* thwarted that opinion, by saying, that on the contrary they had need of *Cæsar* to reduce the other. But seeing they could not follow his advice, he dismissed the Senate without any thing resolved on ; for the Tribunes of the People have power to do it, which gave cause to *Pompey* to repent his having re-established the authority of the Tribunes which *Sylla* had almost utterly quashed. Yet it was agreed in the Senate before they parted, that *Pompey* and *Cæsar* should each send a Legion into *Syria*, to defend that Province, which might be invaded after the loss sustained in *Parthia*. That being resolved on, *Pompey*, pursuing his old cunning, sent to redemand of *Cæsar* a Legion he had lent him when *Triturinus* and *Corra* his Lieutenants were defeated ; whereupon *Cæsar* gave every Soldier *two hundred and fifty Drachms, and sent them to the City with another of his own ; but because danger appeared towards *Syria*, they passed their Winter Quarters at *Capua*.
Those

Those that led them sowed a great many ill reports of *Cæsar*, and assured *Pompey*, that *Cæsar*'s Army tired with long labour, and willing to see their Country, would without any difficulty submit themselves to him so soon as he should pass the *Alpes*; which they either said to deceive *Pompey*, or out of ignorance; for *Cæsar* had none but good and faithful Soldiers, whether it were that being accustomed to War they loved it, or that led by interest, they were fixed to him, by those profits which ordinarily attend Victories, together with the liberality of their General. Indeed he gave profusely to them to prepare them to the execution of his Designs, of which they were not ignorant, nor therefore became they less affectionate to him; but *Pompey* giving credit to the reports brought him, neither made any Levies of Men, nor any other preparations capable to sustain so great a War. To proceed, when they next in Senate debated this Affair, and that the Fathers spoke their opinion one after the other, the Consul by a wile having demanded them apart if they were of the opinion to take away *Pompey*'s Command, many were of a contrary mind, and after asking if they thought it convenient to send a Successor to *Cæsar*, they all agreed to it: But *Curio* then asking anew if they would not that both should dismiss their Forces, there was but two and twenty contradicted it; and three hundred and seventy all affectionate to the publick good, followed *Curio*'s judgment: whereupon the Consul dismissing the Assembly, cried out, *Well then, take Cæsar for your Master.* Soon after a false rumour coming that *Cæsar* had passed the *Alpes*, and was marching directly to the City, all the World was alarm'd, and the Consuls proposed to the Senate to send for the Legions were at *Capua*, to employ against him as an Enemy of the State. Whereupon *Curio* saying that the news was false, the Consul grew angry, and said, *Since in consulting of Affairs with all the Senate, I am hindred from providing for the safety of the Common-wealth, I will provide alone according to the power which I have.* After which, going out of the City with his Colleague, and presenting a Sword to *Pompey*: *We order you,* said he, *my Colleague and I to march against Cæsar, and fight for your Country, and to that purpose we give you that Army is at Capua, or in any other place of Italy with power to raise Forces at your discretion.* He declared he would obey them, because it was their command, but adding withal these words, *If no better Expedient can be found.* Which he did craftily to perswade them of the sincerity of his intentions.

Though *Curio* had no farther power in the Administration of the Common-wealth, a Tribune not being permitted to go out of the circuit of the Walls, yet he deplored in all Assemblies of the People the present state of Affairs, and was so bold as to demand in full Senate, that all People should be forbid enrolling themselves in the Forces levied by *Pompey*: but seeing he laboured in vain, and lost all hopes of being able to serve his Friend, the time of his Tribuneship being almost past, and likewise growing fearful for himself, he departed on a sudden to go and find out *Cæsar*, who being lately returned from *England*, had crossed that * *Gaul* which is bounded by the *Rhine*, and passed the *Alpes* with five thousand Foot and three hundred Horse: He met him on the way to *Ravenna*, which is the Frontier of *Italy*, and the last Town of his Government, where he received *Curio* with all possible testimonies of good will; and after having thanked him for the services he had done him, desired his counsel in what he had to do. *Curio* advised him to send as speedily as he could for his Forces, and lead them to the City; but *Cæsar* chose rather first to try some way of Accommodation,

IX.

* France:

* About four
hundred and
ten Miles.

wherefore he writ to his Friends that they should endeavour to obtain of the Senate, that he might only keep two Legions with the Government of the higher *Gaul* and *Illyria*, till such time as he was named Consul, and that he would deliver up, to whoever they should send for Successor, all the rest of the Province, and all the remainder of his Forces. *Pompey* was content with this proposition; but because the Consuls opposed it, *Cæsar* writ to the Senate a Letter, which *Curio*, having rode * three thousand and three hundred Furlongs in three days, gave to the new Consuls as they entered the Palace the first day of the year. In the beginning he spoke in advantageous terms of the great things that he had done; then he protested that he was ready to quit his command, so *Pompey* would do the same, but if *Pompey* kept it, he would keep it too, and should suddenly be in the City to revenge the outrages done as well to him as to his Country. When they heard these last words, they all cried out that he declared War by this Letter, and immediately nominated for his Successor *L. Domitius*, who departed soon after with four thousand Men new levied: and because *Anthony* and *Cassius*, Tribunes of the People, were of *Curio*'s mind, the Senate grew so much the hotter against him, and giving *Pompey*'s Army the name of the Army of the Common-wealth, declared that of *Cæsar* Enemy to their Country. And at last *Marcellus* and *Lentulus* Consuls ordered those Tribunes to go out of the Senate, for fear lest without having regard to their Dignity, though sacred, they should be evilly treated. Then *Anthony* leaping from his Seat in Choler, invoked with great cries the faith of men and Gods, and lamented that an authority which had hitherto been held sacred was no longer in security, and that they shamefully drove from the Senate those who proposed saving advice, as if they had been guilty of Murder, or some other crime. After having said these words, he departed in a fury, foretelling, as if he had been a Divine, the Wars, Proscriptions, Banishments and Confiscations wherewith the City was threatened, and making horrible imprecations against those who were the cause of all their miseries. *Curio* and *Cassius* withdrew likewise with him (for *Pompey*'s Soldiers were already come to environ the Palace) and they departed all three together in the Habit of Slaves upon hired Horses, and so got to *Cæsar*. He shewed them in the condition they were to his Soldiers, to enrage them the more, telling them, that after all their great services they were declared Enemies to their Country, and that those great men had been shamefully driven out of the Senate, because they had only said a word in their defence.

- x. The War being thus declared on both sides, the Senate, who believed that the Army out of *Gaul* could not come in a long time to *Cæsar*, and that with so few Forces as he had he would not take the Field, gave order to *Pompey* to send for out of *Thessaly* thirteen thousand Men that were of the old Soldiers, and to enrol men in pay of the most warlike Nations circum-adjacent, with power to take money out of the Treasury to defray the expence of the War; and in case the publick money should fail, there were several private men would advance it, till such time as it could be levied upon the Cities of *Italy*, which they laboured to do with much haste and rigour. For *Cæsar*'s part he had sent people to bring his Army, but being accustomed to succeed more by diligence, striking a terrour and hardiness, than any mighty preparations, he resolved to begin this great War with his five thousand Men, and seise of some places of *Italy*, were commodious for him: first he sent before to *Rimini* some Centurions and Men

Men who were to enter the City as Passengers, and then all of a sudden to seize on that City (the first that offers it self coming from *Gaul*) and himself in the Evening going out as if he had found himself ill after a Feast, leaves his Friends, and mounting in a Chariot drove himself the same way; followed at a distance by his Cavalry ; when he came to the Banks of *Rubicon* he stopped some time, looking upon the water, and thinking of the calamities he went about to be the cause of, if he passed that River in Arms. At length turning to those of his Train ; *My Friends*, said he, *if I pass not this River immediately, it will be to me the beginning of all misfortunes; and if I do pass it, I go to make a world of people miserable*: and therewithal as if he had been pressed forward by some Divinity, he drave into the stream, and crossing it, cries with a loud voice, *The Lot is cast*. From whence continuing on his way with speed, he seized on *Rimini* by break of day, and all in an instant places Garrisons in all the good places of that Country, which he reduced either by force or favour. Mean while, as it happens in these unexpected Allarms, the whole Country was filled with people flying, the Countrymen forsaking their Habitations, and nothing was to be heard but Cries, and Lamentations, and Groans, yet no man knew from whence this disorder came, but all imagined that *Cæsar* was upon them with all his Forces. The Consuls receiving the news, gave not *Pompey*, who perfectly understood War, leisure to prepare himself, and take his own time, they began to press him to be gone out of the City, and make Levies of Forces in *Italy*, as if *Rome* had been in immediate danger of being taken and plundered. And the Senate surprised with so unlooked for an irruption, were terrified, and began to repent they had not accepted those reasonable conditions offered by *Cæsar*; but this was not, till fear had opened their eyes, and led them back from Partiality to Reason; for now men talked of a great many Prodigies and extraordinary Signs which had appeared in the Heavens, that it had rained Blood in many places, that in others the Statues of the Gods had sweat, that many Temples had been struck with Thunderbolts, that a Mule had engendred, besides an infinite of other things which seemed to foretel the change of the present state, and the ruine of the Common-wealth, so as it should never be re-established; wherefore they made Vows and Prayers as in a publick Consternation. And the people remembring again the miseries they had suffered because of the Dissentions of *Sylla* and *Marius*, cried out, that they ought to take away the Command as well from *Cæsar* as from *Pompey*, since that was the only means to prevent a War: *Cicero* himself was of opinion that Deputies should be sent to *Cæsar* to treat an Accommodation, but the Consuls absolutely opposed it. *Favonius* quipping at *Pompey* because of a word he had once said with too much arrogance, *Bid him stamp on the ground with his Foot, and see if any armed Men would rise*. To which *Pompey* answered, *You will want none so you will follow me, and are not troubled to leave the City, and Italy it self if there be occasion*: for people of courage, said he, *do not make liberty consist in the possession of Lands and Houses, they cannot want in any place they come to; and if they lose not their courage, will soon recover their Houses and Lands*.

After having said these words, and protested he would hold him for an Enemy, that out of fear to lose what he possessed, deserted the Commonwealth in extreme danger, he went out of the Palace, and soon after out of the City, to joyn the Army that was at *Capua*. The Consuls followed him presently, but the other Senators weighed it a little longer, and spent all the night

night in the Palace, without resolving any thing : and at length as soon as it was break of day the greater part followed the same way after *Pompey*. Me in time, *Cæsar* having reached at *Corfinium* *L. Domitius*, whom they had sent for his Successor with four thousand Men; of which he had already lost a part, he besieged him in the City, from whence endeavouring to escape, the Inhabitants stopped him at the Gate, and brought him to *Cæsar*, to whom the Remainder of his Forces yielded themselves; he received them kindly, that he might draw others by their example, and without doing any wrong to *Domitius*, he suffered him to go whither he pleased, with all his Equipage, hoping by this courtesie to oblige him to take his Party, yet without hindring him from going to find out *Pompey*. These things being done in such an instant, *Pompey* on the other side marches from *Capua* to *Nucera*, and from *Nucera* to *Brundisium*, that he might from thence pass to *Epire*, where he designed to establish the Seat of the War, he writ to all Provinces, and those that commanded them, to Kings themselves, to Sovereigns, and particular Cities, that with all convenient speed they should send him what Forces they could supply him with, in which every one laboured with all his power. He had his own particular Army in *Spain*, ready to march at his first command, and for those Legions he had with him he gave one part of them to the Consuls, whom he sent before into *Epire*, they imbarquing at the same time at *Brundisium*, happily crossed the Gulf, and landed at *Dyrrachium*, which some by mistake think to be *Epidamnium*; for *Epidamnus* King of the Barbarians, who inhabited those Countries, built near the Sea the City to which he gave his own name; and *Dyrrachus* his Grand-son by his Daughter, whom they said was begot by *Neptune*, added to this City a Port which they call *Dyrrachium*. This *Dyrrachus* being in War with his Brother *Hercules*, returning from *Erythrea*, assisted him on condition to have a part of the Country for his reward. Hence comes it that the *Dyrrachians* call him their Founder, as having part in the Lands which they possessed, not that they disavow *Dyrrachus*, but they are well pleased out of vanity to derive their original from a God, rather than a Man. 'Tis reported, that in the Fight *Hercules* ignorantly slew *Ionius* the Son of *Dyrrachus*, and after having payed him all Funeral Honours, threw the Body into the Sea, which from him was called *Ionian*. Some *Phrygians* having deserted their Country, seized afterwards on this, and on the City it self, where they remained a long time, till after them the like was done by the *Taulantieni*, who are a people of *Illyria*; and again by the *Liburnians* another Nation of *Illyria* who used to rob their Neighbours in very swift Brigantines, which the Romans afterwards making use of, called *Liburnicks*. The *Dyrrachians* chased away by the *Liburnians*, having called to their assistance the *Corcyrians*, powerful by Sea, drove out again the *Liburnians*, and received into their City part of the Inhabitants of *Corcyra*, to whom in all likelyhood they gave habitation in the Port; and because the name of *Dyrrachium* was thought a name of ill Augury, they called it *Epidamnium*, after the name of the City which stands at a good distance from the Sea: and so *Thucydides* calls it, though to this day the old name carries it, and it be called * *Dyrrachium*. The Consuls were already arrived, when *Pompey* led the rest of his Forces to *Brundisium*, expecting the return of the Fleet to transport them; and *Cæsar* coming thither to besiege him, he hindered his forming a Siege till such time as the Fleet arriving in the Evening, he imbarqued, leaving only to defend the Walls a party of his best Soldiers, who mounting the same night on those Ships he had left for them; and having the Wind favourable, soon reached

* *Durazzo*.

reached the other. Thus all *Pompey's* Forces left *Italy*, and passed over into *Epire* with their General.

Cæsar hereupon found himself at a stand, he knew not on which side to turn himself, or where he should to his most advantage begin the War. He saw that from all parts Forces came to *Pompey*, and he was fearful lest the Army of old Soldiers he left in *Spain*, should fall into the rear of him, if he went to pursue those that seem'd to fly from him. In the end he resolv'd to march first of all for *Spain*, and having drawn off five Bodies of Armies, left one at *Brundisium*, another at * *Hydrunto*, another at *Tarentum* for the Guard of *Italy*; he sent *Q. Valerius* with another to seize on *Sardinia*, because it was fruitful in Corn; and *Asinius Pollio* went by his orders with another into *Sicily*, where *Cato* commanded. At his first coming *Cato* asking him if it were by Decree of the Senate, or Ordinance of the People, that he thus entred armed into a Province of which another was Governour, he made him only this short answer; *He that is now Master of Italy sent me hither*. To which *Cato* having replyed, That for the good of the Province he forbore to revenge the affront till another time, embark'd himself for *Corcyra*, to go and seek out *Pompey*. As for *Cæsar* himself having drawn off some Forces towards the City, he came thither, and finding the people affrighted with the miseries they had undergone in *Sylla's* time, he reassured them, exhorting them to have better hopes, making them fair promises, and justifying his clemency to his Enemies by the example of *Domitius*, who being fallen under his power, he had sent away with all his Equipage, not doing him the least displeasure. After which he broke open the Treasury, and notwithstanding the opposition made by *Metellus* Tribune of the People, whom he threatened to kill if he gave not over, carried away that Treasure which no man till then durst touch. Some say it was put there during the invasion of the Gauls, with publick execrations on whoever durst be so bold as to touch it, unless it were to make War upon the same Gauls: but *Cæsar* said he delivered the Common-wealth from those imprecations when he conquered the Gauls; and so there was no more danger on that side. He gave to *Emilius Lepidus* the Government of the City, and to *Marc. Anthony* the Command of all the Forces of *Italy*, and of *Italy* it self. As for the other Provinces he nominated *Curius* Successor to *Cato* in *Sicily*; to *Quintus Valerius* he gave the Government of *Sardinia*, to *C. Antonius* that of *Illyria*, to *Licinius Crassus* the *Cisalpine Gaul*. He likewise gave order for the speedy fitting out two Fleets for the Guards of the Ionian and Hetrurian Seas, of one of which he made *Hortensius* Admiral, and of the other *Dolabella*. Having thus sufficiently fortified *Italy* against any attempts *Pompey* might make, he advanced towards *Spain*, where being arriv'd he set upon *Petreius* and *Afranins* *Pompey's* Lieutenants, over whom he at first got no advantage, being encamped near the Enemy about * *Ilerda* in a high place surrounded with Rocks, whither he could not cause any Corn or Forage to be brought him, but over the Bridges of the River *Segre*, the River swelling on a sudden with the Winter Rains, broke down the Bridges, so that those who were gone to guard the Carriages that were to come to *Cæsar's* Camp, not being able to repass the River by reason of this accident, were all cut in pieces by *Petreius's* Men; and *Cæsar* himself with the rest of the Army were hardly put to it, to pass over the rest of their Winter, being to fight against Famine, ill Weather, and the Enemy, who in a manner held them besieged. But Summer being come, *Afraninus* and *Petreius* retreating into the farther *Spain* to joyn another

XII.

* Otranto:

* Lerida.

their Army newly set on Foot, *Cæsar* got before and crossed them in their March, continually intrenching himself in their way, and gaining the Passages. One Evening part of their Army being advanced with design to chuse a place proper to encamp in, found themselves invested; so that seeing no way to escape the Soldiers, by lifting up their Bucklers made a sign that they yielded. But *Cæsar*, to gain his Enemies by clemency, sent them to *Afranius*, without stopping one, or suffering a Dart to be thrown at them, which occasioned that there was continual intercourse between the two Camps, and in common discourse they began to talk of an accommodation; for already were *Afranius* and many of the Officers of opinion, that they should quit *Spain* to *Cæsar*, so he would grant them a safe retreat to *Pompey*, when *Petreius* running through the Army began to cry out against this proposition, and to kill with his own hand all such of the contrary Party as he found in his Camp, and this in so great madness, that he run his Sword into the Body of one of his own Tribunes who would have stopped him in this fury; whereby the Soldiers enraged at this cruelty did but the more esteem the clemency of *Cæsar*. It happened by chance that he cut off their way to go to water, which put *Petreius* and *Afranius* into a necessity of demanding a Conference between the two Armies. It was agreed that they should quit *Spain*, on condition that he would conduct them to the River *Var*, and from thence would permit them to retreat to *Pompey*. When they were arrived at the Banks of that River, he caused all the Romans and Italians they had in the Army to be drawn together, and spoke to them in this manner :

The Oration of *Cæsar*.

YOU know, my Enemies, (for you will understand me best by that name) that I did no injury to those who were sent before to mark out a place to encamp in, they yielding to discretion: nor to your selves when I had reduced you to want of water; though *Petreius* finding a Party of my Men on the other side the *Segre* cut them all in pieces: if you think your selves obliged to any acknowledgments for these kindnesses, pray make report of them to all *Pompey's* Soldiers.

After having said these words, he suffered them in all safety to pass the River, and made *Q. Cassius* his Lieutenant in *Spain*.

XIII

At the same time *Atius Varus* commanding *Pompey's* Forces in *Africa*, assisted by *Juba* King of *Mauritania* in favour of their amity and alliance: *Curius* had a design to go make War upon him, and passed out of *Sicily* with two of *Cæsar's* Legions upon twelve long Ships, and some other Ships of Burthen: being landed at *Utica* he put to flight some Numidians in a small Engagement of Horse; and thereupon suffered his Army drawn up in Battalia to proclaim him Emperour. This was an Honour which formerly Soldiers gave to their Generals as a Testimony of their Valour, and which the Generals accepted after having done some exploit in War: but at present, as far as I can understand, this acclamation is made to none but who had slain ten thousand of their Enemies. But to proceed, whilst *Curius* was yet upon

upon the Sea, the Africans imaginining that he would come and post himself in that place which is called the Camp of *Scipio*, as pretending to the same Glory which that General had gained in *Africa*, poisoned all the waters thereabouts; and in effect they were not deceived, for *Curio* coming to encamp there, a Sickness spread through his Army. As soon as the Soldiers had drunk of the water, their sight grew dim, then they were seized with a great drowsiness, which was followed by vomiting, and at last by Convulsions; wherefore he transported his Camp near to *Utica* with great labour, making his sick Army march over Marishes of so great extent. But when he heard of *Cæsar's* Victories in *Spain*, he took heart, and engaged the Enemy in a very strait place, where after a fierce Encounter the Enemy had six hundred killed, besides many more wounded, and *Curio* lost only one Man. Mean while, as *Juba* came on with his Forces, false intelligence was brought to *Curio*, that the King was returned from the River *Bagrada*, which was not far off, to repulse his Neighbours, who had made an irruption into his Kingdom, and had only left *Saburra* with some few Forces: *Curio* believed it, and in the greatest heats of Summer, and about three hours in the day made his Army march towards *Saburra*, through ways full of Sand and Dirt, and no Water; for all Streams were dried up by the heat of the Summer; and the King himself with *Saburra* were seized of the River; whereupon *Curio* fallen from his hopes, made a swift retreat towards the Mountains, equally incommoded with heat, thirst and weariness. The Enemies having observed it, passed the River, and drew up their Army in Battalia, and he was so imprudent as to come down into the Plain with his Forces, tyred as they were, and bring them to fight. The Numidian Horse having invested him, he sustained them for some time, by giving ground, yet keeping his Battalions close, but seeing the Enemy continued their charge, he once more regained the Mountains: *Pollio* fled in a good hour to the Camp near *Utica*, for fear lest *Varus* taking the opportunity should make some disorder; and *Curio* again rashly renewing the Fight was killed, and all those with him; so that after *Pollio* not one returned to *Utica*. After this ill success of *Curio's* rashness near *Bagrada*, the Enemies cut off his Head, which they carried to King *Juba*: and when the news was brought to the Army which he had left near *Utica*, *Flamma* who commanded the Ships got off to Sea with his Fleet before any of the Land Soldiers could embarque; so that *Pollio* was forced to get into a Boat to go and entreat some Merchants which were about to enter the Port of *Utica*, to bring their Ships close to shore without the City, and take in his Soldiers. His prayers were so urgent, that some of them in the night came near the Beach, but the Soldiers thronged so fast into them, that some of them sunk to the bottom, and those who got out to Sea were thrown over-board by the Mariners for the Money they had about them. Those who stayed behind at *Utica* fared not a whit better; for next morning yielding themselves to *Varus*, *Juba* coming thither, made them all be set upon the Walls, and saying they were part of his Spoils, caused them to be slain with Darts, notwithstanding all the entreaties of *Varus* to save their lives. Thus two Roman Legions going into *Africa* under the conduct of *Curio* perished with all their Horse, light armed Foot and Baggage: and *Juba* thinking he had done *Pompey* a great piece of service returned into his Kingdom.

About the same time *Anthony* was defeated by *Dolabella* one of *Pompey's* Lieutenants in *Illyria*; and another Army of *Cæsar's* that was at *Placentia* mutinied against their Officers, under pretence that they spun out the War

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XIV.

* About thirty
C. 71. 1. in length, and that they payed not the Soldiers the thirty Minas * a Head, which *Cæsar* had promised them at *Brundisium*. As soon as he had advice of it, he hastened from *Marsellia* to *Placentia*, where finding the Soldiers still disorderly, he spake to them in this manner:

The Oration of *Cæsar*:

YOU know my usual diligence, and see well, that the length of time where-
of you complain proceeds only from our Enemies flight, whom we cannot yet overtake; and yet notwithstanding, you who have enriched your selves in Gaul, serving under me, and are engaged to me not for a part of this War, but till it shall be quite finished, forsake me in the height of the business, you mutiny against your Officers, and would command those you ought to obey; wherefore being a testimony to my self of the affection I have always born you, I will treat you according to *Petereus's Law*, and decimate the ninth Legion because they have been the first Mutiniers.

At these words all the Legion began to weep, and the Tribunes threw themselves on their Knees to beg their pardon. At last *Cæsar* after some denials suffered himself to be overcome, and pardoned the whole Legion, save only six and twenty Soldiers, who appeared to be the Ring-leaders of the Mutiny, of whom yet he put only twelve to death, to whom the Dice proved unlucky; and it being made evident, that one of these twelve was absent at the time of the Mutiny, *Cæsar* in his stead condemned to death the Centurion who had impeached him. The Mutiny of *Placentia* thus appeased, he returned to the City, which he struck with a general fear; and without staying for a Session of the Senate, or the suffrage of any one Magistrate, created himself Dictator; but either thinking this supreme Degree of Honour might expose him to envy, or possibly judging it superfluous, eleven days after (as some say) he designed himself Consul with *Servilius Isauricus*, and made Governours of Provinces, or changed those already in Command as he pleased. To *M. Lepidus* he gave *Spain*; to *A. Albinus* *Sicily*; to *Sextus Pedecans* *Sardinia*; and to *Decimus Brutus* the new Province of *Gaul*. He likewise distributed Corn to the People, then much straitened with Famine; and at the request of the same people consented to the return of the Exiles, except only of *Milo*. But when they demanded a Release of their Debts, into which they had been forced to run by reason of the Wars and Tumults, it being impossible for them to pay, because the inheritances they might otherwise sell to clear themselves were now valued at nothing, he absolutely refused it; yet he created Censors to put a value on things to be sold, and ordered that the Creditors should take them as ready Money, and in part of so much of their Debts as they should be valued at. That done, about the depth of Winter he sent Commissaries of War to all his Armies, to bring them to the Rendezvous he had appointed at *Brundisium*; and departed from the City in the Month of *December*, without staying for the first day of the next year, as his Quality of Consul obliged him. The people went out in great crowds to attend him, both to pay him that Honour, and to beg of him to make a reconciliation with *Pompey* (for it was more than likely that whichsoever
of

of the two got the Victory would become Master of the Common-wealth) and he by great journies went on towards *Brundisium*.

Pompey on the other side without any intermission caused Ships to be built, Forces to be raised, Money to be gathered in ; and having taken forty of *Cæsar's* Ships in the * *Superiour* Sea, waited for his passing over. Mean while he continually employed his Soldiers in some exercise, where himself was still present, and in person began any work even beyond what his age seemed to give leave to, which gained him all Mens Hearts, who thronged in from all parts as to some Spectacle to see his Exercises. *Cæsar's* Forces were composed of ten Legions : and for *Pompey*, he had five Legions which went over out of *Italy* with their Horse, two of which remained of *Crassus's* Forces which he had led against the Parthians, and some part of those who went into *Egypt* under *Gabinus*, all amounting to eleven Legions of Italians, and about seven thousand Horse, besides the Auxiliary Troops of *Ionia*, *Macedon*, *Peloponnesus*, *Bæotia*, the Archers of *Crete*, and the Slingers of *Thrace*; he had likewise some Gaul and Galatian Horse, and Comagenians sent him by *Antiochus*, Cilicians, Cappadocians, and some Soldiers of *Armenia* the less, *Pamphylia*, and *Pisidia*. He designed not to make use of all these Strangers to bear Arms, but destined the greatest part of them to labour in the Trenches and other Works, wherein he would not employ the Italians, that he might not divert them from the Exercise of Arms. These were his Land Forces ; for the Sea he had six hundred long Ships fitted and armed for War, a hundred of which besides Seamen were filled with Roman Soldiers, on whom was the chiefest relyance, besides a great many Ships of Burthen which carried his Ammunition and Provisions ; the Command of all this Fleet was committed to several Vice-Admirals, over all whom *M. Bibulus* was Admiral. Things thus prepared, he caused all the Senators and Knights he had with him to assemble together, and at the Head of his Army thus spake to them :

The Oration of Pompey.

THe Athenians (Gentlemen) formerly deserted the Walls of their City, when they fought in the defence of their Liberty, because they thought the Men composed the City, and not the Buildings, by which means they soon recovered them, and in a short time after built them much more beautiful than before. Our Predecessors likewise went out of Rome, when the Gauls like a Torrent invaded them, and Camillus returning with them from Ardea, regained it in the same condition they had left it. In a word, those that are wise think their Country every where, where they can preserve their liberty. These examples and the hopes of a like success have obliged us to come hither, not to forsake our Country, but the better to prepare our selves to defend it, and to revenge it's cause upon him, who having a long time designed to oppress it, is become Master of it by their means whom he hath with gifts corrupted. He, I say, who being by you declared Enemy to the Common-wealth, hath by his audacious Enterprises invaded the authority of the Senate and Roman People, and given the Government of your Provinces to those of his Faction, to some that of the City, and to others that of Italy. Judge after this, what violence and cruelty he will forbear to exercise towards his Country, if we be so unhappy to let our selves be

overcome. He, who commits such insolencies in the beginning of a War whereof he fears the event, and whilst he is liable to receive the punishment of his Crimes, which is what we ought to wish and hope to see by the Divine Assistance; for he hath in his Party none but Wretches corrupted by the Money he hath drawn out of our Province of Gaul, who chose rather to be his Slaves than to live equally with other Citizens: for my part I never was wanting, nor shall not be wanting to expose my self to all sorts of Dangers; I offer my self to perform the Function of General or Soldier; and if I yet have the same good fortune and the same experience which hitherto have made me every where victorious, I beseech the Gods they may prove advantageous to my Country, and that I may not be less happy now when the Dispute is whether I shall prevent it's being oppressed, than when I extended the Bounds of its Empire. We have reason to have confidence in the protection of the Gods, and in the Justice of our Cause: for never can any be more just and honest to whoever loves his Country and the Common-wealth. Besides those great preparations we have made both by Sea and Land, and the Forces will come in to us from all parts as soon as the War is begun, is sufficient to encourage us; for all the Levant Nations as far as those bordering on the Euxine Sea, whether Greeks or Barbarians, are of our side, and all the Kings of those people who are either the Romans Friends or Allies or mine, will send us Soldiers, Arms, Provisions, and all things necessary. Let us go then, and give to our Country the assistance it merits, which your Virtue exacts from you, and my good Fortune demands from me; but remember always Caesar's Pride, and with readiness to obey my Orders.

Pompey's last words were followed by a general acclamation of the whole Army, Senators and other persons of Quality, who all desired him to lead them whither he thought fit. But he considering that it was the very worst season of the year; and besides, imagining that Caesar impeded in the City the creation of Consuls, would not attempt to cross a Sea usually tempestuous, before the end of Winter, gave order to those commanded the Sea Forces to guard the passage, and sent his Army into Garrisons in Thessaly and Macedon; so little foresight had he of what might happen.

XVI As for Caesar he departed, as we have said, in the Month of December for Brundisium, that by this unlooked for diligence he might startle the Enemy, and finding neither Provisions nor Military Preparations, nor indeed those Men he hoped to find, he assembled those were there; and thus spoke to them:

The Oration of Caesar.

THough we are now (Fellow Soldiers) in the depth of Winter, and that other Troops that ought to have been here are not yet come, nor such Preparations made as I expected, yet I am so firmly perswaded, that diligence has been the principal thing has given me success in all my Undertakings, and so much assured of your Generosity, that nothing can retard the resolution I have taken to pass over into Epire. Wherefore let us leave here our Baggage and Servants, that the Ships not being over-pestered may with more conveniency carry us, and we cross the Sea without being perceived by our Enemies, let us oppose
our

our good Fortune to the bad Weather; and if our numbers be but small, let our courage supply that defect, let us furnish out our wants at the Enemies Expence. All those things they have in such abundance will be ours as soon as we are landed, and we shall fall on the braver when we know we have no hopes but in Victory. Let us go then and make our selves Masters of their Munitions, of their Provisions, of their Baggage, of their Servants, whilst the cold shuts them up in their Houses, and Pompey thinks I am spending the Winter in the City in the pomps of the Consulate, and in Sacrifices. Your selves know how much sudden surprises are advantageous in War. I will perform a brave exploit only by going before, ordering things necessary, and preparing a secure retreat for those are to follow us. I could heartily wish you were already on board, that the time I waste in talking might be spent in sailing; so great an earnestness I have to let Pompey see me whilst he thinks I am amusing my self in exercising the Consulate in the City. Though I am sure of your good will, yet I expect your answer.

All the Soldiers cryed out he should lead them whither he pleased: as soon as he descended from the place whence he had spoke to them, he caused five Legions and six hundred chosen Horse to march towards the Sea, who being imbarqued, rode at Anchor, because of a Storm that happened, as is usual in the Month of December. The contrary Winds (do what they could) stayed them till the first day of the following year, when two Legions more coming to *Cesar*, he caused them to embark on the Ships of Burthen; for he had left those few long Ships he had for the Guard of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. They then set sail all together; and the whole Fleet being carried by the Storm to the Ceraunian Rocks, there landed them, and went immediately back to fetch the rest of the Army. *Cesar* with those he had marched towards *Orica*, but because the ways were rough and narrow he was often forced to file off; so that had there been any suspicion of his March, it might easily have been prevented, because of the cragginess of the ways. At length having about break of day with much labour got together all his Army, he presented himself before the City, where he that commanded, by consent of the Inhabitants, who thought it not convenient to shut the Gates against a Roman Consul, brought him the Keys, and afterwards continued on his Party in the same Quality of Governour of that place. *Lucretius* and *Minutius* who were on the other side of *Orica* with eighteen long Ships to guard the Ships of Burthen which carried Corn to *Pompey*, hearing of this Surrender, sunk the Ships and Corn to the bottom, and fled to *Dyrrachium*. From *Orica* *Cesar* hastened to *Apollonia*, where the Inhabitants having opened the Gates, *Tiberius* the Governour left the City.

Cesar after these fortunate Beginnings, drew together his Forces, and let them know how by the means of his diligence and the favour of Fortune he had surmounted the Difficulties of the Season, crossed a great Extent of Sea, with Ships, taken *Orica* and *Apollonia* without fighting, and already (as he had foretold) gained from the Enemy what things they wanted, even before *Pompey* had knowledge of it. *But if now we can*, said he, *make our selves Masters of Dyrrachium, where Pompey's Magazines both of Munition and Provision are, all that he with so much Cost and Pains has been storing up together will become your Recompence.* Having said these words, he went right to the City, continuing his March Night and Day by long and difficult ways.

xvii.

ways. *Pompey* receiving advice hereof, advances from *Macedonia* to prevent him, causing all along as he passed, trees to be cut down, Bridges broken, and all Provisions to be burnt, to retard *Cæsar's* March if he should come that way ; for he thought (as indeed it was true) the preserving of his Stores was of no small importance. The Soldiers of both Armies were so eager to gain *Dyrrachium* first, that if in any place they saw at a distance either the dust raised by their Fellows, or Fire, or Smoak, they presently imagined it was the Enemy, and run as if they had been to run a race ; they gave themselves neither time to eat, nor to sleep, but with Shouts and Hollas encouraged one another, pressing their companions forward to follow the Guides, which in the night carried Torches before them, and which sometimes caused great tumults, and as often Allarms as if the Enemy had been upon them ; some quite tired threw away their Baggage, and others privately withdrawing out of the Body, stopped in the Valleys to take a little repose which they stood in need of, and preferred before the fear or danger they might be in of their Enemies. Yet in the end of this Contention between the two Parties, *Pompey* got first to *Dyrrachium*, and encamped near the Walls, he sent presently his Fleet to *Orica*, which returned under his obedience, and after caused the Sea to be guarded with more diligence than before. *Cæsar* pitched his Camp directly against him, on the other side of the River *Axon*, which parted the two Armies, where yet there happened some Horse skirmishes, now one Party and then another passing the River, but neither could engage with all their Forces, because *Pompey* thought good first to exercise his Forces that were newly levied, and *Cæsar* expected those that were to come from *Brundisium*. He thought if they stayed till Spring, and then should come over with Ships of Burthen (and he had no other) they could no way be secured, *Pompey* having such a number of Gallies to defend the passage ; but if they embarked during Winter, they might slip by their Enemies, who now lay harboured in the Islands, or if they were engaged, might open themselves a passage by the violence of the Winds, and the Bulk of their Vessels, wherefore he did all he could to hasten their coming.

XVIII. And therefore out of impatience that the rest of his Army came not from *Brundisium*, he resolved himself to go privately over, thinking they would sooner follow him than any other ; wherefore without discovering his design to any one, he sent three of his Slaves to a River not above twelve Furlongs distant, to secure some very light Boat, and a good Pilot, as if he had an intention to send him upon some design, and feigning himself ill, rose from Table where he desired his Friends to continue, and taking the habit of a private man, mounting his Chariot, came to the Boat as *Cæsar's* Messenger. He had given orders to his Slaves to command the Mariners what they had to do, whilst he kept himself concealed under coverlids and the darkness of the night. Though the wind were contrary, and very raging, the Slaves made the Pilot put off, bidding him be of courage, and make use of his time to escape the Enemy, who were not far from them, they laboured so hard, that by force of Oars they got the Mouth of the River, where the Waves of the Sea beating against the stream of the River, the Pilot (who on the other side was afraid of falling into the Enemies hands) did all was possible for man to do, till seeing they gained nothing, and the Seamen not able to pull any longer he left the Helm. Then the Consul discovering his Head, cried out, *Courage, Pilot, fear no storm, for thou carriest Cæsar and his fortune.* Whereupon the Pilot and his crew astonished

stonished at these words, redoubling their force passed the Mouth of the River, got out to Sea; but because the Winds and the Waves still drove them towards the Lee shore in spite of all their endeavours, and day approaching, the Mariners fearing to be discovered by the Enemy, *Cæsar* angry at fortune that envied him, suffered the Pilate to regain the River, and the Boat presently running afore the Wind, came to the place from whence they set out: *Cæsar's* Friends admired at his boldness, others blamed him for having done an action more proper for a private Soldier than a General; and he seeing his design had not succeeded, and that it was impossible for him to pass over without being known, sent *Posthumus* in his place. He first had charge to tell *Gabinus* that he should presently embark the Army, and bring it to him; and if he refused, then to address himself to *Anthony*, and at last to *Calenus*, and if none of these three had spirit enough to execute these orders, he had a Letter for the Army in general, by which the Soldiers were exhorted to come over and follow *Posthumus*, landing at any place they could, without regarding the Ships; for he had more need of Men than Ships, so much confidence had he in fortune, indeed more than in prudence.

Pompey then judging he ought no longer to delay, drew out his Army in Battalia, and caused them to advance against *Cæsar*; but two of his Soldiers being entred into the River to sound the Ford, and one of *Cæsar's* Men having slain them both, he took this as an ill presage, and led back his Forces into the Camp, though many lamented the loss of so fair an occasion. As for the Forces at *Brundisium*, *Gabinus* refusing to follow the orders brought by *Posthumus*, with all that would follow him, went the way of *Illyria* by Land, taking such long Marches, that his Men being quite tired, the Inhabitants of the Country cut them all in pieces, for which *Cæsar* could not yet be revenged, being engaged in affairs of more importance. *Anthony* shipped away the rest, and having the Wind right aft, passed in sight of *Apollonia* with a merry Gale; but about Noon the Wind beginning to slacken, they were discovered by twenty of *Pompey's* Galleys, who made up towards them, they were fearful lest the Stems of the long Ships running on board them should pierce through and sink them; however, they were preparing to fight, every Man laying hold of his Sling, his Javelin, or Arms of the like nature: when on a sudden there sprung up a fresher gale than the former; so that *Anthony* setting his low Sails, went spooning away before, whilst the others not able to bear Sail, were tossed too and fro, where the Winds and Waves pleased, and at length driven into the Narrows, and cast upon Lee shores where there were neither Port nor Harbour. Thus *Anthony* safely recovered the Port of *Nymphæum* without losing more than two Ships, which unfortunately running upon the Flats were taken by the Enemies. *Cæsar* having now with him all his Forces as well as *Pompey*, they pitched their Camps in sight of each other, upon eminencies where each entrenched themselves, raising out Forts, which were often attacked by one Party and the other, one General still striving to block up the others Army, and cut them off from Provisions, so that there happened many Skirmishes. In this new mode of making War, as *Cæsar's* Men one day proved the weaker in a Fort assailed by the Enemy, a Centurion called *Scæva*, famous before for many gallant actions, being wounded in an eye, leaped from the Rampart, and making a sign with his hand for silence, as if he had something to say, he called to one of the Centurions of the contrary Party. a Man of Reputation, to whom he
said,

XIX.

said, *Save the life of one of thy own quality, save the life of thy Friend, send some body to lead me by the hand thus wounded as I am.* Whereupon two Soldiers stepping in to receive him as a Runaway, he slew one before he suspected the deceit, and knocked the other down. He did this action out of pure despair he was in of being able to defend the place; but it succeeded better than he imagined; for this happy success so raised the courage of his Companions, that they repulsed the Enemy, and remained Masters of the Fort. *Minutius* who commanded had a great share in the Glory, as well as in the danger of this Assault; for 'tis said his Buckler was six and twenty times pierced through, and he was wounded in the eye as well as *Sceva*; so *Cesar* honoured them both with many Military Recompences. Mean time, he had formed intelligence in *Dyrrachium*, and upon hopes the place would be delivered to him, he came with a small company to the Gate which is near the Temple of *Diana*; but his design being discovered, came off again without doing any thing. The same Winter *Scipio*, Father-in-law to *Pompey*, bringing him another Army out of *Syria*, was set upon in *Macedon* by *C. Calpurnius*, whom he defeated, and slew him a whole Legion, fourscore Soldiers only escaping. There came now no more Provisions to *Cesar* by Sea, *Pompey* being the stronger, wherefore the Soldiers were forced to make Bread of a certain kind of Herbs, pieces of which being by some Runaways brought to *Pompey*, thinking it would be to him a joyful present: instead of rejoycing at it, *What sort of Beasts*, said he, *have we to deal with?* *Cesar* now pinched with necessity drew together his Forces, resolving to engage *Pompey* whether he would or no; but *Pompey* being now possessed of several good Forts, kept close in his Trenches, which so much troubled *Cesar*, that he undertook a work almost impossible, and scarcely credible, which was to inclose all the Forts *Pompey* had, with a Trench drawn from the Sea, judging that though his design took not effect, he should gain the reputation of a man capable of great things; for this Trench must have been * twelve hundred Furlongs in length. *Pompey* on his part drew Lines and Trenches directly opposite to *Cesar's* Works: thus one eluded the Enterprises of the other.

* A hundred
and fifty
Miles long.

XX

At length there happened a great Fight between them, wherein *Pompey* bravely repulsing *Cesar's* Men, and having put them to flight, pursued them to their very Camp. Many Colours they took, and had taken the Eagle of a Legion, if the Standard-bearer who carried it had not thrown it with all his force into the Trenches, that he might preserve it for *Cesar*; for the Roman Soldiery have a great respect for their Standards: *Cesar* with other Companies came to the relief of those that fled, but so terrified were these too, that as soon as they beheld *Pompey* at a distance, though they were near the Camp, it was not possible for *Cesar* to stop them, nor to make them go in again, nor so much as to hearken to him, the Soldiers fled away in disorder without shame, without reason, or without any thing to oblige them to it: *Cesar* might well run up and down, and with reproaches shew them, that *Pompey* was yet a great way off. This hindred them not from throwing down their Arms, and flying, or else standing still silent and immoveable, fixing their eyes upon the ground with shame and confusion, so great was that panick fear had possessed them. There was an Ensign who, as his General would have stopped him, presented him the point of his Javelin, but he was upon the spot punished by the Guards as he deserved. Those who escaped into the Camp were so cast down, that they kept no Guard at the Gates, nor lined the Rampire, but the Trenches were left without any to defend them. All men believed that *Pompey* might have thrown himself
into

into the Camp with the Flyers, and so have made an end of the War, if *Labiens*, (for God would have it so) had not perswaded him rather to pursue those he had routed, then march up to the Trenches; him therefore he believed, whether it were that he was not in such haste as to make an end of all at once, or that seeing the Camp defenceless, he feared some Ambuscade, or else being victorious, scorn'd that little advantage. Going therefore to charge those were still abroad, he made yet a great Slaughter, so that in two Engagements in one day he gained twenty eight Colours, and twice lost the opportunity of ruining his Enemy beyond redress. And *Cæsar* himself stuck not to say that that day the War had been ended, had his Enemy known how to make use of his Victory.

Pompey after this glorious Success, wrote largely of it to the Kings and Commonalties; and conceived hopes that in a short time *Cæsar's* Army, either oppressed by Famine or terrified with this Disgrace, would yield themselves to him; especially the Tribunes, fearful of being punished for a fault they knew themselves guilty of. But they and all the Soldiers touched with Repentance as by Divine Inspiration, confessed themselves Criminals; and afflicted themselves the more, that their General spoke kindly to them, and granted them Pardon before they asked it: They would not forgive themselves; but with a wonderful Change, desired, as a Punishment of their Fault, they might be decimated, according to the custom of their Ancestors; but he would by no means admit it; which encreased their shame the more, that they should be guilty of such Cowardize in prejudice of the best Man of the World, and who most deserved their Faith and their Services. They besought him that at least he would punish the Ensigns, who had been the Cause of this Rout; for in flying they had only followed their Colours: and seeing *Cæsar* could not resolve to do that, but with much ado would consent to the Punishment of a few, his Moderation begot in the minds of the Soldiers a General Joy. They began all with one voice to cry out that he should lead them against the Enemy, that by gaining a new Victory they might wipe away their Infamy; and in the sight of their General they swore by whole Companies one to the other, never to return from the Fight but Victorious. Wherefore his Friends advised him to take the Army at their Words, and make tryal of them upon this height of Repentance, before their Zeal grew cooler: But he answered them before all the Multitude, that he would chuse a time more proper to shew them the Enemy; exhorting them then to remember the good Will they now protested: and in private he told his Confidants, that it was convenient to let that fear, which so late a loss had imprinted, be worn a little out of the minds of the Soldiery; and by temporizing, let the fierceness of his Enemies, heightened by their late Victory, be likewise a little cooled. He confessed withal he had committed a great fault in coming to encamp so near *Dyrrachium*, where *Pompey* had all things in abundance; whereas if he had drawn himself farther off, they might have met with equal Difficulties. After having discoursed in this manner, he came to *Apollonia*, and from thence privately by Night took his March towards *Thessaly*; and on the way, coming to a little City called *Gomphes*, that refused to open their Gates, he took it by Storm, and gave the Plunder to his Soldiers; who having long endured Scarcity, fed now beyond measure, and filled themselves with Wine; especially the * *Almains*, whose Drunkenness made them ridiculous to all the rest: So that here again in all appearance, *Pompey* lost a fair occasion of Victory by not pursuing an Enemy he despised; but lying

XXI.

* *Getmans.*

still, whilst in seven days March he got into *Thessaly*, and encamped near *Pharsalia*. It is reported there happened at *Gomphes* a thing very memorable, that in an Apothecary's Shop there were found twenty Old Men, all People of Quality, lying groveling upon the Ground, with Caps by them, in the posture of Drunken Men, dead without any Wound; and another sitting in a Chair, who, acting the Physician, had presented the Cups to the rest.

XXII.

After *Caesar's* Departure, *Pompey* held a Council of his Friends; where *Affranius* Advice was, that he should employ the Sea-Forces, in which they were the stronger, to pursue *Caesar* now flying and necessitous, and to incommode him what they could, whilst *Pompey* with the Land-Army past speedily into *Italy*, which favoured their Party, and where the other had no Forces; and placing good Garrisons both in *Gaul* and *Spain* without stirring from home, settle the Seat of the War in the Capital City of the Kingdom. But this Advice, though perfectly good, was not followed; they chose rather to believe those who maintained that *Caesar's* Army would soon by Famine be forced to yield to them; or if that happened not, yet after the Success of *Dirrachium*, it was no great Task to give Perfection to that Victory; that besides, it would be a shame to let *Caesar* fly without pursuing him, or to let it be said that the Vanquished and the Vanquisher fled each their several ways. *Pompey* therefore moved by these Arguments, but principally out of Consideration of the Eastern Nation, and of *Lucius Scipio*, lest any disgrace should happen to him in *Macedon*; and besides this, assuring himself upon the Alacrity of his Soldiers, who ardently desired to fight, followed *Caesar*: And as well as he encamped near *Pharsalia*, at about thirty Furlongs distance from him, Provisions were brought to him from all Parts; for he had before fortified the Passages, the Havens and the Forts; so that he had continual Supplies by Land, and every Wind brought him some by Sea. But *Caesar* had no more than what he daily with much difficulty sent out to forage for; yet, for all that, none of his Men forsook him: On the contrary, as if they had been animated by some Divine Spirit, they testified an incredible earnestness to fight. They considered that being all Veterans, trained to War for ten Years together, and having to deal only with Raw Soldiers, they should prove the stronger; but if the War were spun out in length, and they forced to labour in Trenches and other Works, Age already growing upon them, the consuming more time would be to their disadvantage: Wherefore they desired no longer delay; thinking it better to try the Fortune of Arms, than to fight longer against Hunger and Famine. On the other side, *Pompey*, who knew all these things, judged there might be danger in coming to an Engagement, and committing himself to the hazard of a Battel with experienced Men, whom Despair had made capable of attempting any thing; and who were besides commanded by *Caesar*, the most fortunate General of the World: But that he might more securely and with more facility defeat them, streitned as they were, and already weakned with want of all things, the Country where they lay not being over fertile, and they having no Sea-Port, nor so much as a Ship to escape in: He therefore resolved, and surely with a great deal of Prudence, not to fight; but vanquish his half-starved Enemies by starving them more. But having with him a great number of Senators of the same Quality with himself, the Choice of all the Roman Knights, and many Kings and Potentates, they all exhorted him to give Battel; some out of Ignorance, others having in their Heads the Victory at *Dirrachium*, others

thers relying upon the great number of their Forces, in which they had the advantage ; and some, who, weary of the War, chose rather to hazard Victory at one push, than attend it from good Conduct. They shewed him *Cæsar* provoking him to fight, and always drawn out in Battel. But he turned that Example against themselves ; and told them, *Cæsar* did that, being forced to it by Famine, and that he ought the rather to lie quiet, the more *Cæsar* was streitned for want of Provisions.

And yet at last, seeing all the Army, puffed up with the last Victory, desired to fight ; and that many Persons of Quality reproached him that he loved to command, and that he spun out the War with design to maintain himself so much the longer above so many People his Equals ; that they called him King and *Agamemnon*, because *Agamemnon* had likewise commanded Kings during the War ; he was constrained to forego the Resolution he had taken. And now Fortune, which had not been over-favourable to him in many other Accidents of this War, forsook him quite. He grew fainter and slower than ordinarily he used to be ; and prepared for this Fight much against his Will, to his Ruin, and the Loss of those who counselled him to it. *Cæsar* had that Night sent out two Legions to go fetch in Corn ; for praising *Pompey* for temporizing, and believing he would continue to do so, he endeavoured nothing more than the bringing Provisions to his Camp from all sides : But when he had a little notice that his Enemy was disposed to give Battel, he was very joyful, conjecturing him forced to it by the head-strong humour of his Soldiers ; and causing those two Legions sent out for Forrage, speedily to return, he gave all his Men Order to be in a readiness : About Midnight he sacrificed to *Mars* and *Venus* his Mother (for it is said, that the Family of the *Fulii* had their Original as well as Name from *Iulus*, Son to *Æneas*) and withal, made a Vow to build a Temple in the City in Honour of that Goddess. After the Sacrifice, there having appeared a stream of Lightning, which extended it self from *Cæsar's* Camp over that of *Pompey's* : Those of this Party promised themselves a bright and glorious Victory ; but *Cæsar* interpreted it to his advantage ; saying, he was going with one blow to extinguish all the Glory and Power of *Pompey*. As *Pompey* sacrificed the same Night, the Victims escaping, could not be retaken, a Swarm of Bees came and set upon the Altars : There was raised a little before Day in *Pompey's* Army a Panick Terror ; which yet himself going from Quarter to Quarter, appeased, and after slept soundly ; and when his Friends waked him, told them, he dreamed he was dedicating a Temple in the City to *Venus* the Victorious : His Familiars and his Soldiers, who had heard nothing of *Cæsar's* Vow, rejoiced mightily at it, they believed the Advantage certainly theirs, and began to despise the Enemy, and do things more by impulse of Passion than Reason ; in so much, that some crowned their Tents with Laurel, which is the Token of Victory, and made their Slaves prepare Magnificent Feasts : Nay, some there were who disputed among themselves for *Cæsar's* High Priesthood. *Pompey*, who had great experience in what related to War, had an aversion for all these things ; but he let not his Anger break forth, for it would have been a trouble to him, neither did he now think it secure to reprove People who loved rather to command than obey, and who by their Importunity had forced him to act against his Judgment. So stupified was now this Great Man, who had ever before been so happy ; whether he were troubled that his Counsel was slighted, being so perfectly good, and that he was constrained to hazard the safety of so many Men, together with his own Glory, which never yet had any like it ;

or whether his Genius presenting to him his approaching Misfortune, appalled him, being just at the point of losing in one moment so great and sublime an Authority. However, at length having said to his Friends, that whoever gained the Victory that day, would be the Commencement of infinite Calamities to the Roman People, he began to draw up his Army in Battel: from whence some making reflexion on these words which on a suddain heat escaped him, have believed that if he had been Victorious, he would have made himself Master of the Commonwealth.

XXIV. Now, to give an Account of the number of the Forces on both Parts, without having recourse to that Multitude of Authors, who so ill agree in this Point, I will follow the gravest of the Romans; who report exactly the number of the Italians, as the principal Force of the Army, and make little mention of the Auxiliaries, whom indeed they had but little consideration of. *Cæsar* had about two and twenty thousand Men, of whom about a thousand were Horse; and *Pompey* had half as many more, of whom about seven thousand were Horse: So that most credible Authors say, that there were about seventy thousand Italians in both Armies; those who are most modest say, sixty thousand; and those who are boldest, four hundred thousand; of whom some say *Pompey's* made more than half, others that *Cæsar's* were but one third; so difficult it is, exactly to know the truth. But however it were, both the one and the other Party placed their chief Reliance on those of that Nation: Not but that *Cæsar* had good Auxiliary Forces; he had French Cavalry, and a great number of Transalpine Gauls, and Grecian Light Armed Foot of the Acarnanians, Etolians and Dolopes. But *Pompey* had a great multitude of all the Oriental Nations, as well Horse as Foot; out of *Greece*, the Lacedemonians with their Kings, the other Peloponnesians and Boeotians; and even the Athenians came to this War. Though both Parties had caused it to be proclaimed by the publick Cryer, that all Persons were forbid touching them, being Priests to *Ceres*, the Inventor of Laws; yet would they come to bear Arms, that they might have the Honour to fight for the Roman Empire. After the Greeks, came Troops of almost all Nations lying upon the Sea-Coasts of the *Levant* Seas; from *Thrace*, from the *Hælpont*, from *Bithynia*, *Phrygia*, *Ionia*, *Lydia*, *Pamphilia*, *Pisidia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judæa*, *Arabia*, *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*; with Slingers from *Crete*, and all the other Isles. There were likewise Kings and Sovereigns with their Forces: *Deiotarus*, Tetrarch of *Gallatracia*; and *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*; *Taxiles* lead the Armenians from this side the *Euphrates*; and *Megabates*, Lieutenant of King *Artabasus*, those from beyond that River; besides several little Sovereigns that brought what Forces they had. They say likewise, that *Cleopatra* and her Brother, yet a Child, sent sixty Gallies; whose Forces were not at the Fight no more than those of the rest of the Fleet, who lay doing nothing at *Corcyra*. And most certain it is that *Pompey* was not so prudent as he ought to have been, in not making good use of his Naval Forces; in which he was so strong, that he might always have hindred the bringing from any place Provisions to his Enemy; but chusing rather to fight on Land against Men hardened to Labour, and accustomed to Victory: But it is apparent that the Victory at *Dyrachium* made him slacken his Care, and that nothing could have been more advantageous to *Cæsar* than that loss; for *Pompey's* Soldiers, grown proud with that Success, would no longer obey; and marched against their Enemies hand over head. But decreed it was, he should commit this fault, to give Birth to that Empire which extends it self so far over the Nations of the Earth.

The

The Armies being disposed and ready to fight, the two Generals by words endeavoured to encourage their Men : And *Pompey* spoke to his in this manner. X XV.

The Oration of Pompey.

AT length, Soldiers, you are put in a posture to fight, rather by commanding me, than doing what I command : For whereas I was resolved to destroy *Cæsar* by temporizing, you would needs fight him. Since you, therefore, are the Enactors of this Battel, and the Arbiters of it, shew what you are to those Enemies you so far surpass in number : Despise them as young and vigorous Conquerors should the Vanquished, surcharged with Age and tired with Labour. Besides, your advantage over them lies not only in your Preparations and Forces, but in the Testimony of your own Consciences, and in the Justice of your Cause ; since we fight for Liberty, for our Country, for the Laws, for Glory, for so many Senators, and so many Roman Knights, against a Man who aims at Dominion by his Thefts and Robberies. Let us go on then in good hopes whither your Courage leads you, and remember the Day of *Dyrrachium*, when we put to flight the same Enemy ; and what a great number of Colours you in one day brought away your Prize.

Cæsar, in like manner, encouraged his Men in words to this purpose.

The Oration of Cæsar.

THe most difficult part of our Labours is now at an end, Fellow Soldiers, we are no more to fight with Hunger and Want, we have now only Men to deal with ; and this day will put an end to all, provided you do but remember the promise you made me at *Dyrrachium*, and in what manner you swore to one another in my presence, never to return from the Fight without Victory. These are the Men we are come to seek from as far as the Pillars of Hercules ; those who durst not stand us, but fled before us out of Italy ; these, who, after we had fought ten Years together for the Glory of our Country, after that we had gained a multitude of Victories, and added to the Roman Empire four hundred Nations in Spain, Gaul and Brittany ; would have deprived us of the Honours due to us, of the Triumphs and other Recompences our Services merited. In a word, these whom I could never move, neither by the Justice of my Right, nor by the Favours I have done them ; for you know how many of them I have set free without doing them the least injury, in hopes they would do things reasonable for me. Remember then their Injustice ; and if ever you did believe I had any kindness or good will for you, if you have ever experienced my Liberality or received my Largesses, let this Day's Actions make good your Acknowledgments. It is no hard matter for Old Soldiers to overcome Hot-headed Youngsters, unskilled in the Mystery ; and who like Children, come to the business in disorder, and despising their General : for I am certainly assured he himself leads them trembling, and sore against his mind to this Battel ; for seeing his Fortune grow old, he is himself grown foolish and stupid, and does not so much command as obey the Command of others.

Hitherto

Hitherto I have yet spoke to you only concerning the Italians ; for the Strangers, I would not have you trouble your selves, nor account them for any thing ; nor would I have you go to charge the Slaves of Syria, Lydia and Phrygia, only born for Flight and Servitude : I know it certainly, and you shall see it, that Pompey will not give them any place in his Battel. Engage therefore only the Italians ; and if the Strangers come to run after you like Dogs, when you have routed the Italians, spare them as your Allies ; but put all the Strangers to the Sword, to strike a terror in others. But first of all, to perswade me that you remember your promise, and that you desire to die or overcome, as you go out of the Camp I command you, that your selves pull up the Pallissade, and fill up the Trench, that we may have no hopes left but in Victory : And that the Enemies seeing we have no more a Camp, may understand that of necessity we must lodge in theirs.

XXVI. After having thus spoke to his Soldiers, he left two thousand of the oldest for Guard of the Baggage ; and the rest, as they came out of the Camp, pulled up the Pallissade and filled up the Ditch with as little noise as might be : Which being told to Pompey by some who thought they prepared themselves for Flight ; he knowing their Confidence, began to sigh, that he must fight against fierce Beasts, whom he might have defeated by Famine ; which is the only way to reduce Beasts. But now there was no going back ; for as the Proverb says, *The Knife was at his Throat*. Wherefore, leaving four thousand Legionary Soldiers for the Guard of the Camp, he caused the rest to march in Battalia between *Pharsalia* and the River *Enipeus* ; where *Cæsar* planted himself directly opposite to him : So that the Front of both Battels was composed of the Legions, in three Bodies, at some distance one from the other ; whose Flanks were covered with two Wings of Horse, among whom were mixed Archers and Slingers. The Legions, in whom both Parties placed their chief Hope, being ranged in this Order, they brought on the Strangers, more for Shew than Service. Pompey had a great number of divers Languages, out of which he drew apart the Macedonians, Peloponnesians, Boeotians and Athenians, as more accustomed to keep their Ranks with silence, and placed them near his Legions ; and for the others, *Cæsar* had conjectured he drew them into a Body apart, with Orders to environ the Enemy as soon as the Battel was begun, and to do what they could to break in and plunder *Cæsar's* Camp, whose Works he had seen thrown down. *Scipio*, Father in Law to Pompey, was in the middle of the Battel, *L. Domitius* on the Left Wing, *Lentulus* on the Right, and *Asfranius* stayed for Guard of the Camp. In *Cæsar's* Army *Sylla*, *Anthony* and *Cn. Domitius* commanded ; and he, according to his custom, chose his place at the Head of the Tenth Legion : Which the Enemies having observed, they opposed against him all their best Horse ; that being the stronger in number, they might inclose him. *Cæsar*, on the contrary, knowing their design, drew off a Body of three thousand Men of the best of his Foot to relieve him upon occasion ; and commanded, that as soon as they saw the Enemy come to invest him, they should charge them with their Piles, aiming chiefly at the Face ; for young and unexperienced People who put value on their Beauty, would be fearful to receive any Wound might render them deformed. And now the Generals went through the Ranks to give necessary Orders, exhorting them to shew their Courage, and giving them the Word for that day ; which on *Cæsar's* side was, *Venus the Victorious* ; and on Pompey's, *Hercules the Invincible*. Thus standing in Battalia, they for a long time kept silence on both sides ; each Party keeping his Ground, and expecting when the other

other should begin the Fight. For they were moved with Compassion to see the greatest number of Forces that had ever before been seen together of the Italian Nation, and all Chosen Men, about to expose themselves to the Hazard and Uncertainty of a Battel, for the Interest and Passion of two Romans, envious of each other : And as the Danger approached, the Ambition wherewith they had hitherto been blinded, began to remit, and give place to Fear. Reason having chased away the furious Appetite of Glory, began to represent to them the greatness and the Cause of the Disgrace wherein they might fall. That two Men disputed for the Preheminence with contempt of their Lives, and yet neither could promise to himself the living in the meanest Degree, unless he got the Victory : And that for their Difference such numbers of brave Men were about to hazard their utter Destruction. It came likewise into their Minds, that having so lately been Friends and Allies, and endeavoured to render each other mutual Service for the Support of their Grandeur, they should now draw Swords one against another, and oblige to be Followers in their criminal Passion so many Generals and Officers, among whom nothing but Concord ought to have been maintained, being of the same City, and some of them Brethren ; for so they were, having engaged themselves unawares, as in two different Parties of so many thousand Men of the same Nation, many extraordinary things must necessarily happen. Thus the two Generals making these reflections, were touched with remorse ; and because this Day was to make one of them the first or the last of all Men, they could not easily resolve to begin a Fight, the Success whereof was so doubtful. Some report, that both of them shed tears.

The Day was now well advanced, whilst both Parties thus stood viewing one another, and the Legions stood firm, without moving from their places ; till *Pompey* perceiving that the Strangers, wearied with the delay, kept their Ranks but ill ; fearing lest by their Example the others might take the liberty to do the same before the Battel began, commanded first to sound the Charge ; which *Cæsar* on the other side immediately seconded. And now the Soldiers, heartned by the sound of the Trumpets, and the presence of their Officers ; who going through the Ranks, encouraged them to do well, began to march one against the other with an incredible Vehemence ; yet with deep silence, like People who had often been upon the same Occasions. When they came within a Dart's Flight the Light-Armed Foot gave the first Discharge, and then the Horse fell on ; where after having given great Evidences of their Valour on both sides, *Pompey's* had the Advantage, as being more numerous ; and went about to invest the Tenth Legion. Whereupon *Cæsar* gave a Sign to his Reserve appointed for that purpose to advance, which at an instant they did, throwing their Piles at the Faces of the Horsemen ; who, not able to bear the Brunt of these desperate Men, nor endure that they should pierce their Cheeks and thrust out their Eyes, fled away in disorder : Which gave Opportunity to *Cæsar's* Horse, who before were fearful to be environed, to charge *Pompey's* Legions in Flank, where they lay naked, being deserted by the Horse-men. *Pompey* advised of it, gave Order to his Foot not to advance farther, nor to assail the Enemy, nor to throw any Pile ; but presenting their Points to those came at them, to fight standing their Ground. Some have praised this way of fighting invented by *Pompey*, as advantageous to those that are like to be inclosed : But *Cæsar* disapproves it in his Commentaries ; because, in casting the Pile the blow is more violent, and the motion gives life to the Courage of the Soldier, which grows

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grows cold and faint by standing still ; besides, that it is more easie to overturn those are only planted like Stakes, which now happened ; for after *Cæsar's* Horse had charged upon the flank, *Pompey's* Right Wing, which lay naked, and stood still whilst they poured upon them at distance whole Showers of Darts : The tenth Legion came up close to them in Front ; and finding them in Disorder, made them give Ground ; which was the beginning of the Victory. In other places they fought with divers Success, and every where made a great Slaughter ; yet in a Fight of so many Legions there was not heard the least Cry, either of the Wounded, or of those that fell, save only the last dying Gasps and Groans of them who gave up the Ghost in the same place where they had fought. The Strangers, Spectators of so many noble Actions, were astonished to see Soldiers so resolutely keep their Ranks ; in so much, that surprized with their height of Bravery as at a Miracle, they durst not so much as attempt *Cæsar's* Camp, defended only by a few Old People ; but stood like Stocks, or Men that had lost their Senses. But when they saw *Pompey's* Right Wing, pressed hard by *Cæsar*, begin to recoil, yet still fighting in the same manner, they set a running all towards the Camp, crying out, they had lost the Day ; and after having pulled down and plundered the Tents of their own Party, fled every Man which way they best could. The noise of this Rout made the other Legions give Ground, first in good Order, and defending themselves the best they might ; but at last, charged home by the Enemy, who now found himself the stronger, they likewise betook themselves to Flight. And now *Cæsar*, to prevent their Rallying, and to make an end at once, not only of this Battel, but of the whole War, did an Action of great Prudence in causing it to be proclaimed throughout his whole Camp, that they should spare the Citizen, and put the Stranger to the Sword ; for at the same time the Vanquishers pursuing the Vanquished, bid them stay there in safety : And the Proclamation of those Orders having passed from hand to hand through both Armies, that Saying, *Stay there in Safety*, served as a word to *Pompey's* Men, to make themselves be known ; and that the easier, because being all Italians, they wore the same Habit, and spoke the same Language. Thus *Cæsar's* Soldiers, passing by their Country-men, fell upon the Strangers ; of whom they made a mighty Slaughter, they not being in any posture of defence. *Pompey* beholding his Men fly, lost his Courage, retreating by little and little into his Camp ; and being entered his Tent, sat still a great while without saying a word, like to *Ajax Telamon* ; to whom, as it is said, something like this happened at the time of the Trojan War. But few of his Men returned into the Camp, because it having been told them at the time of the Defeat, that they should stay there in safety ; and their Enemies having done them no violence, they were dispersed by Companies on one side and on the other. Towards the Evening *Cæsar* going through all his Army, began to entreat the Soldiers not to think of any repose, till they had taken *Pompey's* Camp ; telling them, that if they suffered the Enemy to rally, they were only victorious for a day ; whereas by making themselves Masters of the Camp, they made their Victory perfect, and gave the last Stroke to the Work : Wherefore, stretching out his hands like those that supplicate, he began himself to advance that way before them all. Though they were extremely tired, yet *Cæsar's* Discourse and Authority gave them new strength, besides their present good Fortune, and the hopes they had to force the Trenches, which they thought a thing very important ; and there is no surer Remedy against Weariness than Hope : So they stormed the Palliade with scorn of those that defended it. When *Pompey* was told of it, he at length broke

broke his profound Silence with these words ; *And how ! Into our very Camp.* And presently changing Habit, mounted on Horse-back ; and accompanied by four of his Friends, rid all Night full Speed, and at Break of Day came to *Larissa*. *Cæsar*, as he had foretold when he was drawing out his Army, lodged in *Pompey's* Camp, supped with Meat they had made ready for him, and the whole Army was feasted at the Enemy's Charge. As for the Dead on both sides, as well Romans as Allies, (for the number of the Strangers was so great it was hard to count them ; besides, none took the pains) *Cæsar* lost thirty Centurions, and two hundred Legionary Soldiers ; or according to the Account of others, twelve hundred : And on *Pompey's* side there dyed ten Senators, among whom was *L. Donitius*, who had been sent into *Gaul*, Successor to *Cæsar* ; and about forty Roman Knights of the best Families of the City ; for the Soldiery, those who set down the greatest number say five and twenty thousand : But *Asinius Pollio*, one of *Cæsar's* Captains who commanded in this Battel, writes in his Commentaries, that there were not above six thousand slain. Such was the success of the famous Battel of *Pharsalia*. Among those who did best, they give the first place to *Cæsar* ; the second place to the same *Cæsar*, with the tenth Legion, by the Consent of all the World ; and the third Honour is due to the Centurion *Crastinus*, whom *Cæsar*, as he went out of the Camp, having asked, what hopes he had of the Battel ? replied with a loud voice ; *We will overcome, Cæsar ; and thou shalt this day praise me, either alive or dead.* And indeed, all the Army bare witness, that they had seen him run like a Fury through the Battalions, and do Actions almost incredible. His Body being found among the Dead, *Cæsar* adorned it with Military Rewards ; and in that manner caused it to be buried apart, with a Magnificent Tomb, near the common Sepulture of others.

Pompey departing immediately from *Larissa*, came to the Sea ; and going first into a little Boat, met by chance with a Ship, and got to *Mitylene* : where taking with him *Cornelia*, and lading his Equipage upon four Gallies come to him from *Rhodes* and *Tyre*, he would go neither to *Corcira*, nor to *Africa*, where he had another Army and a Powerful Fleet ; but chose rather the way of the East towards the King of the Parthians, by whose Assistance he hoped to recover all he had lost. He told his Design to no one, till being ready to land in *Cilicia*, he discovered it to his Friends ; but they advised him not to trust the Parthian, against whom *Crassus* had so lately to very ill purpose made War, and was still puffed up with Victory he had gained against the Romans : Besides, it was not safe to carry among Barbarians a beautiful Woman like *Cornelia* ; who was moreover, *Crassus* Widdow : They therefore proposed to him either *Egypt* or King *Juba* ; the later they thought not of sufficient Reputation, but all counselled his Retreat into *Egypt*. They alledged that it was not far off, that it was a Powerful Kingdom, an Excellent Country, where he would want neither Shipping, nor Provisions, nor Money ; and whose Kings, though yet but Minors, were obliged to serve him, because of the good Offices he had done their Father. So by those Reasons he was perswaded to bend his Course towards *Egypt*. There was at present a Division in the Royal Family ; *Cleopatra*, who before reigned joyntly with her Brother *Ptolemy*, being driven out, now raised Forces about *Syria* ; and *Ptolemy* her Brother was encamped near Mount *Cassia*, on the Frontiers of *Egypt*, to hinder her Re-entry into the Kingdom. It happened that the Wind drove *Pompey* into that place ; who seeing so great an Army on the Shore, stopped ; and because he judged, as it proved

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true, that the King was there, he sent one to give him advice of the Cause of his coming, and to remember him of his Friendship with his Father. He was yet but thirteen Years of Age ; and had for Overseers *Achillas* in what concerned Affairs of War, and *Photinus* the Eunuch for the Treasury : Those began to consult betwixt them what they should do in this Conjunction ; and having called to counsel with them *Theodatus* the Rhetorician, School-Master to the Infant King. He proposed to them an execrable Advice ; which was, to cut off *Pompey*, to gain the favour of *Cæsar* : Which being resolved on, under pretence that in that place the Sea was full of Shoals, so that greater Vessels could not approach, they sent him a wretched Boat, in which there were some Officers of the Royal House, and with them a certain Roman Soldier called * *Sempronius*, who now bore Arms in *Egypt*, but had formerly served under *Pompey*. He presented him his hand on the Part of *Ptolemy* ; inviting him to enter, and go with him to his Friend, who waited for him. Mean while the Army was drawn up in Battel on the Sea Shore ; in the midst of which appeared the King, clad in his Royal Robes, as if to do Honour to his Guest. Though *Pompey* had already some cause to distrust, considering this Army in Battel, the pittifulness of the Boat, that the King came not in Person to meet him, nor sent any Person of Quality ; yet he went into the Skiff, repeating to himself these Lines of *Sophocles*.

* *Sempronius* is
all other Authors

*To Tyrants Courts, the Valiant and the Brave ;
Though free they enter, soon become their Slave.*

When he saw that after he was got some distance from his Ships no Person spoke to him, his suspicion increased. Wherefore, either knowing *Sempronius* for a Roman, or a Soldier that had served under him, or conjecturing it because he only stood up, according to the Discipline of the Romans, which permits not Soldiers to sit before their General ; he said, turning towards him, *Surely I have known you, Fellow Soldier* : Which *Sempronius* having acknowledged, as soon as he turned away, he gave him the first blow, which was followed by many others that took away his Life. His Wife and Friends seeing afar off this Murther, began to cry out ; and lifting up their hands to Heaven, imploring the Gods Revengers of violated Hospitality, with all speed took their Flight. *Photinus's* People cut off *Pompey's* Head, which he kept to present to *Cæsar* when he should arrive in *Egypt*, out of hopes of a great Reward ; but he revenged this Murther as became him. Some one having found the Trunk of his Body, buried it upon the Sea-Shore, raising over it a little Tomb ; upon which some other wrote this Inscription ;

*Scarce should a Temple to hold that suffice,
Which huddled in a little Sand, here lies.*

This Sepulchre being in process of time quite covered over with Sand, the Emperour *Adrian* visiting that Country, caused it in these our times to be sought for, and after having found it with the Copper Images which the Inhabitants of these Coasts had dedicated to *Pompey*, which were fallen with age in the ruins of a Temple, he caused the Rubbith to be removed, made the Sepulchre visible, and set up the Images. Thus ended this great Man his days, after having fortunately put an end to many Wars of great Importance, and augmented the Roman Empire, by which he got the Title of Great. Never before had he been vanquished, and from his very youth began

began to be happy in all his undertakings ; for from the three and twentieth to the eight and fiftieth year of his age, he had in effect the power of a King, though he took upon him only the quality of a private Citizen, because of the dispute for preheminance between him and *Cæsar*.

Lucius Scipio his Father-in-law, and all the rest of the persons of Quality that escaped from the Battel of *Pharsalia*, retired to *Corcyra*, where they had of purpose left *Cato* with other Forces and three hundred Gallies. There having divided the Fleet among *Pompey's* chief Friends, *Cassius* sailed towards *Pontus* to engage *Pharnaces* to take up Arms against *Cæsar*; *Scipio* and *Cato* went into *Africa*, relying upon those Forces *Varus* had, and the assistance they hoped for from *Juba* King of the Moors. And *Pompey's* Eldest Son, with *Labiennus Scapula* and another part of the Army, went by great Journeys to *Spain*, with design to draw that Province to their Party, to raise other Forces of Spaniards, Celtiberians, and even of Slaves, and to make the greatest Preparations they possibly could ; so great were yet the Wrecks of *Pompey's* Power, which by a prodigious blindness he deserted and fled. The soldiers in *Africa* offered *Cato* the chief Command ; but he refused it, because there were there present Lieutenants of Consular Quality, and he had never arrived to higher Dignity in the City than the Charge of Pretor. Wherefore *L. Scipio* being chosen General of that Army, he laboured likewise in these Quarters to encrease and exercise his Forces ; so that there were raised at the same time two powerful Armies against *Cæsar* ; one in *Africa*, and the other in *Spain*. He for his part stayed at *Pharsalia* but two days after the Victory, that he might sacrifice to the Gods in the Field of the Battel, and suffer the Soldiers take some repose, tired with the Toil of that Great Day. He likewise granted Liberty to the Thessalians, who had served him faithfully upon this Occasion : And the Athenians coming to demand his Pardon, he forgave them with these words ; *How often must the Glory of your Predecessors withhold you from falling down those Precipices whither your own faults lead you ?* The third day he marched towards the East, whither he understood *Pompey* was fled : As he passed the *Helléspont* upon little Boats for want of Ships, in the middle of the Strait *Cassius* (in his way to *Pharnaces*) suddainly comes up with a great number of Gallies ; and though he might with so many Bottoms have easily defeated his Enemy, who was infinitely the weaker ; yet such was the prodigious good Fortune of *Cæsar*, that the other was so extremely surprized, thinking he was come of purpose to meet him, that of his own accord he yielded himself into his Hands, demanded Pardon, and delivered up to him the Fleet ; so powerful was the Opinion only of *Cæsar's* continual Happiness, for I can find out no other Cause ; and am of Opinion, that in all the Dangers he ever encountered, his good Fortune never served him to better purpose than now, when *Cassius*, a Warlike Man, having seventy Gallies, meeting him by chance so ill prepared, durst not attempt to fight him ; and yet, after he had settled himself in the Supreme Power in the City, he who out of a Cowardly faint-heartedness yielded to him in his Passage, killed him in the height of his Prosperities ; which proves the more, that *Cassius*, terrified in that manner, yielded only to the Fortune that advanced *Cæsar*. Thus escaping beyond his Hopes, as soon as he was landed, the *Ionians*, *Etolians*, and other Nations inhabiting that great *Peninsula*, which is called *Asia Minor*, sent Deputies to him, to crave his Pardon ; which he granted : And understanding that *Pompey* was gone towards *Egypt*, he sailed towards *Rhodus* ; whence, without staying for his Army, whom he had ordered to rendezvous in this Island,

he embarked on *Calpurnius* his Gallies, and those of *Rhodes*, with those Forces he had, and towards the Evening went to Sea: He told no body whither he designed, but only gave Order to the Pylates to follow the Admiral's Light by Night, and the Flag by Day. And when he was in the Main Sea, he commanded the Master of his Galley to steer towards *Alexandria*; where he arrived the third Day after. The King's Tutors, who were still about Mount *Cassius*, came forthwith to receive him: And having at his Arrival but few People about him, he remained for some time without doing any thing. In the mean time he civilly received all such as visited him, walked often about the City under pretence of being pleased to view it, went often to Philosophy Schools; where standing, he would hear the Professors: and by this manner of living, he gained the Favour and Esteem of all the People of *Alexandria*: But when his Army was arrived he put to death *Achillas* and *Photinus*, for their Villany committed on the Person of *Pompey*; and *Theodorus* then escaping him, *Cassius* after finding him in *Asia*, caused to be hanged. The Alexandrians hereupon taking Arms, and the King's Army coming to oppose *Cesar*, they fought in several Engagements with divers Success, as well about the Palace as the adjoining Shores; so that once *Cesar*, pressed hard upon by the Enemy, threw himself into the Sea, and escaped them by swimming; and his Coat-Armour falling into the Egyptians hands, they hung it up in the place appointed for Trophies. But in the end, in the last Battel, fought near the *Nile*, where the King was in Person, *Cesar* remained Conqueror. He spent nine Months in all these Affairs, till such time as he settled *Cleopatra* in the Kingdom of *Egypt* instead of her Brother, and made a Progress with her upon the *Nile*, followed by four hundred Vessels, to see the Country, or perhaps being in love with that Woman; but we will speak of those things in writing the Affairs of *Egypt*. When they would have presented to him *Pompey's* Head, he would not see it; and commanded it should be interred in the Suburbs, where he consecrated a Chapel to the Goddess *Nemesis*, which in our time, when the Emperor *Trajan* made cruel War upon them, the Jews pulled down; the demolishing it being of importance to them. *Cesar* having done these things in *Egypt*, caused his Army to march with little noise through *Syria*, against *Pharnaces*, who had already been successful in many Occasions; he had seized upon some places depending on the Romans; he had defeated *Domitius*, *Cesar's* Lieutenant, in a Set Battel; and puffed up with this Success, had sacked the City of *Amisa* in the Kingdom of *Pontus*, and publicly sold one part of the Inhabitants, and made Eunuchs of all who had not obtained the Age of Puberty: But frightened at *Cesar's* coming, and repenting of what he had done; when he was come within two hundred Furlongs of him, he sent to him Ambassadors to treat of Peace; with Orders to present him with a Crown of Gold, and very impertinently to offer him the Daughter of their King in Marriage. When he had heard the Occasion of their coming, he made his Army march; and amusing the Ambassadors with words, advances up to *Pharnaces's* Camp; where beginning to cry out, *Shall not Parricide now be immediately punished*, he leaped on Horse-back, and with the first Shout put the Enemy to Flight, and made a great Slaughter without any of his Army's drawing their Swords, save only a thousand Horse that first followed him when he began the Charge. Some Historians report that he should now say; *O! how happy was Pompey, to have gained such Reputation, with the Title of GREAT, for having to deal with such People in the Mithridatick War*. And concerning this Victory he wrote to the City; *I came, I saw, I overcame*. As for *Pharnaces*, he was content to retire into the Kingdom

dom of *B. Cicerone*, which *Pompey* left him ; and *Cæsar* had not now leisure to pursue him, all his time in these lesser Affairs, being called elsewhere by so many more important Wars : wherefore he directed his Course towards *Italy*, taking up all along as he marched through *Asia* the Tribute-Money, which much troubled the Commissioners, who had raised it upon the People with a thousand Cruelties, as we have said in writing the Affairs of *Asia*.

Understanding by Letters that he received from *Rome*, that the City was extremely tormented with new Seditions ; and that *Anthony*, General of his Horse, had with the Army seized upon the Great Place ; he left the Affairs of *Asia*, to make all speed thither. His Presence forthwith appeased the Tumult of the City, but there was another raised against himself: The Soldiers required to be payed what was promised them at *Pharsalia*, for having exposed their Lives ; and that they might be dismissed, having served the time appointed by the Laws. He caused them in Excuse to be told, that the Victory of *Pharsalia* was not yet perfect, because War still continued in *Africa* : but as soon as that was ended, he would perform his Promise, and give them over and above a thousand Drams a Head. They with arrogance replied, that they stood not in need of Promises, but of ready Money ; so that *Crispus Sallustus*, who was sent to them, was fain to save his Life by Flight. Upon report hereof made to *Cæsar*, he drew *Anthony's* Legion, which had been left for the Guard of the City, about his House, and to the Guard of the Gates, lest the Mutineers should in their fury begin to plunder Private Houses. And himself, contrary to the Advice of all his Friends, who counselled him not to expose himself to the fury of an Incensed Multitude ; with a signal Audacity of Mind, as they were in the Field of *Mars*, came suddenly upon them : And mounting on a place where he might be seen by all the Mutining Companies, they ran to him, not yet appeased, but without Arms ; and saluting him, called him Emperor, according to Custom. He commanding them to tell him what it was they desired, they durst not speak of Money, because he surprized them with his Presence ; but out of the hopes they were in, that he yet standing in need of the Army to make an end of the Remainder of the War, would (if they desired to be dismissed) himself speak of the Gift he had promised them, contented themselves to cry out all with one Voice, that they intreated him to discharge them : To which, without any delay, he made answer, *That he granted their Request* ; and seeing them so much the more astonished at this Answer, as they least of any thing expected it, and that they stood in a profound silence, he added ; *I will, notwithstanding, give you all that I have promised you as soon as I have triumphed with others*. This word filled their very Soul with Shame and Jealousie ; considering what an Infamy it would be for them, if after having deserted their General under pretence of being weary of the War, new Soldiers should follow his Triumphant Chariot : Besides, they should deprive themselves of the Booty they might get in the African War, and render themselves odious both to *Cæsar* and the contrary Party. And making these reflections, they a long time kept silence, hoping *Cæsar* would at last grant them something more, and change his Mind, because of the pressing necessity. But he continuing silent as well as they ; and when his Friends besought him to say something more to them, and not leave in suspense People that had served him so well, as he began to speak to them, calling them *Gentlemen*, and not *Fellow Soldiers*, which is a sign he looked upon them as discharged, they could not endure to be treated in that manner, but interrupted him ; and by their Cries testifying their Repentance,

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penitance, besought him to permit them to stay still in his service ; and because he refused them, and descended from the Tribunal, they redoubled their Cries, intreating him to stay and punish their fault. Hereupon he stopped a good while, as if he had been in pain what to resolve on ; and at length remounting the Tribunal, told them he would not punish a Man ; but however, he was sorely troubled that the tenth Legion, whom he had always preferred before the others, had begun this Mutiny : And to them he added, *I give you your Discharge, and will pay you what I promised you as soon as I return from Africa : And at the end of the War I will give you Lands, not as Sylla did ; taking them from others, or mixing the Usurpers among those are spoiled of them, to nourish perpetual Enmity between them ; but I will divide amongst you the Public Lands, my own particular Inheritances ; and if those be not enough, I will buy more with my Money.* Whereupon, all the rest with Shouts and Acclamations applauded him, but the tenth Legion was quite cast down, believing they should never regain *Cæsar's* favour : wherefore they besought him to decimate them, according to the Custom of their Ancestors. Till he, unwilling to afflict them any farther, because he perceived their Repentance serious, pardoned them as well as the rest ; and shortly after departed to go for *Africa*.

XXXI From *Rhegium*, passing over to *Messina*, he came to *Lylibæum* ; and understanding that *Cito* with the Fleet and part of the Land Forces had the Guard of *Utica*, where lay all the stores of the contrary Party, and where sat a form of Senate, composed of three hundred persons, who had for some time given orders in what concerned the War, and that *L. Scipio* their General and the most considerable of the Party were at *Adrumetum* with the rest of the Army, he went to land. There he had advice that *Scipio* was gone to meet with King *Juba*, wherefore he took the opportunity of his absence, and drew up his Army before the Enemies Camp. *Labienus* and *Petreius* *Scipio's* Lieutenants accepted the defiance and vigorously beat back *Cæsar's* Men, driving them before them with contempt, till *Labienus's* Horse wounded in the Belly, having reversed and thrown him down, his Esquires carried him out of the Fight, and *Petreius* contenting himself with having tried the courage of his Soldiers, believing he could overcome whenever he pleased, caused the Retreat to be sounded, saying to those about him, *We must not deprive Scipio our General of the honour of beating them himself.* Thus fortune shewed it self once more powerful for *Cæsar* ; for his Enemies cooling in the midst of the Victory, let the whole fruit of it escape out of their Hands. 'Tis said *Cæsar* only stood his ground, all the rest fled, and that with his own hand he was bringing back the Standard of a Legion to the Front of the Battalia, when *Petreius* drew off into his Camp, in which *Cæsar* willingly imitated him. This was the success of the first Engagement *Cæsar* met with in *Africa*. Some time after a rumour was spread, that *Scipio* was coming with eight Legions, twenty thousand Horse, of which the most part were Lybians, a great number of Targetiers, and thirty Elephants, and together with him King *Juba* at the Head of thirty thousand Footmen, twenty thousand Numidian Horse, store of Darters, and besides all, sixty Elephants. The Soldiers were still disheartened with their late disgrace, and the Enemy now seemed to them very formidable, both by reason of the number and valour of the Numidian Horse, besides they had not been used to fight against Elephants. But when afterwards they understood that *Bocchus* another King of the Moors had seized upon *Cirta*, the Residence of King *Juba*, so that recalled by domestick Danger he had made a

speedy

speedy return into his Kingdom with his Army, leaving only with *Scipio* the thirty Elephants, they took such heart, that the fifth Legion desired they might be placed before the Elephants, and having obtained it, began the Victory by the defeat of those Beasts, wherefore to this day they carry an Elephant painted in their Colours ; the Fight was for a long time stiffly maintained on both sides, till in the end *Cæsar* remained victorious. *Scipio's* Camp was taken and pillaged, Night prevented the further pursuit of those that fled, of whom every one shifted for himself as he best could, and *Scipio* quitting all went away with *Africanus* by Sea in twelve open Boats. Thus this Army composed of fourscore thousand fighting Men, the most part old Soldiers, encouraged by the success of the first Fight were utterly defeated in this one Battel, which augmented much the Glory of *Cæsar* by the confession of his Enemies themselves, who attributed this Defeat more to his good Fortune than their own remissness ; but they flattered themselves, for this misfortune arrived only by the fault of their Commanders, who had not the prudence to spin out this war in length, whereby they might have reduced *Cæsar* (engaged in a strange Country) to want of Provisions ; and besides in not pursuing to the upshot their first Victory.

Three days after the defeat, news thereof coming to *Utica*, and *Cæsar* following it at the heels, all men disposed themselves to flight, *Cato* hindred no Man, nay, he gave Ships to all such persons of quality as asked him, but for himself he stood firm ; and when those of *Utica* promised to entreat *Cæsar* for him before they did for themselves, he told them smiling he stood not in need of any Intercessors , and *Cæsar* knew it well. Afterwards having put together what Money and Papers he had , he sealed them up , and disposed them in the hands of the Magistrates of *Utica* , towards the Evening he bathed and supped , sitting as he at other times used, since *Pompey's* death ; he altered not a jot of his manner of living, but was served after his accustomed manner, and discoursed familiarly with his Servants. He talked of those that were gone, if they had a good Wind, how far they might be off, and if they believed that when *Cæsar* came to morrow they would be got out of sight. When he was going to Bed he let nothing extraordinary escape him, only he embraced his Son with somewhat more tenderness, but not finding his Sword near his Bed according to custom, he cryed out he was betrayed by his own Domesticks, who had not left him wherewith to defend himself, if his Enemies assailed him by night ; and when they besought him not to make any attempt upon his life, but to repose without his Sword, he told them to oblige them to believe him : *If I had a mind to die, could not I knock my Head against this Wall, or strangle my self with the Cloaths that I wear, or throw my self headlong down, or stifle my self with stopping my Breath?* With these words and some others he perswaded them to lay his Sword in its place, that done, he desired there might be brought him that Book *Plato* writ concerning the Soul, which he read quite over, and when he thought those who kept Guard at his door slept, he thrust his Sword into his Belly. His Entrails coming out at the wound, some groan heard by those at the door, obliged them to run in with Chyrurgions, who put his Entrails again still warm as they were into his Body, sowed up the wound, and after having laid to it a Plaister, and rolled it up, his Senses being come to him, he feigned to repent himself of the fault he had committed, thanked them that they had helped him, and told them that now he stood in need of some repose ; but after they were gone, carrying with them his Sword, and had

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had shut the Door that nothing might disturb his rest, whilst they thought he slept he got off by little and little the Roller and Sewing of the Wound, and pulling out his Entrails, tore them with his Fingers and Nails, and so died in the fiftieth year of his age. He was esteemed the gravest and most firm in his resolution of all men living, who judged not of what was just and honest by what the people practised, but by strong and generous reasons. He espoused *Martia* the Daughter of *Philip*, who had never before been married, he loved her dearly, and had Children by her, and yet in favour of the Friendship he bore to *Hortensius*, who had no Children, and passionately desired to have one, he resigned her over to him till such time as his Friend had a Son, and then took her home again, as if he had only lent her: such was *Cato*. Those of *Utica* celebrated for him Magnificent Funerals; and *Cæsar* hearing the news of his death, said, *Cato envied the Glory I might have got by doing a noble Action*. And yet when *Cicero* wrote a Book in praise of his death, and called it *Cato*, *Cæsar* wrote another, and called his Book *Anticato*. When *Juba* and *Petreius* had heard what had happened, and saw that they had neither hopes of flight or safety, they slew each other with their Swords in a Chamber where they had eat together. *Cæsar* made the Kingdom of *Mauritania* tributary, and gave the Government to *Crispus Salsus*. He pardoned those of *Utica* together with *Cato's* Son, and finding in that City a Daughter of *Pompey's* with two Children, he sent her to her Brother without doing her the least unkindness. But he put to death all he could find of those three hundred which they called a Senate. As for *Lucius Scipio* General of the defeated Army the Waves cast him into the Enemies Fleet, from whence seeing no way to escape, he run his Sword through his Body, and threw himself into the Sea. Thus *Cæsar* ended the War in *Africa*.

XXXIV. Being returned to the City he entred Triumphant over four several Nations. The first Triumph was over the Gauls, many of whose people he had subdued and brought under the Roman Empire, and reduced to obedience those that were revolted. The second over *Pharnaces*. The third over the Africans that had taken up Arms for *Scipio*, wherein was led Captive the Son of King *Juba*, yet a Child who afterwards became an Historian. And the fourth, of the Egyptians defeated in a Fight by Water on the *Nile*, but this Triumph was placed between the Gaul and the Pontick. Though he triumphed not over the Romans because they were his Fellow Citizens, which had been no Glory to him, and a shame to the Roman People, yet in the pomp were carried Pictures of all those Defeats, and the Pourtraictures of the Men, save only *Pompey's*, which he durst not shew because of the grief all men had for his loss, yet fresh in memory: yet the people forbore not shedding tears for his misfortune, especially when they knew *L. Scipio* General of a Roman Army, with his Breast wounded with his own hand, precipitating himself into the Sea, and saw *Petreius* perish in the Dining Room, and *Cato* tearing out his Bowels like a fierce Beast; for *Achillas* and *Photinus* the sight of them was as pleasing as the flight of *Pharnaces*, which made all the world laugh. 'Tis said that in these Triumphs they carried sixty thousand Talents and a half of Silver Money, with two thousand eight hundred twenty two Crowns of Gold, weighing twenty thousand four hundred and fourteen Pounds. He distributed to every Soldier one thousand Attick Drams, to every Captain double, to the Colonels and Captains of Horse four times as much, and to all the people a Mina by the Head; besides he exhibited divers pleasant Spectacles, Horse-racing,

racing, Musick, Combats on Foot of a thousand against a thousand, on Horseback of two hundred against two hundred, and another Fight of Horse and Foot together, he made likewise twenty Elephants fight against twenty, he represented likewise a Sea-Fight, wherein were four thousand Rowers, and a thousand fighting Men on a side. He likewise caused a Temple to be built to *Venus*, according to the vow he had made before the Battel of *Pharsalia*, and near to that Temple built a publick Hall for the Roman People, not to use Traffick in, but for the pleading of Causes, and to render justice, and learn how to render it, in like manner as there are many in *Persia*, and by the Goddess side he caused to be set up the Statue of *Cleopatra*, which is to be seen to this day. And lastly, having taken the number of the people, he found them one half less than they were at the beginning of the War, so much had the Differences which had happened between these two Men weakened the Common-wealth.

For himself being made the fourth time Consul, he undertook the Expedition of *Spain* against the young *Pompey*, which was a Remain of the Civil War, he had not reason to slight; for all those people of Quality that had escaped out of *Africa* got thither, and the Wrecks of the *Pharsalian* and *African* Defeats were here assembled, besides the assistance of the most warlike Nations of *Spain* and *Celtiberia*, and a great number of Slaves that followed *Pompey's* Army, who having been four years exercised to the War, offered to serve him if he would try the fortune of a Battel. This was the cause of *Pompey's* overthrow; for that without delay he would go meet *Cesar*, though the old Captains whom the Battels of *Pharsalia* and *Africa* had made wiser, counselled him to prolong the War, being the only means to ruine his Enemy, who could not subsist in a Country where he had no conveniencies; for *Cesar* was come in seven and twenty days, counting from the day he left the City, and with store of Baggage had performed a wonderful Journey. Besides his Army never shewed less resolution out of the thoughts possessed them, that they were to deal with a multitude of Warlike Enemies, and whom despair would make attempt any thing, which was the reason *Cesar* made no haste to engage till *Pompey* provoking him to Battel, reproached him with faintheartedness, which not able to endure, he drew up his Army in Battel before *Cordona*, and that day he likewise gave *Venus* for his Word, as Piety was that of *Pompey's*. When the Armies were going to close, *Cesar* seeing his Men go on but coldly, and seem to be afraid, invoked all the Gods, beseeching them with hands lifted up to Heaven, not to let the lustre of so many glorious Actions be darkened in one day, and running through the Ranks, encouraged his Soldiers, taking off his Head-piece that he might be the better known. But do what he could he could not raise their Spirits, till snatching a Buckler out of a Soldiers hand, he said to the Tribunes were about him, *This shall be the last day of my life, and of your engagement to the War.* And at the same time made furiously towards the Enemy: he had scarce advanced ten foot but he had above two hundred Darts thrown at him, some of which he avoided by bending his Body, and others received on his Buckler, when the Tribunes run with emulation to get about him, and the whole Army thereupon charging with all their fury, they fought all day with divers advantage, and at length towards the Evening the Victory fell to *Cesar*, and 'tis reported, that hereupon he was heard say these words, *That he had often fought for Victory, but that now he had fought for life.* After the Defeat, *Pompey's* Men flying into *Cordona*, *Cesar*, to prevent their escape thither, lest they

should rally and renew the Fight, caused the place to be invested by the Army, where his Soldiers being so tired they could not work in the Circumvallation, heaped up together the Bodies and Armour of the slain, which they kept piled up with their Javelins stuck into the ground, and lay all night under that kind of Rampire. Next Morning the City was taken. Of *Pompey's* Captains *Scapula* getting up on a Pile of Wood burnt himself; the Heads of *Varrus*, *Labiennus*, and other persons of Quality were brought to *Cæsar*. As for *Pompey* he fled from the Battel with a hundred and fifty Horse, bending his course towards *Cartea* where his Fleet lay, he entred the Port in a Litter, and in the habit of a private Man. But seeing the Seamen had likewise lost all hopes, he threw himself into a little Boat, in which as he was going out to Sea, his Foot tangling in the Cordage, one of his people going to cut the Rope, by mischance cut his Heel, so that to cure his wound he was forced to go ashore at a small Village, where hearing that *Cæsar's* Horsemen were coming, he took his flight through a Country covered with Thorns and Briars, which added to his wound, so that being tired, and sitting down at last under a Tree, he was found by those gave him chase, and slain, generously defending himself, his Head was carried to *Cæsar*, who caused it to be buried. Thus was this War ended by one only Fight, contrary to the opinion of all the world. Those who escaped from this Defeat, went to *Pompey's* younger Brother, surnamed *Sextus*, but he only made War like a Rover, hiding himself, and flying from place to place.

XXXV. As for *Cæsar*, having now put an end to all the Civil Wars, he returned to *Rome* more powerful and glorious than ever any had been before him; wherefore all imaginable Honours were done him to gain his favour. All the Tribes, all the Nations and all the Kingdoms allyed and Friends to the Roman People made Sacrifices, Shews and Offerings in every Temple, and in every publick place, his Statues were every where to be seen set up in divers fashions, some adorned with Oaken Crowns, as having saved his Country, like those wherewith the Citizens formerly honoured those who saved their lives, likewise by publick Decree they gave him the Titles of Father of his Country, perpetual Dictator, Consul for ten years, and of Holy and Sacred; and it was enacted, that he should administer Justice seated on a Throne of Ivory, or of Gold, that he should wear the Triumphal Robe at Sacrifices, that on those days whereon he had gained his principal Victories publick Feasts and Prayers should be made, and that every five years the Priests and Vestals should offer up Vows for his safety; that those who entred into office should swear not to oppose any of his Orders, and in Honour of his Birth-day they changed the name of the Month which they called *Quintilis*, and named it *July*. It was decreed likewise by an Act of the Senate, that Temples should be built to him as to a God, and among others one in common to him and Clemency, where their Statues stood hand in hand. Thus by publick Vows they requested his Clemency, whose Dominion they stood in aw of, some likewise there were who would have called him King, but he forbid it with threats, signifying his aversion for a name which could not but be unhappy after the execrations fulminated by the Ancients against that Dignity, he likewise dismissed from about his person the * Pretorian Cohorts, of which he had made use during the War, and contented himself with the publick Officers. As he gave audience, thus attended in the place, the Senate led by the Consuls with the ordinary pomp came to present him those Edicts before spoken of, he gave them every one his hand, but when they came in a Body rose not from

* *Regiments of Guards.*

from his Seat, and suffered them to stand, which gave subject of discourse to them who accused him of aiming at the Royalty. After having accepted all the other Honours, save only the Consulate for ten years, he designed himself Consul for the next year with *Anthony* General of his Horse, and gave *Anthony* for his Successor in the charge of his Horse, *Lepidus*, then Governour of *Spain* who had his Lieutenants in that Province. He recalled all Exiles except those who were banished for some great crime, and pardoned all those of the contrary Faction, even many who had born Arms against him. At the same time he gave to some Offices for a year, to others Governments of Provinces, or Armies to command, which gave the people occasion to hope that he would restore the Government of the Commonwealth as *Sylla* had done, who was mounted to the same power ; but those hopes appeared to be ill founded. After all this, one of those who would confirm the rumour spread abroad concerning the Royalty, having put upon the Head of one of his Statues a Wreath of Lawrel, interlaced with white Ribbands, and the Tribunes of the People *Marullus* and *Cassius* having informed themselves of, discovered and imprisoned the Author of the Action, believing thereby to oblige *Cesar*, who seemed to take amiss the speaking of the name of King, he approved their proceedings, and when in the Assembly some saluting him gave him the Title of King, perceiving the people shed tears, he pleasantly reproved them, by saying, *I am not King, but Cesar*, as if they had mistaken one name for another ; but when *Marullus* issued out process against those had called him by that name, and caused them to be brought before him by the Ushers as Criminals, he could not brook it, but complained to the Senate of *Marullus* and his Colleagues, who out of malice gave him the reputation of affecting the Tyranny, adding they were worthy of death, but he would be satisfied that they were deprived of their Offices, and the quality of Senators. This action confirmed the opinion of all the world, that he was glad to be called so, that he might prove by degrees the minds of the people, and at last mount to the Monarchy ; for it was a crime to have called him a King, and besides the Office of the Tribunes was hallowed and inviolable, by Oath of the Ancients, and by old Laws, and besides they stayed not till the time of their Magistracy (which approached) was expired, which heightened the indignation of all good Men. And as soon as he perceived it, he repented himself to have exercised his power with too much rigour, as soon as he beheld himself in peace, and as some say, gave orders to his Friends to govern themselves with prudence, because his Enemies had already an occasion to do him hurt ; whereupon they asking him if he would not have the Spanish Cohorts continually about his person, he answered that nothing could be more miserable than to be perpetually guarded, nor any condition of life be more uneasy : yet all this hindered not the endeavours of those who would have had him take the Title of King. And as he was Spectator at the Lupercal Ceremonies seated upon a Throne of Gold in the place for Orations, *Anthony* his Colleague in the Consulate, running about the City naked, and anointed with Oil (as is the custom for the Priests of those Ceremonies) ascended the place where he sat, and planted a Diadem on his Head. He laid it down as soon as he saw how few people applauded the Spectacle ; *Anthony* put it on once more, and he took it off the second time. The people looked upon this Debate with silence, impatient to see what would be the issue ; but when they at last perceived *Cesar* remained Master, the place was filled with Acclamations and Prayers for his Prosperity.

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After this, whether he lost all hopes, or that he grew weary of the pursuit, he quite gave over this design to avoid all envy, and that he might leave the City, which he began to grow jealous of, because of his Enemies, or else for the better preservation of his health, never more afflicted with the Falling Sickness and sudden Convulsions than when he lay idle, he resolved upon a far distant Expedition against the Getes and the Parthians. The Getes being a people hardened to labour, warlike and almost bordering upon the Roman Empire, he resolved to prevent their attempts: and for the Parthians he designed to revenge the Murder of *Crassus*, which they had committed contrary to their Treaties. He therefore sent before sixteen Legions and ten thousand Horse which had passed the Adriatick Gulf, and forthwith a rumour was spread, that there was an Oracle of the Sibyls which declared that the Parthians could not be subdued by the Romans, unless they were commanded by a King. This made some talk publickly that in what concerned the Romans they might all call him Dictator or Emperour or some other softer name than that of King, but in regard of other Nations taxed under the Roman Empire, there needed no scruple be made at the giving him that Title. He having still refused it, hastened all he could to get out of the City where many envied him. But four days before the day appointed for his departure he was slain by his Enemies in the Palace, either out of malice to see him raised to such supreme felicity and height of Command, or else (as themselves said) out of a desire to restore the Common-wealth to its first Estate; for they feared after having overcome these other Nations nothing could hinder him from making himself King: yet as it appears to me it was only for the name sake they attempted all things; for in the thing it self there is no difference between Dictator and King. There were two Chiefs of this Conspiracy, the Son of that *Brutus* whom *Sylla* put to death, *M. Brutus Cepio* who came for refuge to *Cæsar* himself after the Battel of *Pharsalia*, and *C. Cassius* who yielded to him the Gallies in the *Hell spout*, both of *Pompey's* Party, and with them was joyned one of *Cæsar's* most intimate Friends *Decimus Brutus Albinus*. He had always treated them honourably, and with great confidence, and when he was going to the War in *Africa*, had given them Armies, and the Government of the Gauls, to *Decimus Brutus* of the *Transalpine*, and to *M. Brutus* of the *Cisalpine*: *Brutus* and *Cassius* were at this time designed Prætors, and were in difference for a jurisdiction, which among the Citizens is accounted the most honourable of all others, whether they contended out of ambition, or only feigned to do it, lest their Conspiracy should be perceived: *Cæsar* was Arbitrator between them, and, as 'tis said, he acknowledged to his Friends that *Cassius* had reason, but yet he would favour *Brutus*, so much he loved and honoured him, for all men believed he was his Son, because he visited *Servilia Cato's* Sister at the time she grew with Child of *Brutus*, wherefore 'tis likewise said, that in the Battel of *Pharsalia* he gave express order to his Captains to have a great care as possibly they could of *Brutus's* life. However, whether he were ingrateful, or knew nothing of it, or did not believe it, or that he thought his Mother's incontinence a dishonour, whether love of liberty made him prefer his Country before his own Father, or being of the ancient race of the *Bruti* who had expelled the Kings, and now pricked forward by the reproaches of the people, who on the Statues of the old *Brutus*, and on this Prætor's Tribunal had secretly written such words as these, *Brutus thou sufferest thy self to be corrupted with gifts. Brutus thou art dead,*
would

would to God thou wert now alive ; either thy Successors degenerate, or thou hast not begot them. He, I say, young as he was, chafed by these and such like things, engaged himself in this Enterprize as an Act worthy his Predecessors.

The Discourses concerning the Royalty were not then quite extinct, when just as they were going to the Senate *Cassius* took *Brutus* by the hand, and said, *What shall we do if Caesar's Flatterers propose to make him King ?* To which *Brutus* answered, that *He would not be at the Senate*. Whereupon, the other again demanded, *What if they summon us as Pretors, what shall we do then, my Friend ?* I will, said he, defend my Country, even till death. Whereupon, *Cassius* embracing him, said ; *And what Persons of Quality will you take for Companions in so brave an Attempt ? Do you think there are none but Tavern-People and Artificers that put Writings on your Tribunal ? Know that they are the Prime Men of the City, who expect from other Pretors only Plays and Shews ; but require their Liberty from you, as the Work of your Predecessors*. Thus they discovered to each other what they had long had in their thoughts ; and began to try their own Friends, and some of *Caesar's*, according as they knew them capable of good things. They engaged in their Design the two Brothers, *Cecilius* and *Bucolianus*, *Rubrius Rex*, *Q. Ligarius*, *M. Spurins*, *Servilius Galba*, *Sextius Naso*, *Pontius Aquila* : And of *Caesar's* Friends they drew to their Conspiracy *Decimus*, of whom I have already spoken ; *Caius Casca*, *Trebonius*, *Attilius Cimber*, *Minutius* and *Basillus*. When they thought they had Companions enough, for it was not convenient to communicate this Design to all the World, they gave their Words one to another without either Oath or Sacrifice, and yet no one changed his mind, or ever discovered the Plot. There was nothing now wanting but choice of time and place. The time urged, for within four days *Caesar* was to depart and take Guards. For the place, they thought the Palace most convenient ; for they concluded that all the Senators, though they were not made privy to it, yet, seeing the Action, would joyfully joyn with them ; which, as it is said, happened at the death of *Romulus*, after having changed the Regal Power into Tyranny. Wherefore this Attempt would have the same Success with that ; especially, being not privily executed, but in the Palace, and for the Good of the Commonwealth. That they needed not to fear any thing from *Caesar's* Army, being all composed of Roman People ; in conclusion, that the Authors of this great Action doing it publicly, could expect nothing but Reward. Having all decreed the Palace for the place of Execution, there were divers Opinions concerning the manner of doing it ; some being of Opinion they should likewise make away *Anthony*, *Caesar's* Colleague, the most powerful of his Friends, and well beloved of the Soldiery. But *Brutus* opposed that ; saying, That it was only by killing *Caesar*, who was as a King, that they ought to seek for the Glory of destroying Tyrants ; and that if they killed his Friends too, Men would impute the Action to private Enmity, and the Faction of *Pompey*. This Advice prevailing, they only expected the assembling of the Senate. Now the day before *Caesar* being invited to sup with *Lepidus*, carried along with him *Decimus Brutus Albinus* : and during Supper the Question being proposed what Death was best for Man ; some desiring one kind, and some another, he alone preferred the suddenest and most unexpected. Thus dividing for himself, they fell to discourse of the Morrows Affairs. In the Morning finding himself somewhat out of Order with the Night's Debauch, and his Wife *Calphurnia* having been frightened with dismal Dreams, she advised him not to go abroad ; and in many Sacrifices he made, there were

none

none but affrightful Tokens : He therefore gave order to *Anthony* to dismiss the Senate. But *Decimus Brutus* perswading him that it was more convenient he went himself, to avoid the Opinion might be conceived, he did it out of Pride or Scorn, he went to dismiss them himself, coming to the Palace in his Litter. There were at present Plays in *Pompey's* Theatre, and almost all the Senators were at the Windows of the Neighbouring Houses, as is the Custom in the time of Spectacles. The same Morning the Pretors, *Brutus* and *Cassius*, gave Audience to those made Suit for it, with great tranquillity, in a Gallery before the Theatre. But when they had heard what happened to *Cæsar* in the Sacrifices, and that therefore they deferred the Senate, they were much troubled. One of those that stood there having taken *Cæsar* by the hand, told him ; *You kept it close from me that am your Friend but Brutus has told me all.* Whereupon *Cæsar* pricked in Conscience, began to tremble ; but the other continuing with a smile ; *Where then will you raise the Money to come to the Edility ?* *Cæsar* gave him an Account. *Brutus* and *Cassius* themselves being talking together, one of the Senators, called *Popilius Lena*, drawing them aside, said ; *I pray God what you have in your hearts may succeed happily, but it is fit you make haste.* At which they were so surprized, that they gave him no Answer. At the same time that *Cæsar* went to the Palace in his Litter, one of his Domesticks who had understood something of the Conspiracy, came to find *Calphurnia* ; but without saying any thing else to her but that he must speak with *Cæsar* about Affairs of importance, he stayed expecting his Return from the Senate, because he did not know all the Particulars : His Host of *Gnidus* called *Artemidorus* running to the Palace to give him notice of it, came just at the moment of his being killed ; another, as he sacrificed before the Gate of the Senate-House, gave him a Note of all the Conspiracy ; but he going in without reading it, it was after his death found in his hands. As he came out of his Litter, *Lena*, the same who before had spoken to *Cassius*, came to him, and entertained him a long time in private ; which struck a Damp into the Chiefs of the Conspiracy, the more because their Conference was long : They already began to make signs to one another, that they must now kill him before he arrested them ; but in the Sequel of the Discourse, observing *Lena* to use rather the Gesture of a Suppliant than an Accuser, they deferred it ; till in the end, seeing him return thanks to *Cæsar*, they took Courage. It is the Custom of the Chief Magistrates entring the Palace, first to consult the Divines ; and here as well as in the former Sacrifices, *Cæsar's* first Victim was found without a heart, or as some say without the Chief of the Entrails. The Divine hereupon telling him it was a mortal Sign, he replied laughing, that when he went to fight against *Pompey* in *Spain* he had seen the like : and the other having replied, that then likewise he had run hazard of losing his Life ; but that at present the Entrails threatened him with greater danger. He commanded they should sacrifice another Victim, which fore-boding nothing but ill ; he fearing to seem tedious to the Senate, and being pressed by his Enemies, whom he thought to be his Friends, without considering the danger, entred the Palace ; for it was of necessity that the Misfortune to befall him, should befall. They left *Trebonius* at the Gate to stop *Anthony* under pretence of discoursing some Business with him ; and as soon as *Cæsar* was seated, the other Conspirators surrounded him according to Custom, as Friends, having each his Dagger concealed. At the same time *Attilius Cimber* standing before him, began to intreat him to grant the Return of his Brother who was in Exile ; and upon his Refusal, under pretence of begging it with more humility, he took him by the Robe : and drawing it to him,

him, hung about his Neck, crying out, *Why do you delay, my Friends.* Thereupon *Casca* first of all reaching over his Head, thought to strike his Dagger into his Throat, but wounded him only in the Breast. *Cesar* having disengaged himself from *Cimber*, and caught hold of *Casca's* hand, leaped from his Seat, and threw himself upon *Casca* with a wonderful force; but being at Handy Gripes with him, another struck his Dagger into his Side, *Cassius* gave him a Wound in the Face, *Brutus* struck him quite through the Thigh, *Bucolianus* wounded him behind the Head; and he like one enraged, and roaring like a Savage Beast, turned sometimes to one and sometimes to another; till strength failing him after the Wound received from *Brutus*, he threw the Skirt of his Robe over his Face, and suffered himself gently to fall before *Pompey's* Statue. They forbore not to give him many Stabs after he was down, so that there were three and twenty Wounds found in his Body. And those that slew him were so eager, that some of them through vehemence, without thinking of it, wounded each other.

After this Murder committed in a Hallowed Place, and on a Sacred Person, all the Assembly took their Flight, both within the Palace, and without in the City. In the Croud there were several Senators wounded, and some killed: There were slain likewise other Citizens and Strangers; not with design, but without knowing the Authors, as happens in a publick Tumult; for the Gladiators, who were armed in the Morning to give Divertisement to the People, ran from the Theatre to the Senators Houses; the Spectators affrighted, dispersed as fast as their Legs would carry them, the Commodities exposed to Sale were made Plunder of, the Gates were shut, and many got upon the Roofs of their Houses to secure themselves from Violence. *Anthony* fortified himself in his House, judging they had a design upon his Life as well as upon *Cesar's*: And *Lepidus*, General of the Horse, hearing upon the place what had passed, made haste to the Island in the River, where he had a Legion; which he drew into the Field of *Mars*, that he might be in readiness to execute the Orders of *Anthony*; for he yielded to him, both in the Quality of *Cesar's* Friend and Consul. The Soldiers would very willingly have revenged *Cesar's* death so basely murdered, but that they feared the Senate, who favoured the Murderers, and expected the Issue of things. *Cesar* had no Soldiery with him, for he loved not Guards; but contented himself with Ushers: Besides, he was accompanied with a great number of People of the Robe, and whole Troops of as well Citizens as Strangers, with Freed Men and Slaves, followed him from his House to the Palace; but in a moment all these Crouds were vanished, there remained with him only three unhappy Slaves; who putting him in his Litter, and taking it upon their Shoulders, carried him, who but a little before was Master both of Sea and Land. The Conspirators after the Execution had a mind to have said something in the Senate; but no body staying to hear them, they twisted their Robes about their left Arms instead of Bucklers, and with their bloody Daggers in their Hands, ran through the Streets, crying out, they had slain the King and the Tyrant; causing to march before them a Man carrying a Cap on the Head of a Pike, which is the Badge of Liberty: they exhorted likewise the People to the restoring the Commonwealth; putting them in mind of the first *Brutus*, and the Oath wherein he had engaged the Citizens, and with them their Posterity. There were several others who were not of the Conspiracy, who took Daggers, and went with them through the City; of the number of which were *Lentulus Spinther*, *Favonius*, *Aquinius*, *Dolabella*, *Murinus* and *Petiscus*; who, instead of the Honour

Honour they expected, received the same Punishment with those had been guilty ; but none of the People joyned with them, which begot in them both trouble and fear. As for the Senate, though all the Senators who knew not of the Plot had in the Tumult taken their flight, yet they hoped well from them, either because they were Kindred or Friends to most of that Order, or because they knew they themselves had an aversion for the Tyranny ; but they had an ill Opinion of the People, and of *Cæsar's* Soldiers, of whom there were great numbers in the City ; some newly dismissed, to whom he had given Lands ; others distributed by Colonies some time before, who were returned to follow him : They were likewise fearful of *Lepidus*, because he was Master of the Legion of the City ; and doubted lest *Anthony*, against the Authority of the Senate, should engage the People to destroy them. Things being in this posture, they with the Gladiators seized the Capitol ; where in their first Consultation it was agreed that they should tempt the People with Gifts ; for they hoped that some of the People beginning to praise the Action, others would follow their Example out of love to Liberty, and desire to restore the Commonwealth ; and they imagined that the Roman People were still the same as they had heard tell they were in the time of the first *Brutus*, who drove out the Kings : but they considered not that they desired two things contradictory, that the same People should love Liberty, and let themselves be corrupted with Gifts ; the last of which was much easier to be hoped for in a Commonwealth long since depraved, for the Multitude of the City was mixed with all sorts of Strangers ; the Freed Men lived equal to the other Citizens, the Slave was habited like his Master, and except the Habit of the Senators, one Fashion was used indifferently among all the rest. Moreover, because of the Corn distributed to the Poor in the City only, all Loyerers, Beggars, and People unskilful in their Professions throughout all *Italy* flocked to *Rome* : Besides, there were great numbers of disbanded Soldiers who returned not as formerly every one to his Country ; but expecting to be sent to possess the Houses and Lands of others, quartered together by Bands in Temples and Galleries, under only one Colour and one Captain, who was to be their Conductor to their Colony. These People, after having sold all that they had, to be the lighter to march, were ready to do any thing for Money : So that the Conspirators had no great difficulty to gather together a multitude in the place. But though they were payed for it, they durst not praise the Action out of the respect they bore to the Glory of *Cæsar*, and the fear they stood in of the Contrary Party ; but as if they had in view the Publick Good, they cryed out for Peace, and demanded it of the Magistrates ; and by this means they laboured for the security of the Conspirators, Peace not being to be had without an Act of Oblivion. Thereupon *Cinna*, allyed to *Cæsar*, and then Pretor, joyns with them : And advancing into the midst of them, contrary to the expectation of all the World, threw off his Prator's Robe, despising it as being given him by a Tyrant : After which he began to declaim against *Cæsar*, calling him Tyrant, and those who had slain him Tyrannicides ; highly praising their Action, as parallel to what their Predecessors had done ; and at the same time commanding they should bring from the Capitol those brave People who had so well served the Commonwealth, to the end to give them those Rewards they had merited. But whatever Command *Cinna* gave, this Troop seeing, the People who had not been corrupted were not there, would not let them be brought, but contented themselves to continue their Cries in demanding Peace. But when *Dolobellus*, a Young Man of great Reputation, whom *Cæsar* ready to depart, had designed Consul for the rest of
the

the Year, being come with his Purple and the Badges of the Consulate, and had spoke after *Cinna* violently and with indignation against the Author of his Dignity, pleading hard for the Pardon of a Crime of which he said he would himself have been Partaker of, and proposing (as some say) to consecrate that Day as the Day of the Foundation of their City. Then this Assembly of Mercenary People took Courage, seeing a Pretor and a Consul seemed to Authorize them, and they sent to tell the Conspirators they should come down from the Temple. They were glad to hear what *Dolabella* had done, believing they had now at need found a Consul young, vigorous, and of a good Family, to oppose against *Anthony*.

Yet only *Cassius* and *Brutus* came down, the Hand of the last all bloody with a Wound he had received from the former when they stabbed *Cæsar*. XXXVIII. Being come to the Assembly, neither one nor the other said any thing mean or low; they praised each other for what they had done, as if it had been an Action of Honour by consent of all the World: They declared that upon it depended the Prosperity of the City, which was this day made happy; gave a glorious Testimony of the Prudence of *Decimus Brutus*, who had very opportunely called to them the Gladiators, exhorted the People to imitate their Predecessors, who drove out their Kings that had not made themselves Kings by force as *Cæsar* had, but were lawfully elected; and advised them to send for *Pompey*, the Son of the great *Pompey*, Defender of the Commonwealth, against whom *Cæsar*'s Party yet made War in *Spain*; and that they should order the Return of *Cæsetius* and *Marullus*, Tribunes of the People, whom *Cæsar* had interdicted their Offices, and sent into Banishment, where they still remained. Having spoken to this purpose, they again went up to the Capitol, for they durst not confide in this Multitude. But their Servants and Relations being already permitted to go and come to and from the Temple, they chose some whom they deputed to *Lepidus* and *Anthony*, to entreat them to make Peace, to maintain Liberty, and secure their Country from the Miseries attend on Discord. To obtain this, the Deputies praised not the Action (for they durst not, speaking to *Cæsar*'s Friends) but they said, that in their judgments it ought to be born with; that those had done it were worthy of Pardon, having undertaken it not out of any hate they bore him, but love to their Country. That the Condition of the City was deplorable, if being almost depopulated by the Seditious wherewith it had a long time been afflicted, they would not spare those few good Citizens left. That it was extremely unjust to run the Commonwealth in hazard of utter Ruin for particular Enmities; and that instead of laying hold of this Occasion to gratifie their Hatred, they ought to sacrifice to the good of the Estate all the Offences they might possibly have received. *Anthony* and *Lepidus* wanted not Will to revenge *Cæsar*'s death, but they were fearful of the Kindred and Friends of the Conspirators, and the Affection the Senate bore them; and above all, of *Decimus Brutus*, who with an Army held the Neighbouring *Gaul*, of which *Cæsar* had given him the Government: Wherefore they thought it more expedient to wait for a more favourable Opportunity, and in the mean time try all ways they could to draw *Decimus* Army, already well wearied, to their Party. So *Anthony* answered them in these Terms.

The Oration of *Anthony*.

I *T*is no particular Hate makes us act, but only the blackness of the Action: Besides, having promised to *Cæsar* upon Oath we would guard him, or revenge all Attempts should be made against his Person, Religion requires, that those who are sullied with the Crime of his Death should be driven from among us; and that we should rather live few and innocent, than draw upon our selves a Curse by leaving this Attempt unpunished. Notwithstanding, since you desire it, let us assemble in the Palace; and what shall be resolved by a common Deliberation for the good of the City, let it be executed.

Having made them this Answer, they thanked them, and returned with great hopes all things would succeed to their satisfaction, for they promised themselves the Senate would heartily espouse their Interest. But *Anthony* commanded the Magistrates to keep Watch by Night in the City, and to take by turns their Seat in the Tribunal as in Broad Day; having to that purpose given Orders to kindle Fires in all the Streets. The Friends of the Conspirators ran all Night from House to House to sollicit the Senators to be favourable to them, and to watch for the Good of their Country. On the other side, the Chiefs of the Soldiers destined for the Colonies ran up and down also, making strange threats if they did not send them to the Lands already given them, and those that were farther promised them. Moreover, the Citizens who would not be corrupted, hearing of the small number of the Conspirators, took heart; and calling to mind the excellent Qualities of *Cæsar*, could not agree with the others. The same Night *Cæsar's* Treasure and Writings were brought to *Anthony's*, either at *Calphurnia's* desire for their greater security, or that *Anthony* commanded it. As soon as it was Day, the Senate was called by Order of the Consul in the Temple of * *The Earth*, which was near to his House; for he durst not go to the Palace because it was under the Capitol, whither the Conspirators were retired with the Gladiators; nor would trouble the City by making the Army enter, which yet *Lepidus* brought in. At Break of Day came with the other Senators to the Temple of *The Earth* *Cinna*, having resumed the same Habit which the Day before he had cast away, as given him by a Tyrant: Some of the Citizens who had born Arms under *Cæsar* perceiving him, enraged that he who was his Kinsman had been the first who had blemished his Reputation by a malicious Speech, began to throw Stones at him; and having forced him to shelter himself in a certain House, brought Wood round about it to burn him in it, if *Lepidus*, coming in with the Army, had not hindered it; which raised the Spirits of *Cæsar's* Party, and appalled the Mercenaries and Conspirators.

* Terra.

XXXIX.

In the Senate all disinterested Persons condemned the Action, but the greater part took divers ways to oblige the Conspirators; and were of Opinion that before any thing else were done, they should come and take their places in the Assembly, having acted fairly, to the end, that from Accused, they might become Judges: Which *Anthony* did not oppose, knowing well there was no likelihood of their coming, as indeed they did not. To try then

then the inclination of the Senate, some with vehemence praised the Action, giving to those had done it the Title of Tyrannicides, and voting them rewards; others without speaking of reward, which indeed they themselves demanded not, were of advice only thanks should be given them, as having done by it good service to the Common-wealth, and others quite cutting off the Complements, said, that what they had done was pardonable. Thus they argued, to see on which side the Senate leaned, that they might better propose the rest. Thereupon the honestest and best men having detested the Assassinate as an execrable crime, yet said, that they would not hinder, but in consideration of the Families of the Guilty, which were of the best of the City, they should be granted impunity, but they could never suffer them to be honoured, as having well served the State: others on the contrary said, they ought to be granted all other things, with the security of their persons. Some one having thereupon said, that the Honour done to them would defame *Cæsar*: another replied, that they should rather consider the living than the dead; whereupon another resolutely affirming that they must declare *Cæsar* Tyrant, or give them their lives out of pure Grace, all the rest holding to this point required the question to be put what judgment they were to make of *Cæsar*. After having first every man swore they would sincerely speak their thoughts, without respect to former Oaths, which necessity had forced from them; for since he became Master of the Common-wealth they had lost their liberty, and only spoke in fear, lest they should perish like *Pompey* and a thousand others. *Anthony*, who observed them, conceived presently their imaginations, and judging that in this matter many true things might be said that would cumber and perplex him, thought it best to divert them from this design, by making them believe they acted against themselves; wherefore knowing that the greatest part of those who talked in this manner had received their Patents and Commissions for Magistracies, and Government of Armies from *Cæsar* himself; (for being designed upon a very long Expedition, he had disposed of all Dignities for five years) he commanded silence as Consul, and then spoke to this effect:

The Oration of *Anthony*.

IT's necessary those who purpose to advise any thing concerning *Cæsar*, should know, that if he have governed the Common-wealth as a lawful Magistrate, all he has done ought to be approved: but if he have reigned as a Tyrant; his Body is to be thrown into the common Sewer, and all he has done revoked: Now (to say all in a word) the whole Universe is concerned in what he has enacted: nay, some things he has done, which though we would, it were not possible for us to disannul, which I will let you fully understand in the sequel of this discourse. At present I will only in the first place put the question to you concerning things that are in our power, and which concern our selves alone, from whence you may give an easie conjecture what order is to be observed in Affairs of more difficulty. Almost all of us here present have exercised or do exercise Offices, to which we have been nominated by *Cæsar*; and some there are designed by himself to possess them for the future; for you know that he has for five years disposed of all the annual Dignities of the City, the Governments of Provinces, and Command of Armies, if you will all voluntarily lay them down,

that is in your power, therefore let us first of all consult of that, and then I will speak what remains.

Having by these words let them know, that they ought rather to think of themselves than of *Cæsar*, he was silent, and at the same time they all began to cry out with one voice, rising up from their Seats, That there was no necessity of giving the people the trouble of calling new Assemblies, for the nomination of Magistrates, and that it was much better, every one should hold the Dignities they had already accepted. Many were the more vehement in this, because they could promise themselves nothing from the Assembly, being under age, among whom the Consul *Dolabella* himself was the principal, for being yet but five and twenty years of age, he could not obtain the Consulate without violating the Laws. So the precedent inclinations of the day were changed in a moment, many crying out aloud that it would be a shameful thing, if to favour Murderers, and render their impunity more glorious, Magistrates should be deprived of their Dignities: others on the contrary endeavoured to perswade *Dolabella* and the rest, that they might hope for all things from the people, who would name them to the same Dignities, and that there would be no change of the persons designed, but only the form of Assemblies lawfully held, instead of those overawed by the tyranny, besides it would be more honourable for them not to be esteemed less worthy those Honours, after the restoring the Common-wealth, than under the Monarchy. As soon as they heard these Discourses, some Prætors deposed their Ornaments, and the marks of their Dignities on the Benches of the Authors of this opinion, in hopes to receive them more legitimately with the others, but the greater part being doubtful of the snare, believed, if they once let go what they had in their hands, they should never catch it again.

XL

Mean while *Anthony* and *Lepidus* went out of the Senate into the place where some were assembled, and demanded their presence; when they saw them coming from above, they began to cry out in confusion, and after, with much trouble, they were silenced, one of them, whether of his own motion, or suborned, cried out, that they should prevent the Cities falling into the like calamities which they had formerly suffered. Then *Anthony* opening his Robe, shewed his Corset underneath to incense the multitude, as if the life of the Consul himself were not secure without Arms. Thereupon some crying out, that the crime ought to be punished, and others demanding pardon for the guilty, and peace: he said to these, *As for peace, we will consider of the ways to make it so that it may last; for it is very hard to find securities for it, since the Oaths made to Cæsar, and those with execrations against those that violated them, were in vain.* Then turning himself to those required vengeance for this Murder, having praised them as the more religious observers of Faith and Piety, he added these words, *I would put my self at the head of you, and first of all my self cry the same thing if I were not Consul, but my charge obliges me to do not so much what is just, as what is advantageous to the Common-wealth; for so it is ordained by all those in the Palace, though that has been the loss of Cæsar, who pardoning those he had overcome in favour of the publick Good, has been murdered by themselves.* After these artificial Discourses made by *Anthony* to each Party, those who were for revenging the Murder, would have *Lepidus* undertake to execute the vengeance; and when he began to speak to them, the multitude who were

were too far off, cried out, that he should come down unto the middle of the place, that the people might more easily hear him; whereupon thinking there might be some change in the minds of the people, he came to the Tribunal for Orations, where with tears in his eyes, he before all the world deplored the misfortune arrived to *Cæsar*; and in the end added, *I was yesterday with Cæsar in this very place, where to day I am forced to demand your opinion of his death, what would you have me do!* To which many crying out, *Let him be revenged.* The Mercenaries on the contrary cried out, *Peace.* To whom he answered, *We would with all our hearts; but what peace can we make? or upon what Oaths can it be secured, since there are none so sacred by which we have not sworn to Cæsar, and yet they have all been violated by those whom we thought good Men?* Then turning to the others; *Our Cæsar (said he) is dead, that person truly sacred, that adorable Man, and we are fearful his death will cause some great misfortune to the Common-wealth, but the Fathers will consider of it, and the most part of them are of advice to take order in it.* Whereupon they began again to cry, *Do you alone do that. I would,* said he, *and can alone undertake it, but it is not sufficient that you and I would or do undertake it alone.* Upon these artificial contests, the Mercenaries knowing him inflamed with ambition, praised him, and offered him the High Priesthood of *Cæsar*, which he listened to with much joy, and told them, *Remember what you offer me another time if you thing me worthy of it.* The hopes he conceived of this Priesthood having given him the boldness to ask with more instance for peace, he told them, *Though reason and Justice forbid it, I will do what you desire.* After which words he returned with speed to the Palace, where in the interim *Dolabella* had shamefully consumed all that time in endeavouring to have himself confirmed in the Consulate. *Anthony* who expected what the people would do, beheld that with derision; and because there was great difference of opinion, contented himself to be a Spectator; in the end seeing the people were not heated with all these things, he resolved to consent to the impunity of the Conspirators, because indeed he saw himself constrained to it, yet dissembling the necessity, he let them understand, that in sparing their lives he did them a great favour; and as to what concerned *Cæsar*, he undertook to cause all he had done to be ratified and confirmed by Decree. So commanding silence he began to speak in this manner:

The Oration of *Anthony*.

WHilst you debated, Gentlemen, about the crime committed by our Citizens, I gave you nothing of my opinion, and when you put it to the question, and took votes concerning *Cæsar*; I proposed you but one thing of all he had done, which extremely perplexed you, and not without reason, for if we lay down our charges, we tacitly confess that we and so many great men are unworthy. Let us now consider the other things, which it is not easie to express. In so great a number of Cities, Provinces, Kings and Potentates (for almost all the people which *Cæsar* has subdued by his valour and his Forces from the East to the West have received his Laws, and are obliged to his liberality and favour.) Can you believe any of them will suffer what they possess to be taken away, at any less rate than blowing up the Flames of War in all parts? you who think it convenient to save wicked men because the Common-wealth is weak
and

and impotent. I will not speak of people far distant, whom fear hath hitherto kept within the bounds of duty. Regard not only our Neighbours, but those who dwell among us in Italy, those old Soldiers who have received from Cæsar the reward of those Victories for which they exposed their lives. They are still in Bodies, and armed, and there are many thousands of them in the City: what think you they would do, if what was given be taken from them? Will they wait for other Colonies and other Lands? You may conjecture by what you saw last night; for as you went through the City to sollicite for the guilty, you know how they threatened you: think you they will stand quietly, and see Cæsar's Body unworthily dragged, and thrown into the common Sewer (for the Laws enact that Tyrants should be so treated) do you think it would not move them who have fought under him? or that they can hope you will let them enjoy the rewards of those Victories they have gained against the Gauls and Britains, whilst with the extremest of infamy you treat him from whom they hold them? What will the people of Rome? what will all the people of Italy do? will you not draw upon your own heads the hatred and indignation of men and gods, if you condemn to that punishment him who has extended the bounds of your Empire from the Ocean to Nations before unknown? Will not all the world say we are unjust Judges, if we decree rewards for those, who in the Palace, in a hallowed place, in full Senate, being Senators themselves, murdered a Consul, a sacred person, and defame him, who for his Virtue his very Enemies have in veneration. wherefore let me counsel you not to think of these things, which are neither just nor possible; and as my opinion I declare it, that we ought to ratify all that Cæsar has done and ordained, and not approve the action of those who slew him; for that is neither just nor reasonable, and cannot be done with cancelling all he had done; notwithstanding if you think good, let their lives be saved out of pure grace for the sake of their Kindred and Friends, upon condition they acknowledge the obligation.

After these words of *Antonies*, there was great contest in the Senate, and in the end it was agreed by the consent of all the Senators, that there should be no prosecution of Cæsar's death, and that all that he had done should be approved for the good of the Publick, which words were added by the Conspirators Friends for their greater security. *Anthony* himself not contradicting it, as if he approved it, rather for the common Quiet than out of Justice. Hereupon those possessed of Charges, began to demand mention should be made of them as well as of the publick interest, and they confirmed in their Dignities, to which *Anthony* likewise consented, letting the Fathers know he did it for fear, and to this Decree was added another, concerning the Colonies.

XLI.

The Senate being risen, some gathered about *L. Piso* in whose hands Cæsar had deposited his last Will and Testament, to desire him not to produce it, nor to make any publick Funerals, lest that should occasion new Tumults, which when they could not obtain, they threatened to summon him to Judgment, because he thereby frustrated the Publick of a great estate which ought to be brought to the Treasury, and something they said concerning Tyranny, whereupon *Piso* called out as loud as he could, beseeching the Consuls to reassemble the Senate, who were not yet separated, and then he told them:

The

The Oration of *Piso*.

THose who boast they have slain a Tyrant, treat us like Tyrants themselves, and we have many instead of one. They forbid us the burying of a High Priest, they threaten those entrusted with his Will, they say his Goods ought to be confiscated, as if he had been a Tyrant, they would have what he has done ratified as far as it respects them; but where it concerns himself they would disannul it; and 'tis not Brutus and Cassius who do this, but those who stirred them up to commit this murder. Do you consult concerning his Funerals; and for his Will I will take care, and never abuse the trust reposed in me, unless some one kill me too.

These words raised a Tumult and Indignation, especially in the minds of those who hoped to have some advantage to themselves by the Will. It was therefore agreed the Will should be published, and publick Funerals solemnized; and so the Senate parted. Brutus and Cassius understanding what had passed, sent to invite the people to come up to the Capitol, where a great multitude being assembled, Brutus spoke in these terms:

The Oration of *Brutus*.

IF we speak to you now here, who spoke to you yesterday in the place, 'tis not that we have taken refuge as in a Temple; for we are not Criminals, nor as in a Fortress; we deliver our selves into your hands, but what unlooked for happened to Cinna against all reason, has forced us to retire, and because our Enemies calumniously accuse us, of having violated our Faith, and troubled the Peace. I shall be well pleased to plead our cause before you: you I say with whom we hope for the future to confer about all the affairs of the Common-wealth. After that Cæsar upon his return from Gaul entred armed into his Country, and Pompey who loved the Common-wealth had been treated as you all know, and after a great multitude of good Citizens retired into Africa and Spain were perished, the tyranny being established, he would, and not without reason, for his own security have us swear to forget what was passed, and if he would have constrained us to promise upon oath not only to blot out of our remembrance the injuries we had received, but likewise to live under him in perpetual servitude, what would not then those have done who sought our destruction? But I believe for my part there is no true Roman who would not chuse rather to die an hundred times than oblige himself by oath to servitude. If then Cæsar attempted nothing against our liberty, we are perjured; but if he has left to us neither the disposition of Offices in the City, nor of Governments of Provinces, nor Command of Armies, nor Colonies, nor any other Honours; but that Cæsar alone disposed all these things without so much as speaking a word to the Senate, or asking the consent of the people, where is that liberty of which we had not so much as the hopes left? for could we think he would be weary of our servitude, or would imitate Sylla, who after being revenged of his Enemies, restored to you the administration of the Common-wealth, he who undertaking so long an Expedition, anticipated

puted for five years the assembly for election of Magistrates? What shall I say of the Tribunes of the people, Cæcilius and Marullus? did he not shamefully drive away those Magistrates holy and inviolable? The Laws and Oath of our Fathers permit not the Tribunes of the people to be brought to judgment so long as they are in Office, but Cæsar has judged them, has banished them; who then, he or we, have violated the reverence due to persons holy and sacred? unless possibly Cæsar was hallowed and inviolable, he whom by violence, after the oppression of his Country and the death of so many great Men, we honoured with that Title, and the power of the Tribunes be not hallowed and inviolable, after that our Fathers when the Common-wealth was free, voluntarily swore them so, and pronounced execrations against their posterity if they violated it. Whither was the wealth and riches of the Empire brought? to whom did the Receivers give their Accounts? who broke up the Treasury against our will? who laid hands on a Fond never any before durst touch? and who threatened a Tribune with death that opposed it? But say they upon what Oaths can we be assured the peace now to be made shall not be violated? I will answer them, that if no person be a Tyrant, there needs no Oaths, and our Predecessors never took any. But if any one aspire to the Tyranny the Romans ought not to observe either Faith or Religion with Tyrants. We tell you all these things in the midst of our present danger, and will never cease to speak them for the publick Good; for when Cæsar conferred on me all imaginable Honours, I always preferred my Country before my own proper Glory. They slander us about the Colonies to incense you; but if there be any here who have taken possession of Lands already assigned to them, or are ready to go, let them do me the favour to make themselves known to me.

Thereupon many having made a Sign.

You have done well, (said he) to come hither with the other Citizens; and surely it is but just that you do participate, and so are willing to participate equally of the Honours of the City, you testify likewise the affection you bear your Country. The Roman People gave you to Cæsar to bear Arms in Gaul and Britain, having served him well you have merited Honours and Military Rewards; but he after having exacted an Oath from you, led you whether you would or no, both against the City, and against the most eminent Citizens in Africa; possibly you are ashamed to demand a salary for the services you have done in these last Wars; but because neither envy, time, nor oblivion can blot out those noble Actions you did in Gaul and Britain, you are sure to receive those rewards the people of Rome do customarily give their Soldiers. But they for that end never robbed innocent people, nor divided others Goods to those that served them; but when they had overcome their Enemies, seized not of all their Country, but a part of their Lands, whither they sent the Veterans to inhabit, and to keep the subdued people in awe; and if the conquered Country were not sufficient, they added some of the Publick Lands, or bought with the publick Money. Thus the People of Rome formerly gave Lands without doing injury to any person. But Sylla and Cæsar having seized the Sovereign Power by violence and Arms, and standing in need of Guards and Armies against their Country, have not sent you every one to his own dwelling, nor bought you Lands, nor divided among you those they have conquered, nor given the ancient possessors some Money to comfort them, though they had such store which they either took out of the Treasury, or received for Confiscations. But they send you into Italy it self, where they had received no offence, ravishing away from the ancient Possessors (like Thieves, and not like Conquerours) their Lands, their Houses, their Sepulchres, their

their Temples, of which we deprive not vanquished Strangers, contenting our selves with the Tenth of their Fruits. But they have divided among you the Lands of your own Nation, who have born Arms with you under Cæsar himself against the Gauls, and offered Vows for the happy Success of the Expedition; and against these they have led you, marching in Battel, with Ensigns displayed, as to a War: And indeed you cannot live in Peace, nor abide in Safety with those who have been forced to give up their Lands; for he that is driven out and despoiled of his Estate studies your Destruction, and only waits an opportunity. So the Principal Designs of the Tyrants was not that you should have Lands, for that they might have done by other ways; but that having always Enemies ready to fall upon you, you might be firm Props to their Power, to which your Fortunes were fast bound, since Tyrants have no Guards more faithful than the Companions of their Crimes and their Fears; and to these, Good Gods! they have given the name of Colonies; that is indeed, the Oppression of our Compatriots, and the Ruin of an infinite of innocent Persons, whom with design they have made your Enemies for their private Advantage. For our parts, to whom those that at present govern the Commonwealth say, they will give us our Lives out of pure Grace, our intention is, and always shall be, that you be confirmed in the Possession of your Lands. We take God to witness, that as you do enjoy them you shall enjoy them, and that no Person shall take them from you; neither Brutus nor Cassius, nor all them have hazarded their Lives for your Liberty. There is yet in this business one Difficulty, to which we will apply a Remedy which shall secure your Peace with your Compatriots, and which you shall understand with joy. We will give Order as soon as may be that the Ancient Possessors shall be payed the Purchase of their Lands out of the Publick Moneys, that you for the future may possess them, not only without Contradiction, but likewise with Security of your Persons..

All the World, both during the Assembly, and after they were all withdrawn, approved what *Brutus* said as perfectly just; and admired these Men, so undaunted and so zealous for their Country. Thus having gained the Affection of the People, the Affair was adjourned till the Morrow. As soon as ever it was Day the Consul published the Assembly, where the Decree of the Senate was read; whereupon *Cicero* made an Excellent Discourse in praise of the Amnesty, which the People hearkened to with pleasure, and forthwith demanded that those retired to the Capitol might come down; but they refused to come till they gave them Hostages: so they sent *Anthony's* and *Lepidus* Children. Their Arrival raised a General Acclamation and Applause: and when the Consuls would have spoke something, the People would not hear them before they were reconciled, and had embraced each other: which was done, but begot in the Consuls great fears and jealousies that those Men would for the future have more Power in the City than they. After this, *Cæsar's* Will being brought, the People would have it immediately read: Where they found that he had adopted for his Son *Octavius*, born of his Sisters Daughter; given his Gardens to the People, and left to every Roman Citizen seventy five Attick Drams. Hereupon the People entered into Fury, understanding that he whom they had but now treated as a Tyrant, had an Affection for his Country: But above all, they looked upon it as a thing worthy of Compassion to consider that *Decimus Brutus*, one of his Murderers, was nominated his Heir by Substitution; for it is the custom of the Romans to nominate a second Heir in case the first cannot be. It struck all the World with horror, that *Decimus*, the substituted Heir of *Cæsar*, had attempted his life. But after that *Piso* had caused the Body to be brought to the Place, there ran to guard it a great number of Persons in Arms; who

XLII.

with an Extraordinary Magnificence, and General Acclamation, placed it before the Tribunal. Then the Lamentations and Tears were universal. The Soldiers made a great noise with their Arms, and by little and little the whole World began to repent them of the Amnesty. *Anthony* perceiving that, lost not the Opportunity : And because he was obliged by the Duty of his Office to make his Funeral Oration as he was a Consul, being Consul himself, and his Friend and Kins-man, (for there was an Alliance between them) with his usual Artifices he spoke in this manner.

The Oration of *Anthony*.

I *T is not just, Gentlemen, that I alone should undertake the Funeral-Praises of this Great Man ; it were fitter his Country did declare them : Therefore I will only with the Voice of the Republick, and not my own, make Recital of those Honours which whilst he was living the Senate and People of Rome conferred upon him for his Virtue.*

Having said these words, he began with a sad and sorrowful Countenance the Recital of *Caesar's* Glorious Titles ; pronouncing every thing distinctly, and stopping more particularly at those whereby they had made him more than Man, by the Qualities of Sacred and Inviolable, Father of his Country, Benefactor, Prince, and many others which till that time had never been given to any Person. At every word turning himself towards the Body, and animating his Speech by his Gesture ; and when he pronounced any one of those Titles, adding some intermingled Terms of Grief and Indignation : as when he recited the Decree of the Senate, calling him Father of his Country. *See there, said he, the Testimony of your Acknowledgments.* And in pronouncing these words, Holy, Sacred, Inviolable, and the Refuge of the Miserable, he added ; *Never any that fled to him for Refuge, perished ; but he himself is murdered, though made Holy and Sacred by our Decrees, without having exacted those Qualities from us, or ever desired them ; and surely we are in a shameful Slavery if we give those Titles to unworthy Persons that never ask them from us.* But, *Oh, faithful Citizens ! you purge your selves well from this Reproach by the Honours you now pay his Memory.* After this, reciting the Act of the Oath, by which they were all obliged to guard the Person of *Caesar*, and to employ all their Forces so, that if any attempted his Person, whoever exposed not his Life for his Defence should be execrable, he raised his Voice ; and extending his Hands towards the Capitol : *Oh Jupiter ! Protector of my Country ! said he, behold me here ready to revenge, as I have sworn : and since it is a thing resolved by the Judgment of all good Men, I beseech thee, with all other Gods to be favourable to me.* A Tumult hereupon arising among the Senators, who believed these words to be manifestly addressed to them. *Anthony* to appease them changed his Discourse, and said : *But Gentlemen, this Accident must rather be attributed to some God, than to Men ; and we ought rather to provide against the present Necessities than speak of things past, since we are threatened with extreme Misery for the future, and are upon the Point of falling again into our Antient Seditions, and the seeing all the Nobility of the City perish. Let us then conduct this Sacred Person among the Gods, solemnly in mournful Elegies singing his Praises.* After having said these words, he tucked

tucked up his Robe as if he had been possessed with some Spirit ; and girding it about him that he might have his Hands more at liberty, he went and placed himself near the Bed where the Corps lay, upon an Eminent Place ; and opening the Curtain, and looking in, he began to sing his Praises, as of a Celestial Divinity : And the better to make him be believed to be of that Race, he lifted his Hands to Heaven ; reciting even to the loss of breath, his Wars, his Combats, his Victories, the Nations he had subdued, the Spoils he had brought away ; speaking of every thing as a Miracle ; and crying out many times, *Thou alone art he who hast returned Victorious from so many Fights ; Thou alone art he who hast revenged the Country of the Injuries done her for three hundred Years together ; and constrained People till then indomitable, who alone took and burnt the City, to ask Pardon on their Knees.* Having said these things and many more as of a Divine Person, he lored his Voice ; and in a mournful Tone, with Tears in his Eyes, lamented the unworthy Death of his Friend, begging he might redeem his Life with his own ; and at length abandoning himself to Grief, he was so far transported as to discover the Body of *Cæsar*, and to shew at the top of a Pike his Robe, pierced with the Stabs he had received, and all stained with his Blood. And now the People joyned their Lamentations with his, and Compassion was soon converted into Choler ; for when the Consul ceasing to speak, they began the mournful Airs, after the manner of the Countrey singing his great Actions, and after that his deplorable death, and as if *Cæsar* himself had called by name those on whom he had heaped his Favours after having been his Enemies, they heard these words which seemed addressed to the Conspirators ; *Must I then Life unto my Murderers give.* The People hereupon entred into fury, considering that all the Conspirators, except *Decimus Brutus*, had been of *Pompey's* Party ; and that *Cæsar*, instead of revenging himself upon them, had given them Dignities, Governments of Provinces, and Armies to command ; and that after that they had conspired against him, and with them *Decimus Brutus*, whom he had loved so well to make him his Heir. The multitude being in this sort moved, and already prepared for Violence, some one raised up from the Bed the Image of *Cæsar* made in Wax, for the Body could not be seen being layed within the Bed ; but the Image turning upon a Machine, was visible to all the World, and every Man might observe three and twenty Wounds, as well on the Body as the Face. At this sad Spectacle the People giving themselves over to tears, encompassed the place where *Cæsar* had been slain, and set it on fire ; seeking every where for the Murderers, who were retired. Anger and Grief so far transporting the Multitude, that some meeting *Cinna* Tribune of the People, whom for name sake they took for *Cinna* the Pretor, who had declaimed against *Cæsar*, he in vain told them that they were mistaken, for they tore him in so many pieces, that the least part of him could not be found to give Sepulture to. After this they carried Fire to burn the Houses of the Conspirators, but the Resistance of the Domesticks and the Prayers of the Neighbours prevented them ; yet not without threats that they would return again in Arms. On the Morrow the Conspirators privately departed the City, and the People returned to the bed where *Cæsar* lay, carrying it to the Capitol to bury it in the Temple before the Gods, as already consecrated ; but the Priests opposing it, they brought it back to the place, and upon the same Ground where formerly stood the Palace of the Kings, gathering together all the Wood they could, and with the Seats of the place and of all the neighbouring places, raising a magnificent Pile, they thereon placed the Body ; and some one having cast upon it Crowns and other Military Presents, they set fire to it, and about it

the People spent all the Night : They forthwith erected an Altar, and at present there is a Temple where *Cæsar* is adored as a God ; for after that *Octavius*, his Adopted Son, who changed his Name into that of *Cæsar*, had (following his steps) taken upon him the Government of the State, he mightily strengthened and augmented that Monarchy of which he had laid the Foundations, which endures to this day ; and to pay him all possible Honours, ranked him in the number of the Gods. From this Example it is, that to this day the People give the Title of Gods to their Emperors after their death (if they have neither been Tyrants, nor manifestly guilty of great Crimes) they who formerly would not suffer them to take the name of King whilst living.

- XLIII. Thus fell *Cæsar* on the Day which the Romans call the * Ides of *March* :
 • *The Fifteenth.* an Augur had told him, that day would be fatal to him, but he laughed at it, and the very same morning told him jesting, *The Ides of March are come* : to which the other without surprize made answer, *But not yet gone*. Yet the great Assurance of the Augur, nor many other Presages could not hinder him from going to the Assembly ; where he was murdered in the fifty sixth Year of his Age : Happy in all things, Magnificent ; and with just reason comparable to *Alexander* ; for they were both beyond measure Ambitious, Warlike, ready in the Execution of what they had resolved, and hardy in Dangers : they spared not their Bodies ; and in War relied not so much upon their Conduct, as upon their Bravery and good Fortune. The one went a long journey in a Countrey without Water to go to *Hammou*, happily crossed over the bottom of the Pamphilian Gulf, the Sea being retired, as if his Genius had locked up the Waters : As another time marching in the Champion, it caused it to cease from raining. Navigated an unknown Sea : Being in the *Indies*, first scaled the Walls of a City, and leaped down alone into the midst of his Enemies, receiving thirteen Wounds ; was always Victorious ; and whatever War he was engaged in, he ended it in one or two Battels. In *Europe* he subdued many Barbarous People, and reduced them under his Obedience ; together with the Grecians, a fierce People, and Lovers of Liberty, who never before obeyed any Person but *Philip* ; who commanded them for some time under the Honourable Title of General of the Greeks. He carried his Arms almost through all *Asia* with an incredible Celerity. And to comprize in a word the Happiness and Power of *Alexander*, all the Countries he saw he conquered ; and as he was designing to conquer the rest, he died. As for *Cæsar*, passing the Ionian Sea in the midst of Winter, he found it calm as well as the British Ocean, which he passed without any knowledge of it, in a time when his Pilots, driven by Storm against the English Rocks, lost their Ships : Another time embarking alone by Night in a little Boat, and rowing against the Waves, he commanded the Pilot to hoist Sail, and rather to consider the Fortune of *Cæsar* than the Sea. He threw himself more than once all alone into the midst of his Enemies, when his Men were all struck with Panick Fear : And is the only General of the Romans that ever fought thirty times in Pitch'd Battel against the Gauls, and subdued in *Gaul* forty Nations, before so dreadful to the Romans, that in the Law dispensing with Priests and Old Men from going to the War, the Wars against the Gauls are excepted, and the Priests and Old Men obliged to bear Arms. Before *Alexandria*, seeing himself alone inclosed upon a Bridge, he laid down his Purple, threw himself into the Sea ; and pursued by his Enemies, swam a long time under Water, only by Intervals lifting up his head to take breath ; till coming near his Ships, he held up his hands, was
 known

known, and so saved. For the Civil Wars, which he either undertook out of Fear (as himself says) or out of Ambition, he had to deal with the greatest Generals of the Age, fighting at the Head of many great Armies; not Barbarians, but Romans, encouraged by their former Actions, and by their good Fortune: yet he defeated them all; and not one of them, but he ruined in a Fight or two. But we cannot say of him as of *Alexander*, that he was never overcome; for he suffered once a great loss against the Gauls, under the Conduct of *Viturius* and *Cotta*, his Lieutenants: In *Spain* his Army was so near blocked up by *Petrus* and *Afranius*, that he wanted but little of being besieged: At *Dyrrhachium* and in *Africa* they turned their Backs; and in *Spain*, against the young *Pompey*, they fled. But for *Caesar* himself, he was always undaunted: and whatever War he engaged in, came off in the end Victorious: And the Roman Empire which now extends it self by Sea and Land, from the *Euphrates*, to the Atlantick Ocean, was brought under his Power; partly by his Valour, and partly by his Clemency. He settled himself much better than *Sylla*, and governed himself with more moderation; for being King in effect in spite of all the World, he took not that name. At last, making his Preparations for other Wars, he was surprized by death as well as *Alexander*. Their Armies were also alike; for the Soldiers of both were chearful in Fight and hardy, but stubborn and mutinous when overwrought with Labour. The Deaths of both of them were equally mourned and lamented by their Armies, who attributed to them Divine Honours. They were both well made in Body, and of Noble Aspects: both descended from *Jupiter*; one by *Eacus* and *Hercules*, and the other by *Anchises* and *Venus*. Though they were inflexible when resisted, they were easie to pardon and be reconciled, and likewise to do good to such as they had vanquished; contenting themselves with the Victory. Hitherto the Comparison is just, save only that their Beginnings were not equal; for *Alexander* began with the Quality of a King, in which he had been before instructed by his Father *Philip*: but *Caesar* was only a Private Man; and though he were of an Illustrious Race, yet his Fortunes were much incumbred. They both despised the Presages that threatned them, without injuring those Divines foretold their death: and almost the same Signs happened to them, and a like Event; for in the Sacrifices made by one and the other twice, they found not the Chief of the Entrails of the Victims; the first time they were only threatned with great Danger: *Alexander's* happened when besieging the Oxidrakes, being mounted first upon the Wall, and the too great weight breaking the Ladders behind him, he beheld himself deserted by his Men, and threw himself into the midst of his Enemies, where having received many Wounds on his Breast, and a great blow on the Neck, he was ready to die; when the Macedonians touched with shame, broke open the Gates, and relieved him. The like happened to *Caesar* in *Spain*, in the Fight between him and young *Pompey*; where, seeing his Men went on trembling, he advanced betwixt the two Armies, received two hundred Darts on his Buckler; till such time as Fear having given place to Shame, all the Army ran in, and secured him from the Danger. Thus the first Entrails without the Chief threatned only Danger of Death, but the Second were a certain Presage of Death it self. *Pythagoras* the Divine after having sacrificed, said to *Appollodorus*, who feared *Alexander* and *Epheslion*, that he need fear nothing, for they both should shortly die. *Epheslion* dying some time after, *Appollodorus* doubting lest there might be some Conspiracy formed against the King, gave him notice of the Prediction: He only laughed at it; and informing himself of *Pythagoras* what those Presages meant, he told him it

was a Sign of Death ; whereupon he again laughed, praising *Appollodorus's* love, and the Divine's freedom. As for *Cæsar*, the last time he went to the Senate, as we have said a little before, the same Prefage presenting, he said smiling, he had seen the like in *Spain* : to which the Augur answering, that he was then in danger, but now the Sign was mortal, he yielded in some measure to that Advice, and offered another Sacrifice ; but tired with the length of the Ceremonies, entered the Palace, and perished. There happened to *Alexander* the same thing ; for when he returned from the *Indies* to *Babylon* with his Army, being come nigh the City, the Chaldeans counselled him to defer his Entry ; to whom having given this Verse for Answer,

Who promises most Good's the best Divine,

they besought him at least, that he would not let his Army enter with their Faces to the West ; but would fetch a Compass, that in entering they might see the Rising Sun and the City. It is said, he would have obeyed them in this ; but in marching about he met with a Marshy Ground, which made him slight the second as well as the first Advice, so that he entered the City with his Face to the West. Some time after embarking upon the *Euphrates*, and going down to the River *Pallacota*, which receives the *Euphrates*, and carries its Waters into Marshes and Pools which might happen to drown all *Assyria*, he resolved to make a Dam ; and it is said, that going down the River he laughed at the Chaldeans, because he had gone into *Babylon* and come out of it again in a Boat without any harm : But Death attended him at his Return from this Voyage. *Cæsar's* Raillery with the Augur, who told him the Ides of *March* were fatal to him, was much alike ; he answered him jeering, the Ides were come, and yet he was killed the same day. So that herein there was great agreement between them, both in the Prefages they received from the Divines without being offended, their Raillery, and the Event of the Prediction. They were likewise great Lovers of the Sciences, as well of their own Country as Strangers. *Alexander* conferred with the *Brachmen*, who are esteemed the most subtil and sagacious of the Indians, as the *Magi* are of the Persians. *Cæsar* did the like with the Egyptians when he re-established *Cleopatra* in her Kingdom, which occasioned him when the Peace was made to reform many things amongst the Romans ; and that after the Example of the Egyptians, he regulated the Year by the Course of the Sun, which before was governed by the Moon ; and so till then were unequal, by reason of the Intercalary Days. It happened to him likewise, that not one of those who conspired his Death escaped, but were all punished as they deserved by his Son, and as the Murderers of *Philip* were by *Alexander* ; but in what manner, we shall relate in the following Books.

*The End of the Second Book of the Civil Wars
of Rome.*

A P P I A N

A P P I A N
 OF
 ALEXANDRIA,
 HIS
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 Civil Wars
 OF
 R O M E.

PART II.

BOOK III.

The Argument of this Book.

- I. **A** Nthony causes Amatius who gave himself out to be the Son of Marius to be slain, which begets him the ill will of the People; whereupon the Senate appoint him Guards. II. Brutus and Cassius settle their Affairs, and leave the City: Dolabella and Anthony get the Governments of Syria and

and Macedonia to their prejudice. III. Octavius adopted by Cæsar comes to Rome, and goes to visit Anthony. IV. His Speech, and Anthony's Answer. V. Cæsar finding Anthony not well disposed to him, labours to gain the hearts of the People. Dolabella goes into Syria, and puts to death Trebonius. VI. Cæsar and Anthony reconciled by the mediation of the Soldiery. VII. Anthony having in prejudice of the reconciliation disobliged Cæsar, the Officers of his Guards declare their resentment of it. VIII. Anthony's Answer to them, and the second reconciliation between him and Cæsar. IX. A third Breach between Cæsar and Anthony: four Macedonian Legions come to Brundisium for Anthony, and Cæsar raises Forces. X. Anthony's four Legions mutiny against him, and after being appeased, two of them come over to Cæsar. XI. Preparations on one side and the other. XII. Anthony being tacitly declared Enemy, Cicero gives reasons for it. XIII. Piso makes an Oration in favour of Anthony. XIV. Anthony declared Enemy, and an Army decryed to Brutus and Cassius, which discontents Cæsar, yet he lends a part of his Forces to the Consul to help them to raise the Siege of Modena, where Anthony had inclosed Decimus Brutus. XV. After several Engagements before Modena, Anthony raises his Siege, and marches over the Alpes. XVI. Cæsar will not see Decimus: and Pansa at the point of death discovers to Cæsar the Senates intention to ruine him. XVII. Cassius and Brutus grow powerful in Syria and Macedon. XVIII. Cæsar does all he can to oblige Anthony to a reconciliation: and in the mean time the Senate nominates Commissioners to call Anthony to account. XIX. Anthony joyns with Lepidus, which terrifies the Senate. XX. Cæsar by his Soldiers demands the Consulate, which being refused, he marches towards Rome, at which the Senate are so affrighted, that they grant it him. XXI. The Senate repenting of their grant, and preparing for defence, Cæsar comes to Rome, where he is well received, and obtains the Consulate. XXII. Cæsar being Consul condemns the Conspirators, reconciles himself with Anthony; and Decimus Brutus is slain in Gaul, and his Head brought to Anthony.

Cæsar the most worthy to reign of all men that ever had lived among the Romans being in this manner slain by his Enemies, the People celebrated his Funerals. But because all those who any way contributed to his death were punished, we shall in this and the Book next following treat of the manner how the principal Heads of this Conspiracy perished, and after that conclude the History of these Civil Wars. Anthony having lost the good will of the Senate by ministring occasion to the people to violate the indemnity at Cæsar's Funeral Pomp, and being the cause of their running to set on fire the Houses of the Conspirators, regained their good esteem by an action which had respect to the publick Good. There was one Amasius who falsely giving himself out to be the Son of Marius, had taken his name, and only in consideration of his reporting him to be his Father, was beloved of the People; for by that supposition they thought him a Kinsman of Cæsar's; and indeed he appeared extremely afflicted for his death, erected an Altar in the place where he was burnt, and attended by a Troop of Hectors terrified the Conspirators, of whom the greatest part having left the City, those to whom Cæsar had given Governments retired likewise. Decimus Brutus to that Gaul neighbouring upon Italy; Trebonius into Asia, and Tullius Cimber into Bithynia. As for Cassius and Brutus, to whom the Senate bore great affection,

affection, they had been designed by *Cæsar* to command the year following, *Cassius* in *Syria*, and *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, and at present were Prætors in the City. In the present juncture of Affairs they laboured to gain the Soldiers designed for the Colonies, by permitting them among other things to sell their shares, which the Law prohibited them till after twenty years possession. It was reported that *Amatius* had a design against their lives, and waited only for an opportunity to execute it, which being told to *Anthony*, he according to the authority he had by virtue of his charge caused him to be arrested, and with an extraordinary boldness put him to death without any trial. The Senate were amazed at it, as a violent action, not permitted by their Laws: however, they suffered it, because they saw no other way of security for *Cassius* and *Brutus*; but the companions of *Amatius* and the rest of the people affected with grief for him, and enraged against *Anthony*, that he durst in that manner treat a person whom they loved, thinking they ought not to dissemble it, but gathering together in the place began to cry out, and rail against *Anthony*, requiring the Magistrates to consecrate *Amatius* his Altar, and perform the first Sacrifices to *Cæsar*. And when *Anthony*'s Soldiers would have driven them thence, they grew more tumultuous, making greater noise than before; some of them shewing the Basis from whence they had taken *Cæsar*'s Statues, and one of them cried out he could likewise shew them the Shop where they were melting down, they presently followed him, and finding it as he said, set fire to the House. Another Party of *Anthony*'s people coming to quench it, some of those Mutineers were slain, and some taken, of whom the Slaves were hanged, and the rest thrown headlong down the Rocks. The Tumult being appeased, that affection people bore to *Anthony* converted into hatred. On the contrary the Senate were well satisfied; for without this, the Conspirators had not been in security of their persons. But when *Anthony* proposed to the Fathers the return of *Sextus Pompey* (Son of that great *Pompey* lamented by all men, against whom *Cæsar*'s Party yet made War in *Spain*) and to give him out of the Treasury fifty Millions of Attick Drams, in recompence of the Goods of his Father which had been confiscate, and to make him Admiral as his Father had been, with power to dispose of all the Roman Fleet as he should think fit; all the Senators were astonished, approved his proposition, and spent the rest of that day in praises of him; for no man had ever appeared so affectionate to the publick Good as the great *Pompey*, nor had been so universally lamented, and 'twas because *Brutus* and *Cassius* had followed him, that all men still honoured them. Wherefore *Cicero* without ceasing praised *Anthony*, and the Senate who were not ignorant that he was hated by the people, permitted him to chuse as a Guard of his person as many as he pleased of the old Soldiers then in the City. He, whether he had before provided for it, or that he gladly made use of the presenting occasion, took such Guards as amounted to six thousand persons; nor did he enlist private Soldiers; for he thought at a pinch he could easily find them elsewhere, but all experienced Officers, whose affection he had gained in the time they had served under *Cæsar*, and the most considerable of these he had made choice of for Tribunes, to whom he shewed Honour and Respect, making them partakers in all things fit to be communicated. The Senate began to grow jealous of his Guards, whether because of their great numbers, or because they were all chosen Men, and advised him to reduce them to a certain number to avoid envy, which he promised to do as soon as the Tumults of the people were appeased. Moreover the Senate and people having approved all that *Cæsar* had done and decreed of this,

Anthony had the Register, which when *Cæsar* had thoughts of departing on his designed Expedition he had left with him, with great numbers of Requests, on which he had yet made no Order; so that *Faberius*, *Cæsar*'s Secretary, being perfectly at his Devotion, he added many things in favour of several persons, gave Gratuities to Cities, Potentates, and to his own Guards, as if done by *Cæsar*'s Order, whereas they owed the obligation only to *Anthony*: he likewise by the same means placed many persons in the degree of Senators, and performed great quantity of other matters at the Senates request; that he might lessen the aversion they had to his Guards: such was *Anthony*'s Conduct.

II.

As for *Brutus* and *Cassius* (seeing the people and the old Soldiers continued their animosities against them, and imagining some other might be found to make an attempt upon their lives, as well as *Amatius*, and being besides sensible of *Anthony*'s malice, who now having nothing to stand in fear of, being so well guarded, hindred the re-establishment of the Commonwealth) they began to provide for their own safety: besides the firm reliance they had in *Decimus Brutus* who was at hand with three Legions, they wrote to *Tribonius* in *Asia*, and to *Tullius* in *Bithynia*, to raise Money with as much secrecy as they could, and gave order to secure the Soldiery to them, whilst they put themselves in a readiness to take possession of those Governments *Cæsar* had commissioned them for. But because their due time for departure was not yet come, they judging it indecent to go take possession of their Provinces before the time of executing their Charges in the City was expired, and yet had rather spend the rest of the year as private persons, than exercising the Office of Prætors, whilst neither their persons were secure, nor they honoured according to their deserts. The Senate, knowing their thoughts, gave them Commission to cause Corn to be brought from all parts into the City, till the time limited for their going into their Provinces, which they did, that *Brutus* and *Cassius* might not seem to flee, so great care had they of the reputation of those two Men, for whose sake especially they favoured the Party of the Conspirators. After that the Prætors were gone out of the City to execute their Commission, *Anthony* being thenceforth the only powerful Man, could heartily have wished the Command of a Province with an Army, and especially cast his eyes upon *Syria*; but understanding he should increase the jealousy conceived of him, if he demanded it for himself, and that on the other side the Senate had gained *Dolabella* his Colleague, with whom he had no fair understanding, to oppose all his designs, he perswaded *Dolabella*, who was young and ambitious, to demand *Syria*, to the prejudice of *Cassius*, together with the Army destined to War upon the Parthians, and not address himself for the obtaining it to the Senate (for that would prove to no purpose) but to the people by way of Decree. He gladly embracing the motion, presently makes his proposition to the people: whereupon the Senate complaining, that he attempted against what *Cæsar* had decreed; he answered, That *Cæsar* had not decreed to any person the Commission of the War against the Parthians; that *Cassius* to whom he had given *Syria* had first thwarted his Decree, by permitting the Soldiers to whom he had given Lands to dwell on, to sell them without staying the twenty years assigned by the Law, that however it would be dishonourable for him if *Dolabella* should not be preferred before *Cassius* in the Government of *Syria*. Hereupon the Senate suborned *Alfenus* Tribune of the People to break up the Assembly, under pretence of some evil Augury, hoping that *Anthony*,
who

who was Consul and Augur, and whom they believed yet an Enemy to *Dolabella*, would joyn with the Tribune: but as soon as he declared that there were unhappy presages (which belonged to anothers Office to do) *Anthony* said that he was a knave, and exhorted the Tribes to give their Votes on *Dolabella's* proposition. Thus he obtained the Government of *Syria*, with Commission to make War upon the Parthians with the Legions designed by *Cæsar* to that purpose, and those already marched into *Macedonia*, and thus at last they came to know that *Anthony* and his Colleague understood each other. *Dolabella* having obtained these things from the people, *Anthony* demanded *Macedon* from the Senate, knowing well that after the grant of *Syria* to the other, *Macedon*, where there was no Army, would not be refused him. So he obtained it to the discontent of most, and general wonder of all the Fathers, that he had suffered the Army which was in that Province to be given to *Dolabella*, who however they were much better satisfied should have the dispose of it than *Anthony*. Hereupon they took occasion to demand of *Anthony* other Provinces for *Brutus* and *Cassius*, which he assented to, and gave them *Cyrene* and *Crete*, or as some say both those were given to *Cassius*, and *Bithynia* to *Brutus*. Thus went Affairs within the City.

Now *Octavius* Nephew of *Cæsar*, as descended from his Sister, had been by his Uncle created General of the Horse for one year, after he had made that Dignity annual, to the intent that many of his Friends might enjoy it one after the other. But because he was yet too young, he had sent him to *Apollonia* a City situate on the Coasts of the Ionian Sea, to study and learn the Art of War, till such time as he should take him along with him against the Parthians. In the mean time several Cornets of Horse that were in *Macedon* came by turns to attend him, that he might be the better instructed by exercising them, and there came likewise very often Tribunes and other Officers to pay their respects to him in quality of *Cæsar's* Kinsman, and he receiving all Men with great kindness, respect and civility, gained to himself the hearts of the whole Army. He had been now six Months at *Apollonia*, when one Evening news was brought him that *Cæsar* had been slain in full Senate by his most intimate Friends, who had at that time great power in the City, and because there was none that could give him any farther account, fear seized upon him, not knowing whether the Senate had contributed to the action, or whether it were a conspiracy of particular Men, whether those guilty of it were punished, or whether they were yet living, or lastly, whether the people had declared for them or no. Hereupon his Roman Friends gave him advice to retire to the Army in *Macedon* for his security, where, if he understood it an attempt of particular persons, he might take heart and revenge *Cæsar*, and some Officers there were, offered to be his Guides, and serve him as Guards in the way. But his Mother and *Philip* his Father-in-law wrote to him not to be too presumptuous, that he should undertake nothing rashly, but remember that *Cæsar* after having overcome all his Enemies was slain by those Friends he had most confidence in, that a private condition, at least for some time would best secure him, but that however he should return to *Rome* accompanied with some of his faithful Friends. To them he gave credence, and without knowing what had happened since *Cæsar's* death, bid adieu to the Officers of the Army, and passed the Sea. He would not land at *Brundisium* (because not being sure of that Garrison, he was wary of falling into his Enemies hands) but at another little City not far distant from *Brundisium* called

III.

Lupia, where he sojourned some time. There receiving Letters which contained the particulars of the Assassinate, of the sorrow wherewith the people had resented it, of his Will, and the Decree of the Senate, his Friends were of opinion, that he would be obliged so much the more to stand in fear of *Cæsar*'s Enemies being his Son and Heir, and therefore exhorted him to refuse the Inheritance and Adoption, but he judging it would be an infamy for him not to revenge *Cæsar*, marched towards *Brundisium*, having sent some of his people before to discover if any of the Assassines were there in Ambuscade. But when the Garrison of the City coming forth to meet him, had received him as *Cæsar*'s Son, he took heart, sacrificed to the Gods, and forthwith caused himself to be called *Cæsar*. 'Tis the Roman custom to take with the name of their Family the name of their adoptive Father, but he quite changed his, and instead of *Octavius* the Son of *Octavius*, would be called *Cæsar* the Son of *Cæsar*. As soon as he had taken this name, the people flocked in from all parts to complement him, not only his Father's Friends, Freed Men and Slaves, but likewise the Soldiers who convoyed Provisions and Money to the Army in *Macedonia*, or which brought to *Brundisium* Tribute and other Monies levied in the Provinces. Being therefore encouraged by the concourse of so vast a Multitude, by the glorious name of *Cæsar*, and by the affection all Men professed to bear him, he took his way towards the City with a considerable Train, which daily like a Torrent grew greater. So that now he no more feared open force, but took so much the more care to secure himself from secret ambushes, because he knew not the greatest part of those that accompanied him. As for the Cities, there were some had no great affection for him, but the Veterans or old Soldiers to whom *Cæsar* had lately given Lands ran from the Colonies to offer themselves to this young Captain. They deplored the death of their Benefactor, declared against *Anthony* who had let so horrid a crime go unpunished, and protested they would be the revengers of it, if he would please to head them. He praised them, exhorted them to preserve this good will of theirs to another Season, and so

* *scilicet, Miles.* sent them home. Being come near to *Terracina* about * four hundred Furlongs from *Rome*, news was brought him, that the Consuls had taken from *Brutus* and *Cassius* the Governments of *Syria* and *Macedon*, instead of which, and to comfort them they had given them two lesser, to wit, *Cyrene* and the Island of *Crete*; that some Exiles were returned to the City; that they had sent for *Pompey*, made some Senators according to *Cæsar*'s Memoirs, with many other matters. When he was arrived at *Rome* he found his Mother and Father-in-law and all those who had any care of his Affairs in great fear and trouble, because of the Senates aversion for *Cæsar*, the Decree past for discharging the Murderers from crime, and the pride of *Anthony* now grown powerful in the City, who had neither gone himself nor sent out any to meet the Son of *Cæsar*. He quieted their trouble by telling them he would go himself to *Anthony* as the younger to the elder, and as a private person to a Consul, that he would pay his respects to the Senate as he was obliged in duty, that as for the Decree it passed in a time when no Man opposed it, but now that one was found to prosecute, the people would reach forth a strong hand, the Senate would give life to the authority of the Laws, the immortal Gods would sustain the justice of his cause, and perhaps *Anthony* himself would be concerned for it. As for his part he could not refuse the Inheritance and Adoption, without doing injury to *Cæsar*'s memory, and injustice to the Roman People, in not paying what had been left them by his Will, that he had much rather not only hazard himself, but suffer

suffer death it self, than after having been made choice of by *Cæsar* before all other persons in the World, shew himself unworthy of that Great Man's Choice. Then turning to his Mother, he pronounced thole words of *Achilles* to *Thetis*.

*Oh ! let me die, or let my Vengeance yield
Some Satisfaction for my Friend thus kill'd.*

He added, that this Discourse had given Immortality to *Achilles*, especially being pursued to Effects ; and that for his part *Cæsar* had not only been his Friend but his Father, his Comrade but his Captain ; who had not been slain in fair War, but wretchedly massacred in full Senate. Hereupon his Mother changing her fear into joy, embraced him as alone worthy to be Son to *Cæsar* ; and with many powerful expressions exhorted him to execute his Resolutions. However, she advised him rather to employ Policy and Patience, than open Violence. *Cæsar* having praised her Counsel, and promised to follow it, towards the Evening dismissed his Friends, giving them order to meet him next Morning early upon the place with as much Company as they could bring. There he comes up to *Caius*, *Anthony's* Brother, Pretor of the City, and declared to him that he accepted the Adoption ; for it was the Custom among the Romans to have Adoptions authorized by the Pretors. After having caused his Declaration to be registred, he went off from the place, to go seek out *Anthony*, who was then at *Pompey's* Gardens, which *Cæsar* had given to him. They let him wait a good while at the Gate, which made him suspect that *Anthony* had no kindness for him ; but at last being entred, there passed nothing but civil and obliging words from one to the other : And when *Cæsar* was to discourse of the Business about which he came, he spoke in this manner.

The Oration of *Cæsar*.

“ **M**Y Father (for the Affection *Cæsar* had for you, and your Acknowledgments, oblige me to call you so.) I applaud what you have done for him, and shall ever own the Obligation : But pray give my Grief the liberty to tell you, that there are some things I cannot approve. Whilst *Cæsar* was murdered you was not there, for his Murderers had stopped you at the Gate ; otherwise you had either saved his life, or perished with him : but if your loss were inevitable, I am glad that you were not there. After this, when some endeavoured to decree Rewards to the Murderers, as if they had slain a Tyrant, you generously opposed it ; for which, likewise, I am infinitely obliged to you. Though certain it is they had also resolved to make a Riddance of you ; not as the future Revenger of *Cæsar's* death (which we believe) but (as they say) for fear there should remain after him a Successor in the Tyranny. Though after the Action these People who said they had slain a Tyrant, being sensible they were guilty of Murder, fled to the Capitol ; either as Criminals to seek for Refuge in a Sacred Place, or as Enemies to seize upon the Fortrefs. How then could they obtain an Amnesty, and a Decree forbidding any Prosecution of Justice for this Action, unless by corrupting with Money some of the Senate and People ? But being Consul, you ought to have taken care on which

“ Part

" Part was the Plurality of Voices ; and presiding in the Senate, had you vo-
 " ted against them, you had carried it, and reduced to your Opinion those
 " who had been deceived. On the Contrary, you delivered to the Murde-
 " rers some of your own House in Hostage, and sent them to them into the
 " Capitol ; but I will think you were constrained to it by those that were
 " suborned. Then when after that Noble Funeral-Oration you made, the
 " Will being read, the People who yet had *Cæsar* fresh in memory, carry-
 " ing Fire to burn his Murderers Houses, though then forbearing it in fa-
 " vour of their Neighbours ; when on the Morrow they twice returned to
 " Arms, why did not you assist them ? Why did not you head them with
 " Sword and Torch in your Hand ? Why did you not do Justice your self ?
 " Did you expect other Judgment against Publick Criminals ? You the
 " Friend of *Cæsar*, you Consul, you *Anthony*, you who could make use of the
 " Power of your Office to put to death * *Marius*, have let Murderers escape :
 " Nay, have suffered some of them to retire into the Provinces, whose Go-
 " vernments they must needs unjustly hold, having massacred him from
 " whom they held them. It is true, that being Consuls, you and *Dolabella*,
 " you have done well to take from them *Syria* and *Macedon* ; and certainly
 " I had been much obliged to you for it, had you not at the same time gran-
 " ted them *Cyrene* and *Crete* ; giving Governments to Fugitives, to fortifie
 " themselves against me. Is it not likewise by your consent that *Decimus*,
 " one of the Murderers of my Father, as well as the rest, holds the hither
 " *Gaul* ? You may tell me perhaps it is by Decree of the Senate ; but you
 " have approved it, you sat as President ; you, who more than any Man
 " else, ought to have opposed it, even for your proper Interest. Well might
 " you, in favour of them, assent to their Indemnity and Impunity ; but to
 " give them Governments and Dignities is to do an injury to *Cæsar*, and
 " make a scorn of your self. Grief makes me say things disproportionate to
 " my Age, and to the respect I bear you : But I speak to the most assured of
 " *Cæsar*'s Friends ; to him whom he advanced in Honours and Dignities,
 " and who possibly had at this present been his adopted Son, had he known
 " you could have resolved with your self to pass from the Race of *Hercules*,
 " to that of *Æneas* ; that was his only doubt when he thought of making
 " choice of a Successor. I beseech you therefore, *Anthony*, by those Gods
 " that preside over Friendship, by *Cæsar*'s self, that you would yet change
 " something of what you have done, for you may do it if you will ; or at
 " least, that you will aid me in revenging my Father's death, with the assi-
 " stance of the People, and of all those who yet persevere in the affection
 " they once bore him. If you have any fear of those people, or of the Se-
 " nate, I only desire you would not oppose my designs. As for any thing
 " else, you know the state of my Affairs. That I am obliged to pay the people
 " what my Father left them, and that speedily, lest the benefit being delay-
 " ed, remain without acknowledgment ; and that I become the occasion that
 " those who ought to be sent to the Colonies stay longer in the City. Where-
 " fore I desire, that of all that was carried to your House, to be the better
 " secured after my Father's death, the richest and most pretious things may
 " be yours ; I only demand that Silver Money he had raised for those Wars
 " he was preparing to make, that I may pay those Legacies he left to the
 " People ; and I shall content my self at present if you furnish me with so
 " much as is necessary to pay three hundred thousand Men what is due to
 " them by the Head. I would entreat you if I durst, to lend me wherewith-
 " all to pay the rest, or be my Security for taking it up at Interest out of the
 " Treasury, till such time as the Goods left by this Succession are sold, in
 " which I shall labour Might and Main.

Anthony

Anthony astonished at the freedom taken by this Young Man, and at that noble confidence, which he did not expect from a person of his age : And being offended that he had treated him with no more respect ; but especially that he had demanded back the Money ; answered him in these terms.

The Oration of *Anthony*.

“ **M**Y Son, if *Cæsar* with his Succession and his Name had likewise left
“ you the Empire, you have reason to demand of me an Account
“ of the Administration of Publick Affairs, and it is but just that I should
“ give it you ; but the Roman People having never given the Sovereign
“ Power to any Person by Succession, not to the Kings themselves, whom
“ they have expelled, and bound themselves by Oath never more to suffer
“ them (a thing which the Conspirators reproach your Father with, saying,
“ they have slain a King, and not a Magistrate) there is therefore no necessity
“ I should give you an Account of what concerns the Publick, and I likewise
“ discharge you of all Obligations you are willing to be bound in to me, for
“ I have done nothing for your sake, and have only had in prospect the Pub-
“ lick Good in all my Actions, except only one, whereby I have rendered a
“ signal Service both to *Cæsar* and to you : For if for my own security, and
“ to avoid Envy, I had permitted them to decree Rewards to the Conspira-
“ rators, as having slain a Tyrant, *Cæsar* had been declared a Tyrant, to
“ whom neither Respect nor Honour was due ; for the Roman Laws require
“ that Tyrant’s Bodies be cast into the Draught, their Memory abolished,
“ and their Goods confiscate. Out of a fear lest this might happen, I strove
“ hard for *Cæsar*, to preserve his Glory immortal, and to cause his Funerals
“ to be publicly solemnized. I feared neither danger nor envy, though I
“ had to deal with violent people, accustomed to Murthers, and who (as you
“ know) had already conspired against me ; and that the Senate were incli-
“ ned to mischief against your Father, because he had usurped the Sovereign
“ Authority over that Body. Yet I chose rather to run all these hazards, and
“ should rather have undergone all manner of misfortunes, than have suffe-
“ red that *Cæsar*, the Greatest of Men, and the most happy in many things,
“ and whom I esteemed the most worthy of Glory of any Man of this Age,
“ should have been deprived of Honour and Sepulture. The Dangers to
“ which I have exposed my self have gained you all that *Cæsar* possessed ; his
“ Family, his Name, his Dignities, his Goods ; and surely you ought rather
“ to thank me, than blame my Conduct, if I have yielded to some thing to
“ content the Senate, or given recompence to those to whom it was due, or
“ done whatsoever it were for any reason I thought necessary ; old as I am,
“ and you yet but a young Man. But this shall suffice as to that matter. As
“ for what you would object that I aspire to the Dominion, I have no such
“ thoughts, though I do not think my self unworthy ; nor is it any insup-
“ portable thing to me to be left out of *Cæsar*’s Will, contenting my self to
“ be descended of a Race that derives its Original from *Hercules*. As for
“ the Money you talk of borrowing out of the Treasury to serve your own
“ Occasions, I believe that you do but jest ; unless, as it is probable, you
“ have not heard that your Father left the Treasury empty ; and that since
“ he

“ he made himself Master of the Empire, all the publick Moneys that were
 “ before carried thither, were after carried to his House, where among his
 “ Goods they will be found when we shall decree a Search to be made for
 “ them; which will be done without giving any offence to the dead *Cæsar*:
 “ Or were he living, he would not refuse to give an Account of his Admini-
 “ stration, as it is but just he should. Besides, many private Persons pre-
 “ tend a Right to those Goods, and will not quit them to you without Tryal.
 “ Nor was there so much Silver brought to my House as you imagine, nor
 “ have I any of it left; for it was all divided, as being a Tyrant’s Money, a-
 “ mong the Magistrates and chief Men of the City, except only *Dolabella*
 “ and my Brethren. And if you should chance to find out any, you will not
 “ if you be wise, give it to the people; but employ it to appease such as may
 “ dammage you: and if they themselves be wise, they will send away the
 “ people to the Colonies: For the People, as you may have lately learnt out
 “ of Greek Books, are a thing of no stability, but ever floating to and fro
 “ like Waves of the Sea, as it has often happened in our Republick; where
 “ the People, after having raised up to the Skies those that courted their Fa-
 “ vour, afterwards brought them on their Knees.

V. *Cæsar* angered at these words, for the most part injurious, retired, invoking
 oft times his Father, and calling him by his name. Suddainly after he put
 to sale the Goods come to him by this Succession, and exhorted the People
 to assist him in the good design he had for them against *Anthony* his Ene-
 my, who openly opposed him; and against the Senate, who had decreed
 Inquisition to be made for Publick Moneys. Many persons began to fear
Cæsar, as young as he was, because of his Father’s Liberality to the Soldiers
 and People, whose affections he was now absolutely gaining by the Distribu-
 tion he was about to make; so that most judged he would not long continue
 in the Condition of a private Person: But they feared much more lest *An-*
thony coming to an Accommodation with this Young Man, full of Glory
 and Riches, should seize on the Sovereign Power as well as *Cæsar*. In the mean
 time they were well satisfied to see them at this discord, because one served
 now as an obstacle to another’s designs; and by the Inquisition after Publick
 Moneys, of which they believed a great part would be found in *Cæsar*’s Co-
 fers, his Heir would become poor, and the Treasury rich. Dayly likewise were
 Proccesses formed about the Lands possessed by *Cæsar*; some demanding them
 as their particular Right, others pretending they belonged to the Publick, as
 being confiscated from proscribed or banished Persons. *Anthony* or *Dolobel-*
la, his Colleague, were Judges of most part of these; and if some happened
 to be tryed before other Judges, *Cæsar* was as hardly used out of favour to
Anthony, though he produced Authentick Contracts of the Purchase made
 by his Father; and likewise pleaded the last Decree of the Senate, by which
 all that *Cæsar* had done was ratified. They affronted him likewise by a thou-
 sand Insolencies out of the presence of the Judges; from which *Pedius* and
Pinarus, to whom *Cæsar* had likewise by Will left part of the Inheritance,
 were not exempt. Upon complaint made to *Anthony* of the Outrages they,
 as well as *Cæsar*, suffered; shewing him the Decree of the Senate; and tel-
 ling him, that if there were some Lands unjustly usurped by *Cæsar*, they
 were ready to pay the value of them; but that it was just all the rest *Cæsar*
 had done should be allowed. He answered, that possibly the Decree meant
 not any thing at present in question, and that the very words in which it
 was expressed ought be interpreted according to the Senate’s intention; who

who having the Indemnity only in view, would not touch upon what was past ; not that they approved it, nor in consideration of death ; but because it was then expedient to act so, and necessary to appease the people. That it was not equal to have more consideration of the words of a Decree, than of the mind of the Judges ; and to deny Audience to so many Citizens whom the Civil Wars had spoiled of their Goods, and those of their Predecessors ; in favour of a young Man, who now beholding himself richer than his condition could make him hope to be, employed not his Riches in Liberalities, but in making of Creatures to bring to effect his ambitious designs. Nevertheless, for what concerned them when they should receive from *Cæsar* what part of the Inheritance belonged to them, he would maintain them in it. After this Answer of *Anthony's*, *Cæsar's* Coheirs desired their shares of the Inheritance, for fear of losing them by reason of the many Suits commenced ; not for their sakes, but *Cæsar's* : However, soon after they again restored it into his hands. After this, the time of the Plays wherewith *Brutus*, as Pretor, ought to divert and delight the Citizens, drawing nigh, *Caius*, Brother to *Anthony*, his Colleague, who administred that Charge in his absence, had taken care of them ; and to that purpose made magnificent Preparations, out of hopes that the People charmed by those Spectacles, should vote *Brutus* and his Companions Return. *Cæsar* on his part, the better to gain the multitude, still as he received any Moneys by the Sale of the Goods of the Inheritance, put it into the hands of the chief Men of the Tribes, to distribute to such as first demanded it : And going to all places where these Sales were made, gave order to the publick Cryers to appraise all at less than it was worth, because of the uncertain success of the Law-Suits, and that he might dispatch paying what he ought by his Father's Will. These courses increased the People's affection to him, and they were moved to compassion for the unjust Persecutions under which he suffered. But when they saw that besides the Goods of this Succession, he likewise exposed to Sale his own Patrimony, with all that he had elsewhere, and with that his Mother's Lands, those of *Philip*, and *Pedius* and *Pinaris* shares too ; and all this to furnish him for the payment of Legacies ; as if he could not raise Money enough by selling *Cæsar's* Goods, by reason of his Enemies Lets and Vexations. Then the People, perswaded that this Liberality proceeded from himself, and not from the first *Cæsar*, adored this young Man ; applauding his Patience and Generosity, and protesting they would not much longer suffer *Anthony's* Insolence : And in truth they evidenced it at those Spectacles that *Brutus* exhibited at such vast Expence ; for when some, bribed to that purpose, cried out that *Brutus* and *Cassius* should be recalled, and that the rest of the Spectators seemed inclined to pity them, a great number of the People running on in a Croud, made the Plays to cease till such time as those who demanded their Return were silent. So that *Cæsar* having made *Brutus* and *Cassius* lose the hopes of their Return by means of their Plays, they resolved to seize by force of *Syria* and *Macedon*, to which they had been appointed by the Senate, before *Anthony* and *Dolabella*. That young Consul being hereof advertized, speedily advances towards *Syria* by the way of *Asia*, through which he passed to gather in the Money of that Province. But *Anthony* judging he should have occasion of Forces, and not being ignorant that the Army of *Macedon* was composed of excellent Troops ; that they were six Legions, store of Archers and Light-armed Foot, besides the Horse, and all Provisions necessary ; and that this Army ought to be commanded by *Dolabella*, to whom the Senate had given Commission for the Parthian War, to which *Cæsar* had designed it, he began to cast about how to make himself

Master of it, the rather because of the nearness of places; for it was but crossing the Ionian Sea, to bring it forthwith into *Italy*. At the same time a report was raised, that the *Getes* hearing of *Caesar's* death made Inroads into *Macedon*, and spoiled the Province, which gave *Anthony* an opportunity of demanding the Army of the Senate, to chastise the *Getes* against whom *Caesar* had intention to employ them before he proceeded on his Expedition against *Parthia*, where at present all things were quiet. The Senate slighted not the report, but sent People into the Province to enquire into the truth; and *Anthony*, utterly to remove all fear and all suspicion that might be had of him, made a Law whereby all persons were forbid, be it upon what occasion soever it would, to propose the creating a Dictator, or to accept of the Dictatorship, and that whoever acted contrary to this Law, might freely and with impunity be by any one slain. Thus having deceived the Fathers, and promised by a Treaty made with *Dolabella's* Friends, that he would give him one Legion, he was chosen General of the Army of *Macedon*, and forthwith gave Directions to his Brother *Caius* to make all speed to the Army with the Ordinance of the Senate. Mean while, those who had been sent into *Macedon* to inform themselves of the report spread abroad, being returned, said they had seen no *Getes*, but added (whether it were so indeed, or that they were suborned to it by *Anthony*) that there was reason to fear, that if the Army were drawn out of the Province, that they would make Inroads. Whilst these things passed at *Rome*, *Brutus* and *Cassius* made Levies of Men and Moneys, and *Trebonius* who commanded in *Asia* fortified those Cities for them. He would not suffer *Dolabella* to enter into *Pergamus*, nor into *Smyrna*, but only gave him a place without the Walls of *Smyrna* as to a Consul. He, incensed at this refusal, attempted to force the City, wherein not succeeding, *Trebonius* promised to give him entrance into *Ephesus*, and commanded his people to follow the Consul at some distance, but they seeing him depart towards the Dusk of the Evening, thinking there was nothing more to fear, leaving a few of their companions to follow him, returned to *Smyrna*. *Dolabella* laid an ambush for this small company, cut them in pieces, and the same night finding *Smyrna* defenceless, scaled the Walls, *Trebonius* surprised in his Bed, began to beg the Soldiers to carry him before the Consul, to whom he said he would go without constraint. But one of the Centurions mocking, told him; *Thou mayst go, but thou must leave thy Head; for we have no orders to carry thee to the Consul, but to bring him thy Head*: And so in good earnest cut off his Head, which *Dolabella* as soon as it was day caused to be placed over the Tribunal, where the Pretor was wont to give audience. The Soldiers and the Pedees mad against him, because he was a Partner in the Conspiracy, and had entertained *Anthony* with discourse at the Gate of the Palace, whilst they slew *Caesar* within, used a thousand indignities to the rest of his Body, playing with his Head as with a Bowl, which they trowled to one another upon the Pavement, till it was all in pieces. And this was the first of the Conspirators that was punished.

VI. Now *Anthony* had a design to bring the Army of *Macedon* into *Italy*, but not finding a pretence to do it, he demanded of the Senate, that instead of *Macedon* they would give him the *Cisalpine Gaul*, where at present *Decimus Brutus Albinus* commanded, besides he remembered that *Caesar* parted from this Province when he began that War wherein he vanquished *Pompey*. But now when they saw he would march the Army into *Gaul*, and not into *Italy*, the Fathers judging he asked this Province only

to

to serve himself against them, began to make discovery of his ill intentions; and to repent that they had granted *Macedon*: nay, some of them wrote particularly to *Decimus*, that he should fortifie himself in his Province, and make new Levies of what Men and Money he could, lest *Anthony* should do him any violence, so much they feared and hated him together. *Anthony* therefore refused by the Senate, resolved to carry the Province by a Decree of the People, as formerly *Cæsar* had done the same, and *Dolabella* lately *Syria*, and the more to terrifie the Senate, he sent order to his Brother *Caius* forthwith to pass over the Army to *Brundisium*. Mean while the *Ædile Crotonius* making preparation for the Plays, which he would give to delight the people, *Cæsar* caused a Chair of Gold and a Crown to be placed for his Father, a thing granted by the Decree of the Senate, to be done in all Plays to perpetuity. Upon which the *Ædile* having said that he would not permit that Honour to *Cæsar* in Plays he exhibited at his own charges, he summoned him before *Anthony* in quality of Consul, and the Consul saying he would propose the business to the Senate, he angrily answered, *Propose it then, but in the mean time I will place the Chair there as the Decree permits.* *Anthony* incensed with this answer, not only forbid him to do it at this time, but in some Plays afterwards which *Cæsar* himself exhibited in Honour of *Venus*, according to his Father's Institution when he dedicated to her a Temple in the place and the place it self. This action of *Anthony's* begat him the publick hate, as not proceeding so much from envy to the young *Cæsar*, as ingratitude to his Father: wherefore *Cæsar* followed by a multitude of people as his Guards, went through the City, stirring up against *Anthony* all those who had received benefits from his Father, or born Arms under him, beseeching them not to suffer him to be affronted in that manner, nor permit *Anthony* to do so great an injury to their General and Benefactor, but that they would at least labour for themselves, for could they be secure of enjoying any thing *Cæsar* had given them if himself were deprived of Honours had been granted by Decree of the Senate? And when he came into any great place of the City, he might be heard cry out with a loud voice; *Why am not I the only cause (Anthony) that thou declarest against Cæsar, and in recompence of so many Benefits received by thee, returnest on him such violent outrages. Discharge, I beg thee, thy rage on me alone; but touch not his Goods till the Citizens are payed what he by will left them. After that, take the rest; for as for my part, though I be poor, I shall be but too well contented to be Heir to the Glory of my Father, and of his liberality to his Citizens, provided it may not be unprofitable to them.* Upon this discourse the whole multitude drew together, and cryed out publickly against *Anthony*. Whereupon *Anthony* having uttered some bitter threats against *Cæsar*, and what he threatened coming to publick knowledge, Mens minds were the more inflamed against him; insomuch that the very Officers of his Guards who had born Arms under *Cæsar*, and who were at present in great esteem with the Consul, besought him to be no more so vigorous, both for their sakes and his own proper interest, he having himself had command under *Cæsar*, and being obliged to him for his fortune. *Anthony* acknowledging that what they said was true, and besides considering that he stood in need of *Cæsar's* credit with the people to obtain the Government of *Gaul*, yielded to their Remonstrance, swearing that he was not ingrateful towards *Cæsar*, and that he had manifested this change of affection to no other end, but that a young Man a little too haughty for his age, and who bore no respect either to Ancients or Magistrates should somewhat stand corrected; for

that in good truth he had need of correction, but yet for the Prayers sake they had made him, he would lay aside all animosity and resume his former inclinations, provided *Cæsar* would for the future be more moderate. The Tribunes satisfied with this answer, engaged them to an Interview, where after some complaints of one another they were reconciled.

VII.

Soon after, *Anthony* preferred the Decree touching the Government of *Gaul*. The Senate were afraid, and took a resolution to hinder it, if the Consul demanded their approbation, and to oppose it by means of the Tribunes, if without speaking to the Senate he sought to have it ratified by the people. Nay, there were some Senators of opinion to set that Province at liberty, so formidable seemed it to them, because lying so near *Rome*. *Anthony* on the other side reproached them that they had given that Province to *Decimus* one of *Cæsar*'s Murderers, and yet made a difficulty of trusting him with it, because he had not murdered him that conquered it, and brought it under their obedience, by which he accused them of openly allowing the action. The day for approbation of the Decree being come, the Senate had given orders that the Votes should be taken by the Tribes, but those of *Anthony*'s Party having assembled the people before day, called them of purpose by Centuries. Though the multitude had an aversion for *Anthony*, yet forbore they not now to favour him for *Cæsar*'s sake, who was present at the assembly soliciting for him out of fear, lest *Decimus* one of those who slew his Father should command with an Army in so commodious a Province, and likewise to gratify *Anthony* with whom he was newly reconciled, and from whom in his turn he expected some favour. In short, the Tribunes of the People not at all opposing it, for *Anthony* had gained them, the Decree was ratified, and the Consul having now a plausible pretence caused the Army to pass over into *Italy*. At length one of the Tribunes being dead, and *Cæsar* soliciting for *Flaminius* who made suit for this Dignity, the people imagining that he did indeed desire it for himself, but durst not ask it because he was too young, would needs by Vote declare him Tribune: on the other side, the Senate envied him this increase of Honour, as fearing lest being made Tribune he should summon before the people those who had slain his Father. Whereupon *Anthony* violating the Friendship he had newly sworn to *Cæsar*, or in favour of the Senate, whom he would fain appease, because they were offended at the Decree of the People concerning *Gaul*, issued a Decree of the Consul, whereby he prohibited *Cæsar* from conferring Liberalities upon any person contrary to Law, upon pain of punishment. This Decree which made appear *Anthony*'s ingratitude to *Cæsar*, and which was injurious both to the young *Cæsar* and the People, stirred up the minds of the multitude, and it was very likely, that at the Assembly to be called, some tumult would happen, so that *Anthony* himself was afraid, and contenting himself with the number of the Tribunes already in the City, prevented the assembling of the People. As for *Cæsar*, seeing that *Anthony* declared openly against him, he dispatched people throughout the Colonies that he had established, to let them know the wrong he suffered, and to sound their inclinations. He sent likewise some of his Confidants to *Anthony*'s Army, mixed among those who had the Convoy of Provisions, giving them orders to do their utmost to draw the bravest to his side, and privily to drop Libels among the Soldiers. Whilst *Cæsar* was thus employed, the same Officers of *Anthony*'s Guards before mentioned laying hold on the occasion spoke to him in this manner:

The

The Oration of the Officers of *Anthony's* Guards.

WE have a certain knowledge that *Cæsar's Murderers* hate us as much as him, us and all those who under his command have extended the bounds of the Roman Empire, and yet daily employ all their power to extend them; that we are exposed to their Ambushes, and that the Senate favours them. Nevertheless, after their being chased hence by the People we have regained courage, seeing *Cæsar* was not destitute of Friends, who still remembered his Benefits, and preserved their acknowledgments. But above all, we are assured of the Friendship between you, and of your experience in War, being the greatest Captain of the Age next him, and the most capable to command. But because our Enemies springing up afresh, endeavour to seize upon Syria and Macedon, and make Levies of Men and Money to wage War upon us, because the Senate causes *Decimus* to prepare against you, and that in the mean all your thoughts and cares are employed in the differences you have with the young *Cæsar*, we fear, and not without reason, that in the War now threatening us, nay, which indeed we have upon us, there happen not some division amongst us, which may cause our Enemies to succeed in their Enterprises. Wherefore we intreat you, that in acknowledgments of *Cæsar's Favours* and Benefits, for the common security of all us, against whom you have never yet had cause of complaint, and likewise for your own interest, you assist *Cæsar* to take vengeance of the Murderers of his Father, whilst it is in your power to do it, he will be therewith content, and you will afterwards live without trouble, and we discharged of our fears for you, and for our selves.

To this Discourse *Anthony* made Answer.

VIII.

Anthony's Answer to the Officers of his Guards.

YOU know with what passion I always loved *Cæsar* as long as he lived, and that there were no dangers to which I exposed not my self to preserve his Authority. You know it, I say, you who followed him every where, and were present at all his Actions: and I grant there is no need of Witnesses to prove that his Affection and Esteem for me lasted to his very end. His Murderers having perfect knowledge of all this, had once resolved to have dispatched me at the same time, believing whilst I remained alive they could never perfectly accomplish their design; and he that diverted them from these thoughts did it not for my sake, but to give a fairer Gloss to their crime, that it might be thought they designed not so much to revenge themselves of many Enemies, as to kill one Tyrant. Who then would think after so many obligations as I have received

“ed from *Cæsar*, I should range my self on his Enemies Party, or that I
“should willingly pardon his death to those who attempted my own life, as
“the young *Cæsar* imagines? How then after Indemnity did they obtain
“Governments? for you impute to me this fault which the Senate com-
“mitted. Harken a little how it happened: *Cæsar* being slain in full Se-
“nate, fear seized all the world, and my self more than any one, because I
“was his Friend, and yet knew not exactly whether there were a Conspi-
“racy, or who were the Conspirators. The People were in tumult, the
“Murderers had gained the Capitol with the Gladiators, and suffered no
“one to enter, the Senate favoured them, which to this day they do, and
“were ready to decree them rewards, as having slain a Tyrant, which if it
“had come to pass, we must have all resolved to perish as that Tyrants
“Friends. In the midst of all this turmoil, fear and trouble, 'tis no won-
“der if I lost my Judgment: however, if you weigh the extremity in
“which I was with what I have done, you will find I neither wanted bold-
“ness in the midst of danger, nor policy when there was a necessity to dis-
“semble. The main thing in this Affair, and on which depended all the
“rest, was the prevention of their decreeing rewards to the Murderers,
“in which I so obstinately held out, that at last I carried it in despite of the
“Senate and all the Conspirators, yet not without running the hazard of
“losing my life; for I judged, that if I only obtained that *Cæsar* were not
“declared Tyrant, we were all in safety. But whereas our Enemies and the
“Senate feared on their side, that if *Cæsar* were not declared Tyrant, pro-
“cess might issue out against those that slew him, and therefore would
“stand stiffly to the having it done, I consented that the Amnesty might
“be granted to them, but not the Rewards; nor had I done it, but that I
“might obtain on my part what I desired, and which was of no small im-
“portance. That the name of *Cæsar*, dearer to me than all things in the
“world, might not be abolished; that his Goods might not be confiscate:
“that that adoption which makes this young man so insolent, might not be
“cancelled: that his Will might be ratified: that his Body might be ho-
“noured with Funerals worthy a King: that the Honours decreed him
“might endure to perpetuity: that all that he had done might be approved;
“and that his Son, and we his Friends, his Captains and his Soldiers might
“be secured in our persons, and honoured by all the World, instead of
“that infamy wherewith we were threatened. Do you believe after all
“this, that in lieu of the Amnesty to which I gave my hand, the Senate
“granted me a small matter; or do you think they would have granted it
“if I had not consented to the Amnesty? And though this exchange had
“been sincerely made, what had I lost by really granting the Murderers a
“pardon of their crime, thereby to render *Cæsar*'s Glory immortal, and
“put our lives in security: yet was not that my intention. I did but only
“defer their punishment; for as soon as I obtained of the Senate what I de-
“sired, and that the Murderers were freed from their inquietude, I took
“courage, and abrogated the Amnesty, not by sentence of the Senate, nor
“by decree of the People (for that could not be done) but by a popular
“blaze, which underhand I kindled, by causing *Cæsar*'s Body to be brought
“into the place, under pretence of celebrating his Funerals, and there by
“opening his wounds, and shewing his Robe pierced through, and bloody,
“to excite compassion in the multitude, praising his Virtues, and particu-
“larly the love he had for his Country, and in short, Mourning for him, as
“dead, yet invoking him as a God: for what I said, and what I did, so in-
“censed the multitude, that not considering the Amnesty, they took fire,
“and

“and carrying it to our Enemies Houses, drove them out of *Rome*. This
“was done in spite of the Senate, and they testified their resentment of it,
“by accusing me of courting the popular favour, by sending the Murder-
“ers into the Provinces, *Brutus* and *Cassius* into *Syria* and *Macedon*, where
“they had great Armies: nor did they let them stay out the time they
“ought to have done, but advanced it by a feigned Commission they gave
“them of sending Corn to the City. Hereupon I found my self surpris’d
“with a new fear, and not having any Army whereof I could dispose, I
“was afraid lest we unarmed should be assailed by so many armed Men, be-
“sides I had some suspicion of my Collegues, with whom I had no right
“understanding, and whom I might very well believe an Accomplice in
“the Conspiracy, being come to the City the day that it was executed.
“In this troublesome Conjunction I thought it a matter of importance to
“disarm our Enemies, and to seize on their Arms, to which end I caused
“*Amatius* to be put to death, and recalled *Pompey*, that by this means I
“might oblige the Senate to take my part: yet not being thereby fully as-
“sured, I perswaded *Dolabella* to demand *Syria* not from the Senate, but
“from the people, and I upheld him in this Enterprize, that from a Friend
“to the Conspirators, as he now was, he might become their Enemy;
“and that after my Collegue had obtained *Syria*, the Senate might be a-
“shamed to deny me *Macedon*, which however they had not granted me
“by reason of the Army that was then in that Province, if they had not
“before given that same Army to *Dolabella*, who besides the Government
“of *Syria* had got the Commission to make War against the Parthians:
“nor had they consented to the taking away *Syria* and *Macedon* from *Cassius*
“and *Brutus*, if for their security other Governments had not been pro-
“vided them, instead of those whereof they were dispossessed. It was
“therefore necessary and must be done, but pray observe what comparison
“there is between those Provinces taken from them, and those wherewith
“they were recompensed. *Cyrene* and *Crete* were assigned them, so unfur-
“nished of Forces, that they themselves have despised them, and endea-
“voured to seize by force of those taken from them. Thus the Command
“of the Army is passed from the Enemy to *Dolabella* by my policy, and by
“fair exchange; for no person having yet taken up Arms, we must follow
“the Laws. After this, the Enemies having set on foot another Army,
“I had occasion for the Legions of *Macedon*, but to get them wanted op-
“portunity, whereupon a report was spread, that the *Getes* had in a ho-
“stile manner invaded the Province, which not being altogether believed,
“some were sent to enquire the certainty. During which time I caused an
“Ordinance to be published, by which it was forbid to speak of a Dictator,
“to make any proposition tending to it, or so much as to accept of the
“Dictatorship; whereby the Senate, perswaded of my good intentions,
“gave me the Command of the Army; so that at present I find my self
“strong enough to defend my self against my Enemies, not only against
“those already declared, as *Cesar* imagines, but against a multitude of o-
“thers more powerful, who will not yet discover themselves. Having
“put my Affairs into this Kingdom, I had yet left sticking (as I may say)
“in my very Ribbone of *Cesar*’s Murderers, to wit, *Decimus Brutus*, who
“commanded a great Army in a very commodious Province; and because
“I knew him capable of Action, that I might remove him thence by some
“fair pretence, I made an offer in the Senate to give him *Macedon* in recom-
“pence, after having drawn thence the Legions. The Senate opposing it
“upon some mistrust they had of my designs, and many of that Body having
“writ

"writ many things as you know to *Decimus*, besides that they were ready
 "to stir up against me the Consuls, for the next year I took a resolution to
 "speak no more of it to the Senate, but to demand this Province from the
 "People, and to make the Macedonian Army pass over to *Brundisium*, to
 "employ them in things necessary, and I hope yet by the assistance of the
 "Gods to make use of them to the advantage of my Affairs when oc-
 "casion requires. Thus from the fear wherein we formerly were, we
 "have reached that security we desired, and a condition to strike terror
 "into our Enemies, though when we first took up Arms many declared for
 "them; yet now you see they repent of their sentences given in my favour,
 "that they use all their endeavours to deprive me of the Government of
 "*Gaul* granted me by the People. You know they continually write to
 "*Decimus*, that they solicit the Consuls to cancel by sentence the Decree
 "which gives me that Province. But for my part, resting assured on the
 "assistance of the Gods, Protectors of my Country, on the sincerity of
 "my intentions, and on your valour which made *Cæsar* every where victo-
 "rious, I will employ all my soul and all my strength to revenge him. It
 "was necessary, Fellow Soldiers, till now to keep these things secret;
 "but since you ought to have share in all my Actions, and all my Designs,
 "I am content to discover them to you, and you may communicate them
 "to all those tied by the same interest, except only to *Cæsar*, whose ingra-
 "titude I have already made proof of.

Anthony's Officers became firmly persuaded by these words, that all the artifices he had made use of to deceive the Senate, proceeded only from the passion he had to destroy the Murderers. However, they prevailed with him to reconcile himself with *Cæsar*, which he did in the Capitol.

IX.

Some time after *Anthony* caused to be brought into an Assembly of his Friends some of his Guards, as if *Cæsar* would have treated with them to murder him, whether it were a calumny, or whether he believed it indeed, or whether (having intelligence that *Cæsar* had sent some People amongst his Troops) he imagined it was to make an attempt upon his life. The rumour of this attempt was spread through the whole City, and raised a mighty Tumult, and the People were filled with great indignation; for some persons founding more deeply into the business, saw well that *Anthony*, though he was an Enemy to *Cæsar*, yet was useful to him, because the Conspirators feared him, who, if he had been dead had been capable of enterprising any thing, especially supported as they were by the Senate, and this was the judgment of the wiser sort. But with the greater part of the multitude who beheld *Cæsar* every day suffering a thousand wrongs it was no hard matter to believe the calumny, and they adjudged it an execrable sign to make an attempt upon the person of a Consul. Upon the noise of it *Cæsar* ran through all the Streets like a mad man, crying out, that on the contrary it was a plot laid by *Anthony* himself to rob him of the good opinion of the People, by whose favour he had hitherto subsisted. He went to *Anthony's* own Gates, crying the same thing, attesting the Gods, and making imprecations on himself, and requiring them to issue out his Process: and when no person came out of the House, *I will*, said he, *make thy own Friends Judges*. And therewithal endeavoured to enter, but repulsed, he began to complain, revile, and grow angry against those who hindered his entrance, telling them 'twas for fear he should convince *Anthony* of

of

of calumny, and so retiring immediately, he protested before all the People, that if any mischief happened to him, it ought to be attributed to nothing else but the perfidiousness of *Anthony*. These words pronounced with vehemence changed the minds of the Multitude, and many began to repent themselves of the opinion they had entertained of him. Though some were doubtful which of the two to credit; and others affirmed 'twas all but a plot laid between themselves in the Temple where they were reconciled, that by a seeming Feud they might better surprise their Enemies: whilst others again said, that it was *Anthony's* invention only, that under this pretence he might encrease his Guards, and turn away the old Soldiers hearts from *Cesar*. At the same time intelligence was privately given to *Cesar*, that both the Army arrived at *Brundisium* and the old Soldiers distributed into Colonies were incensed against *Anthony*, because he delayed the revenging of *Cesar's* death, which they offered to employ all their power to effect, and that upon this occasion the Consul was gone to *Brundisium*, which obliged *Cesar*, who was fearful lest his Enemy returning to *Rome* with an Army might oppress him defenceless as he was, to take store of Money, and go into *Campania* to engage in his service those Colonies there settled by his Father. First *Galatia*, and then *Silia* situate on both sides of *Capua* gave him their word: and by advancing five hundred Drums to each Soldier he raised about ten thousand Men, who were not so well furnished as was requisite for the War, nor enrolled in Companies and Regiments, but marched all under one Standard as his Guards. And whereas those in the City were frightened before with the thoughts of *Anthony's* return with an Army, hearing of *Cesar's* coming at the Head of another; some were now afraid of both, others again were well satisfied with the imagination they might employ *Cesar* to defend them against *Anthony*; and others again who had been witnesses of their reconciliation in the Capitol, believed all but a fiction, and that they were agreed together to joyn Forces, to the end, *Anthony* might seize on the Sovereign Authority, and *Cesar* revenge the death of his Father. In the heat of this Alarm, *Cornutius* Tribune of the People, Enemy to *Anthony*, and Friend to *Cesar*, went out to meet his Friend, and understanding his intentions, came and assured the People that *Cesar* had took up Arms against none but *Anthony* his declared Enemy, and that to secure themselves from *Anthony's* Tyranny it was requisite to joyn with *Cesar*, the rather because in that Conjunction they had no other Army. After this Remonstrance he caused *Cesar*, who had lodged the night before in the Temple of *Mars*, fifteen Furlongs from *Rome*, to advance into the City, where, as soon as he was entred, he went and possessed himself of the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, about which all the old Soldiers gathered together with their Swords under their Coats. There *Cornutius* having first made an invective against *Anthony* in full Assembly, *Cesar* proceeded to put them in remembrance of his Father's Virtues, and the injuries which himself had received from *Anthony*, to defend himself from which, and to secure his own person, he had been necessitated to raise an Army, which he promised to employ for his Countrys service wherever there should be an occasion, and particularly against *Anthony*, who was at present in Arms. After these Discourses the People being retired, the Soldiers, whose design of coming thither had been only the reconciliation of *Cesar* and *Anthony*, or at utmost to defend *Cesar*, and revenge the death of his Father, were amazed at his promising their service against *Anthony*, who had formerly been their General, and was at present Consul; whereupon some desired leave to return home, under pretence of

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fetching their Arms, because they could ill do Service with other Arms than those they had been used to ; others spoke openly what they thought. *Cæsar* seeing the matter succeeded quite contrary to his expectation, was somewhat startled : Yet hoping to gain them rather by fair means than force, he granted what they desired ; sending some home to fetch their Arms, and dismissing others without any condition. Though this Accident infinitely troubled him, he kept all to himself ; and instead of seeming concerned at it, thanking them for the Assistance they had given him, made them a Present of more Money, promising to be more liberal for the future ; because if any Accident happened which might oblige him to make use of an Army, he had rather confide in them as his Father's Friends, than employ other Soldiers. This Carriage might, one would think, have won them ; and yet of ten thousand that they were, only one thousand, or as others say, three thousand (for the number is not certain) stayed with him, and all the rest went their way. However, some, after considering the toil of the Plough, and the Profits they had received, and what they hoped for the future, as Vulgar Spirits are subject to Change, they repented themselves ; and laying hold of the plausible pretence of being only come home to fetch their Arms, of their own mere motion they all returned armed to *Cæsar* ; who having taken more Money with him, was gone to *Ravenna* and the neighbouring places ; where he incessantly listed Men, daily increasing his Forces : whole Rendezvous he appointed at *Arifia*.

* ARIZO.

- X. Mean time of the five Legions that were in *Macedon*, four were come to the Consul, who angred that he had so long delayed revenging *Cæsar's* death, brought him without any Acclamations to the Tribunal, as if before all other things they would be satisfied in the reasons of this delay. He offended at their silence, could not forbear reproaching them of ingratitude, in not considering how much more advantagious it was for them to bear Arms in *Italy*, than against the Parthians. He complained likewise that they had not brought him those Disturbers of the Peace which that young Giddy-brains (for so he called *Cæsar*) had sent amongst them ; whom, however, he himself should find out : That as for his Army, he was going to lead them into the happy Province of *Gaul*, the Government of which he had obtained, and would give to every Soldier one hundred Drams. They all burst out a laughing at the meanness of this promise ; at which he appearing offended, the Tumult increased, and all began to leave him. Whereupon, rising up himself, he only said these words, *You shall learn to obey*. And hereupon he aiter gave Command to the Tribunes to bring him the Roll of the Mutineers (for in the Roman Armies every Soldier is enrolled in his Order) that he might decimate them according to Military Discipline. However, he punished not every tenth Man, but only put a part of them to death, thinking to terrife them a little ; though by this Action he raised more their anger than their fear. *Cæsar's* people whom he had sent to corrupt the Legions, observing this discontent in the Army, began afresh to scatter abroad their Libels, by which they displayed to the Soldiers the Cruelty and Avarice of *Anthony* ; and withal, representing to them the Clemency of the first *Cæsar*, invited them to make tryal of the Liberality of the young Man. And though the Consul proposed great Rewards to those who discovered them, and threatned with exemplary Punishment such as harbored them, he could get no advice who they were ; which infinitely troubled him, as doubting the whole Army had intelligence with them. Soon after upon the report brought him of *Cæsar's* proceedings in the Colonies and at *Rome*, he

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was more concerned, and came forth once more to speak to the Soldiers. He said, *It troubled him that he had been forced to punish some, though it had been fewer than Military Discipline required, and that they knew well that Anthony was neither covetous nor cruel. But, said he, let us talk no more of Aversions, or Faults, or Punishments; we will forget all that is past. And as for the hundred Drums a Head I promised you, I would not have you think I meant it as a Donative, that were below the Fortune of Anthony; you shall receive that only as an Earnest of my Favour at our first Meeting, but remember that both now and hereafter I desire you would obey me according to the Roman Law of War.* After having made an end of speaking he gave them not any thing more, lest he should seem to prejudice his Quality of General by yielding too much to his Army; And they likewise acquiesced in the promises he made them, either as repenting of what they had done, or out of fear; yet he changed their Officers, either because they had encouraged the Mutiny, or out of some suspicion he had of them: But as for the Soldiers, he treated them afterwards more favourably in all occasions they had to petition him. He caused them to march along the Sea-Coasts towards *Rimini* one after another; but for himself, having chosen out the properest and briskest Men he could find among all the Legions, and formed them into a * Regiment of Guards; he took his way towards *Rome*, from thence intending to go meet the Legions. Being come nigh to *Rome* he quartered his Horse in the Suburbs, and with his Foot entred the City in a posture as if he had an Enemy to engage; causing them to keep Guard about his House, and giving the Word, and dividing the Watches as if he had been in the Field. Soon after having summoned a Senate to make his Complaint of *Cæsar's* Enterprizes, News was brought him to the Palace Gate that one of the four Legions, called the Legion of *Mars*, was revolted to that young Captain. Whereupon, being at a stand, and perplexed in mind, another Messenger came to tell him that the fourth Legion had followed the *Martial*: Which tidings put him into such a fright, that only entring the Palace as though he had called together the Fathers for some other reasons, he said little to them, but speedily going out of the City, marched directly towards *Alba*, to endeavour to regain those that had deserted his Party; but seeing they shot at him from the Walls, he sent five hundred Drums a Man to the rest; and brought those Forces he had, with all his Train of Munition ordinarily used in War, to *Tivoli*, for the War was already declared, *Decimus* having refused to part with *Gaul*.

* Pretorian Cohort.

He had not been long at *Tivoli*, but almost all the Senate, a great part of the Knights, and many of the most considerable of the People came to complement and give him Testimonies of their Good Will. And as there he was administering the Oath to the Soldiers he had with him, and likewise to the Veterans, a great number of which were come voluntarily to joyn with him, they of their own accord swore with the rest, and promised him Fidelity; so that it seemed a wonder where those Men were who a little before had so fiercely declaimed against him in the presence of *Cæsar*. Thus *Anthony* magnificently accompanied, advanced towards *Rimini*, a City scituate on the Entrance into *Gaul*. Besides his new Levies, he had three Macedonian Legions (for the fifth was now arrived) and a great number of Veterans, whom he esteemed as much again as his new Soldiers. So that he found his Strength to consist in four Legions, all tryed Men, with their Horse and Light-armed Foot; without reckoning the Regiment of Guards, and the Soldiers newly entertained. Besides, *Lepidus* was in *Spain* with

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four Legions, *Asinius Pollio* with two, and *Plancus* in the *Transalpine Gaul* with three; all which would in all appearance side with *Anthony*. As for *Cæsar*, his Force consisted of those two Legions revolted from *Anthony*, one of the new Soldiers, and two of Veterans, which would not have been compleat, had he not filled them up with New. Having rendezvouzed them at *Aiba*, he gave advice thereof to the Senate, who extremely rejoiced at it; so that now again it was hard to find out the Men that had accompanied *Anthony*. Not but that they were troubled that these Legions had not rather yielded to themselves than to *Cæsar*. However, after having applauded their Good Will, and that of the other Legions, they promised that as soon as the new Magistrates were entred upon their Charge they would employ them in such things as should be effectually for the Good of the Republick. Now it was apparent their hopes were to employ these Forces against *Anthony*, having no other particular Army, nor having power to raise one without the Authority of the Consuls; wherefore they temporized till such time as the new Officers were entred upon the Management of Affairs. Mean time *Cæsar's* Soldiers offered him Axes and Liçtors; beseeching him to take the Title of Propretor, and command them in that Quality, because they were accustomed to pay their Obedience to Magistrates. He much applauded them for the Honour they would have conferred on him, but remitted the matter to the Senate's discretion. Nor could all the Entreaties they made him prevail with him to consent, but so far as that they might send Deputies to *Rome* about it; telling them, *The Senate will of themselves the more willingly confer upon me this Dignity when they shall hear that you offered it me, and I would not accept it.* At length, though with much difficulty, he prevailed over them. And when the Officers complained to him that it was a kind of despising them, he gave them these reasons for his Conduct. *The Senate declares on my side, not out of any kindness to me, but because they are afraid of Anthony, and have at present no Army; they only wait till Anthony be defeated, and that the Murderers of my Father, who are Kindred and Friends to most of the Senate, have drawn together their Forces; which being so easie to be perceived, I dissemble a Submission to them, and it is requisite they should preserve that Opinion of me: But should I usurp the Title of Magistrate, they would accuse me of Treason and Violence, whilst governing my self with modesty, they will perhaps of their own motion give it me for fear lest I should accept it from you.* Having spoken in this manner, he went to see the two revolted Legions exercise; who performed one against the other all that could be practised in a Fight, except killing, in such an excellent manner, that *Cæsar* was infinitely pleased with the sight of it; and taking thence occasion to exercise his Liberality, he gave once more to every Soldier five hundred Drams, with promise that in case there was a necessity of their engaging in Fight, and he gained the Victory, he would give them each five thousand; by which Bounty he engaged them to attempt any thing for his Service.

XII. Mean time *Anthony* being marched into *Gaul*, had sent his Commands to *Decimus* to go for *Macedon*, according to the Decree of the People, and for his own safety. Whereupon *Decimus* sent him the Senate's Letters, and Word withal, that *Decimus* ought no less obedience to the Orders of the Senate, than did *Anthony* to the Decrees of the People. And when *Anthony* had fixed a day, on which if he departed not the Province he would treat him as an Enemy, *Decimus* desired him to prolong that time, for fear lest before that himself might be declared Enemy of his Country. After this, though *Anthony* might easily have defeated *Decimus* his Army, which now kept

kept the Field, yet he chose rather to go about to the Cities, not any of which refused him their Gates. Whereupon *Decimus*, afraid lest he should find none to give him entrance, feigned to have received Orders from the Senate to return with his Army to *Rome*, and took his March towards *Italy*. All the Cities in his way received him as only pretending to pass through; but when he came to *Modena*, a Noble City, he shut the Gates, seized on the Stores of the Inhabitants for Provisions for his Army, killed and salted up all the Baggage Horse for the same use in case the length of the Siege oppressed him: And now become Master of a great number of Gladiators, and three Legions; one of which were New Levied Men, and the other two having served formerly under him, very affectionate to him, he in that Post expected *Anthony*; who presently came in great rage before the place, and began to work in the Circumvallation of it. *Decimus* being in this manner besieged, the very first day of the next Year the new Consuls, *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, after the usual Sacrifices, assembled the Senate in the same Temple, to consult about the Affairs with *Anthony*. There *Cicero* and those of his Cabal advised the declaring him an Enemy to his Country, for that he had seized by force, and in despite of the Senate, of *Gaul*, to the end he might fortifie himself against his Country; and for having drawn into *Italy* that Army they had given him Command of against the Thracians. They added, that he aspired to Supreme Dominion after *Cesar*; having been publicly attended through the City by Soldiers as Guards of his Body, having fortified his House like a Cittadel; and in sum, behaved himself in many things with more Pride and Insolence than became a Magistrate, whose Power was to continue but a Year. But *L. Piso*, one of the most considerable Citizens of *Rome*, who had Charge of *Anthony's* Affairs in his absence, with others, Friends to him or *Anthony*, or else seriously thinking what they spoke; said, That they ought first to Cite him to stand to a Tryal, and not condemn a Roman Citizen without a Hearing. Besides, that it would be a shameful thing to declare that Man Enemy to his Country to day, who had yesterday been Consul; especially after such publick Applauses of so many several Persons, and even of *Cicero* himself. Thus the Senate spent that day in debate, without concluding any thing. The next Morning the Fathers assembled very early in the Palace, where *Cicero's* Party proved the stronger; so that *Anthony* was upon the point of being declared Enemy by Decree, if *Salvius*, Tribune of the People, had not hindered, and put a stop to the Affair; for among these Officers, he whose Voice opposes carries it. *Cicero's* Party fretted at these Proceedings, bitterly reviled him; and running to the place to stir up the Multitude against him, assigned him to give in the Reasons of his Opposition before the People. He went without any fear; but the Senate hindered him out of a doubt lest he should pervert the People by putting them in mind of *Anthony*. For the Fathers knew well they condemned an Illustrious Person without bringing him to a Tryal; and that the Province, for the Usurpation of which they condemned him, had been given him by the People: Only their fear for the Conspirators made them bear ill Will to *Anthony*, who had frustrated the Indemnity granted them by the Senate; and for this reason they had joyned with the young *Cesar* against him: To which *Cesar*, who perceived their intentions, had easily consented, being willing first to get rid of *Anthony*. But though the Senate were thus animated against him, they delayed giving Judgment because of the Opposition of the Tribune. Notwithstanding, a Sentence passed by which they approved the Action of *Decimus*, in not delivering up *Gaul* to *Anthony*: To which they added, that joyntly with *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, *Cesar* should

should command the Forces he already had ; that a Statue of Gold should be erected for him ; that for the future he should have a Voice among Persons of Consular Degree, and have Right to demand the Consulate ten Years before the time prescribed by the Laws ; and that the Donative *Cæsar* had promised to the two Legions revolted from *Anthony* if they gained the Victory, should be payed out of the publick Treasury. These things thus agreed on, the Senate broke up as if *Anthony* had in effect been declared Enemy, and that the Tribune could find nothing more to say on the morrow. But *Anthony's* Mother, Wife and Son (yet very young) with their Friends and Domesticks, run about all night to the Houses of the Senators, to solicit them in his behalf. And Day being come, they plucked them by the Robe as they passed along to the Senate ; and all together in mourning Habit, as the Fathers entred the Palace, cast themselves at their Feet before the Gate, weeping and lamenting like despairing Persons. So that these sad Objects and this suddain Change had already stirred up a Sence of Pity in the Breasts of most of the Judges ; when *Cicero* fearing the Success of the Affair, spoke to them in this manner.

The Oration of Cicero.

WE passed yesterday what we had to decree in the Case of *Anthony* ; for by declaring his Enemies worthy of Honour and Recompence, we have tacitely declared him Enemy to his Country. As for *Salvius*, who alone opposes, it follows, that either he is wiser than us all, or that he does it out of Friendship, or else understands not the present state of Affairs. Now it were a shameful thing to have all of us together thought to have less Wisdom than one single Man, and it would prove dishonourable to *Salvius* to prefer a private Friendship before publick Good ; we are then to believe that he knows not the state of Affairs : but he ought not to give credit to his own Judgment before that of so many Consuls, Pretors, Tribunes, his Colleagues, and all the rest of the Senators ; who being so numerous, and so great Men both for Age and Experience, know *Anthony* better than *Salvius* can do ; for in all Judgments, that Sentence that is carried by most Voices ought to be esteemed most just. However, if he still have a desire to hear now the Reasons of our Judgment, I will repeat the principal of them in few words. *Anthony* has seized himself of our Treasure after the death of *Cæsar* : Having obtained from us the Government of *Macedon*, he is marched into *Gaul* without the Senate's Order : We gave him an Army to oppose the *Thracians*, and he, instead of employing it against them, has brought it into *Italy* against ourselves : And has done things by his own Authority after having, to put a Cheat upon us, asked our consent, and been denyed it by the Judgment of all the World. Being at *Brundisium* he took a Regiment of Guards like a King, and has been publicly attended by his Soldiers through the City, placed Guards about his House, and given them the Word, as in time of War : He had likewise ordered the rest of his Forces hither ; and was putting himself in a posture of doing with more vehemence than the first *Cæsar* the same things that he had done. But being prevented by the young *Cæsar*, who had another Army, he was afraid, and went to possess himself of *Gaul*, as on a Province convenient for his designs ; from whence *Cæsar* fell into *Italy*, and made himself Master of us and the Republick. To these ends it is he terrifies the Soldiers with his Cruelty, to make them obedient to whatever he has a mind to ; to this end he decimated not Mutineers nor Run-aways

ways, on whom only the Law admits that Punishment to be inflicted, and which few Commanders have done but in dangerous Wars and in extreme necessity; whilst he for a fit of laughter puts Citizens to death, not the Guilty, but the Unfortunate. This Cruelty has occasioned those who could escape to leave him (and yesterday you decreed them Recompence as for a good Action) and those who are yet staid with him do it for fear, and now by his Orders plunder your Province, and besiege your Army and your Pretor, to whom you have written that he should stay in the Province; and Anthony will have him thence. Why do we not then with Alacrity declare Anthony our Enemy, who already makes War upon us? But this is what the Tribune will not know, till such time as he has defeated Decimus, and made himself Master, together with that great Province which lies so near us, of Decimus his Army; with hopes thereby more easily to oppress us. Then perhaps the Tribune will consent that he should be declared Enemy; but he would have us stay till he be too powerful for us.

Cicero having spoken in this manner, his Friends began to make such a noise, that it was impossible for any to be heard that would answer him, till Piso rose up; out of respect to whom, not only the rest of the Senators, but even Cicero's Party kept silence, and then he declared himself in these terms.

The Oration of Piso.

THe Laws (Conscript Fathers) require that the Accused should hear his Accusation impleaded before him; and after having made answer, expect his Sentence: This is what Cicero, that mighty Accuser, cannot deny me. Wherefore, since he has not accused Anthony of any thing while he was present, but would now value himself upon this opportunity of his absence to blacken him with a multitude of Crimes, I present my self to make appear the falsity of his Accusations; which I hope to do in few words. In the first place he says that after Cæsar's death, Anthony seized upon the publick Moneys; but the Laws have ordained particular Punishments for Thieves, but never declared them Enemies to their Country. Besides, Brutus having slain Cæsar, accused him in a publick Assembly of the People of having wasted the Publick Treasure, and drained dry the Exchequer. Some time after Anthony ordered an Inquisition to be made; you approved his Ordinance, and promised the tenth Penny to the Discoverers; and we submit our selves to pay double if any one can convict Anthony of having been a Partner in that Crime. So much for what concerns the Publick Moneys. As for the Government of Gaul, it is true you did not give it to Anthony; but he obtained it by Decree of the People in the presence of Cicero, as others obtained other Provinces, and as Cæsar himself obtained the same. It is ordered by the same Decree, that if Decimus refuse to part with Gaul, Anthony may have liberty to constrain him by force; and to employ to that end the Army designed against the Thracians, provided they made no attempt on Macedon. But Cicero accounts not Decimus an Enemy, who is in Arms against the Ordinance of the People; and yet would have Anthony be so, whom the People ordered to make this War. So that blaming the Decree, he blames the Authors; but he ought rather then to have dissuaded them, than now revile them having given his consent to it; he ought rather to have prevented the giving that Government to Decimus

XIII.

mus whom the People had chased hence as a Murderer, than deprive Anthony whom they had gratified. In sum, it is some imprudence to oppose the Ordinances of the People in such a perillous time, without remembering that in the beginning of the Commonwealth they were Judges of these things, and declared Friends or Enemies whom they thought worthy; for by the Ancient Laws the People were the sole Arbiters of Peace and War. And there is no doubt but had they a Head, they would reassume this Authority, and absolutely deprive us of it. But Anthony has put to death his Soldiers; he has acted according to the Power given him by your Commission: Nor did there ever General give account of such matters to any Man; for the Legislators never thought it for the Commonwealth's Advantage, that a General should own his Soldiers for Judges of his Actions: Besides, nothing is more dangerous in an Army than Soldiers Contempt of their Commander, which has proved the destruction of many in the midst of Victory. Besides, none of the Kindred of the decimated either have or do yet complain, and yet Cicero accuses him of Man-slaughter; and not content with the usual Punishment of that Crime, treats him as a publick Enemy: Yet constantly affirms he has undergone strange affronts from his Soldiers, in that two Legions whom you commanded to obey him, deserted him contrary to the Law of War; not to yield themselves to you, but to Cæsar. Notwithstanding all which, Cicero thinks their Action good, and yesterday advised they might be rewarded at the Expence of the Publick. God grant the Example may not one day prove dreadful: but however it be, Cicero's Heat and Animosity has carried him to a manifest Contradiction; for he at once accuses Anthony of aspiring to the Tyranny, and of ill treating his Soldiers: And certain it is, that those who pretend to usurp the Sovereign Power, instead of ill treating Military Men, do all they can to gain their favour. However, since he has had the confidence to impose this Calumny upon Anthony, that following Cæsar's steps, he aimed at the Tyranny, let us examine all his Actions particularly. Has he put any one to death without due Process, as Tyrants use to do; he, who is himself in danger of being condemned without being heard? Has he chased out of the City, or calumniously accused any Person before you? And is there any appearance he that has done no private Wrong, should attempt Publick? But pray Cicero, when was this done? Was it when he published the Indemnity; or when he proposed the recalling the Son of your Pompey, and making good to him his Father's Estate out of the Publick Moneys? or when he caused to be arrested and put to death the false Marius, who troubled our Peace; for which he was praised by all the Senate? (and, my Lords of the Senate, this is the only Action Cicero durst not blame, because you applauded it.) Or, in fine, was it when he passed that Decree, by which it is prohibited to make Dictators? For this is the Summ of all his Management of Publick Affairs during the two Months which after Cæsar's death he stayed in the City; during which the People sometimes sought for the Murderers to put them to death, and you your selves were often in fear and trouble of what might arrive; had he then been an ill Citizen, could he ever expect a Conjunction more favourable to his Designs? But he never abused that Power and Charge of the Consulship: How so? Has not he alone governed the Commonwealth, Dolabella being gone for Syria? Kept he not armed Men about him for his security, which you your selves appointed? Kept he not a Guard by Night in the City, even about his own House; which yet was only done to warrant him from the Ambushes of his Enemies? Had he not a fair opportunity upon the death of Cæsar his Friend, his Benefactor, beloved by all the People? And did there not one yet farther present it self when he entertained Guards to defend his life against these Murderers that attempted his, though he never put to death or banished one of them; yet still he pardoned them so far as civility he could, nor ever hindered the giving of them Governments. These

(Conscript

(*Conscript Fathers*) are the great Crimes, the manifest Crimes wherewith Cicero accuses him. Nor is he content to make Anthony's Actions only pass for Crimes. He divines, and says, he had designed to bring his Army into the City, but that he was afraid of Cæsar, who had already with another Army possessed it. How comes he then who had only designed it to be an Enemy to his Country, whilst he that had really done it, and does in a manner still hold us besieged, is none? Or why did not he come if he had designed it, unless being at the Head of thirty thousand well disciplined Men, he were afraid of three thousand disordered and disarmed, which were then with Cæsar; and who were only come to reconcile them together, and left him as soon as they knew he would employ them in a War? Or if he durst not come with thirty thousand Men, how happened he to come afterwards accompanied only with a thousand; With whom, when he went from Rome to Tivoli, how many of us did attend him? How many swore Fidelity to him without being required? And what Applause did Cicero himself give him? In short; had he designed any thing against his Country, why left he with us those Hostages yet at this Palace Gate, his Mother, his Wife, and his Son; who are at present weeping for fear, not of the Accusations brought against him, but of the power of his Enemies? Thus much I thought convenient, to make you understand the Innocence of Anthony, and the Inconstancy of Cicero: and have now nothing more to say, but to exhort all good Men not to offend the People, nor do Injustice to Anthony, for fear of such trouble as may ensue to the City, the Commonwealth being yet so weakly established, that it is ready to relapse into its first disorders, if not timely relieved. However, it is my opinion, that we secure to our selves Forces for the Defence of the City before any Attempt be made upon us from abroad. Then you may take order for such things as are necessary, and decree what you judge convenient, when it shall be in your power to put those Decrees in Execution. But how is this to be done? You need only leave to Anthony the Province given him by the People; and after having recalled Decimus with his three Legions hither, send him to Macedon, and keep his Army. And if those two Legions revolted from Anthony, have submitted to us, as Cicero affirms, let us withdraw them from Cæsar, and order their Return to the City. Thus having five Legions at our dispose, we may issue what Orders we think requisite without courting the grace or favour of any Man. This I speak to those who listen to me without envy or hatred. As for those who suffer themselves to be transported by their Passions and particular Animosities, I exhort them not to give too rash Judgment against Great Men, and Commanders of great Armies, lest we force them to make War upon us: Let them remember Marcus Coriolanus, or rather what so lately happened to us in the Person of Cæsar, who likewise commanded an Army. He offered us reasonable Conditions; yet we by rashly declaring him Enemy, forced him indeed to become his Country's Foe. Let them likewise consider the interest of the People; who having been so lately enraged against Cæsar's Murderers, may well think themselves despised when we give those their Provinces; and praising Decimus, who would not submit to their Decree, declare Anthony Enemy, because he from them required the Government of Gaul. In short, I exhort all honest minded Men to reduce others to reason, and do beseech the Consuls and Tribunes to appear more affectionate in providing against those Evils wherewith the Commonwealth is threatned.

Thus spake Piso for Anthony; and doubtless, his reproaching of Cicero and the terror he imprinted in Men's minds were the cause he was not declared Enemy. However, he could not prevail with them to leave him the Government of Gaul, for the Kindred and Friends of the Conspirators

prevented it. They feared lest *Anthony* being at Peace, might reconcile himself with *Cæsar*, to revenge the death of his Father; and therefore did all they could to foment their Division. It was therefore decreed to offer him *Affection* instead of *Gaul*; and as for the other Orders of the Senate, the Fathers either over-reached or designing it, gave Commission to *Cicero* to put them in writing, and send them to him. He drew them up after his own fancy in these Terms: That *Anthony* should forthwith raise his Siege before *Modena*, foregoing *Gaul* to *Decimus*, at a limited day repass the *Rubicon*, which divides *Gaul* from *Italy*, and submit himself to the Authority of the Senate. *Cicero* sent these Commands in this spiteful manner to *Anthony*, contrary to the Senate's intention: Yet did he it not out of any particular hate, but seemed dictated by Fortune, which had determined to change the Face of the Republick, and to ruin *Cicero*. And this happened at the same time that the Remains of *Trebonius* Body were brought to the City; and that the Senate understanding how infamously he had been treated, forthwith declared *Dolobella* Enemy to his Country. The Commissioners sent to *Anthony*, ashamed to have brought him so insolent a Command, delivered it into his hands without saying a word. At sight of it he fell into a rage, and uttered many violent expressions against the Senate, but especially against *Cicero*: That it amazed him that *Cæsar*, who had done such mighty Services for the Roman Empire, should be esteemed a Tyrant and a King; and that Men should not have the same opinion of *Cicero*, who having been made Prisoner of War by *Cæsar*, and by him released without any damage or affront, preferred now his Murderers before his Friends. He who hated *Decimus* whilst he was *Cæsar's* Friend; now he is become his Murderer, favours the same *Decimus* who had received the Government of *Gaul* from the same *Cæsar*, and declares him Enemy who held it of the People.

The Oration of *Anthony*.

THe Senate having given me some Legions (said he) *Cicero* decrees Rewards to the Revolters, and corrupts those stand firm in their duty; whereby he wrongs not me so much as he does Military Discipline. He granted the Amnesty to a Murderer, to which I consented for the sake of two Men I respected, and declares *Anthony* and *Dolobella* Enemies for holding what has been granted them; for no other reason is there: And if I would quit *Gaul*, I should no longer be either Enemy to my Country, or Affector of Tyranny. But I protest to overthrow that Indemnity, with which they will not rest content.

Anthony having vented many such passionate things, wrote in Answer to the Senate, that he submitted to their Authority for the Affection he bore his Country: But as for *Cicero*, who had himself composed the Order sent him, he answered him in these Terms: The People having by their Decree given me the Government of *Gaul*, have likewise given me leave if *Decimus* would not yield it up, to force him to it; and in his Person to punish all the rest of the Murderers; and by his Death purge the Senate of a Crime of which they are partakers because *Cicero* abets it. Upon report made to the Senate of what *Anthony* had said and writ, they at that very instant not only declared him Enemy,

my, but his Army likewise, if they immediately left him not : And to *Marcus Brutus* they gave *Macedonia* and *Illyria*, with the Forces yet remaining in those Provinces, till such time as the Commonwealth were settled. He had already a particular Army, besides some Forces he had received from *Apuleius* : He had likewise some Shipping, as well Gallies as Vessels of Burthen ; about sixteen thousand Talents of Silver, and a great quantity of Arms found at *Demetriade*, where *Cæsar* had long before layed up his Stores : of which the Senate had by Decree given him the Disposition, with power to employ what he judged necessary for the good of his Country. They likewise conferred on *Cassius* the Government of *Syria*, with Commission to make War upon *Dolabella*, and Command to all the Provinces depending on the Roman Empire, from the Ionian Sea to the East, to obey the Orders of *Brutus* and *Cassius*. Thus in a short time without much labour their Party grew prodigiously powerful. This News coming to *Cæsar's* ear strangely perplexed him : He thought the Amnesty granted by the Fathers had some colour of humanity and compassion to their Relations and Peers in Dignity ; that those lesser Governments given them were only for their security : And he observed that only to maintain *Decimus* in *Gaul*, they accused *Anthony* of aspiring to the Tyranny, and by the same invention engaged himself to take the contrary Party. But when he saw they had declared *Dolabella* Enemy for destroying one of those who had slain his Father ; that they had given *Brutus* and *Cassius* absolute power in many great Provinces, and several Armies, with vast Sums of Money, and power to raise more among all they commanded beyond the Ionian Sea, he no longer doubted but it was their design to ruin *Cæsar's* Party, and re-establish that of *Pompey*. He likewise now plainly perceived, that by their Cunning they had made the Young Man of him ; that they had given him a Statue, with the Right of Precedency, and Quality of a Pro-Pretor, but that indeed they had stripped him of his Army ; for where the Consuls command together, the Pretor is nothing. In short, that having only given Rewards to the Legions that deserted *Anthony*, it was a scorn of the rest of his Army ; and in the conclusion the War must needs turn to his dishonour, the Senate only serving their own ends upon him till they were rid of *Anthony*. Upon these thoughts which he discovered to none, he sacrificed as it is usual to do upon the Entrance into any Charge ; and that done, spoke thus to his Army. *I believe (Fellow Soldiers) that it is from you I hold that Office which I this day receive, and as the Effects of your former Offer ; for the Senate had not given it me but that you desired it : Wherefore know, that to you I owe the whole Obligation, and will testify it abundantly if the Gods favour my designs.* These obliging words he spoke to gain the Hearts of the Soldiery. As for the Consuls, *Pansa* went to raise Forces in some Corners of *Italy*, and *Hirtius* came to *Cæsar* to make Division of their Forces. He had received private Orders from the Senate to demand for his Portion those two Legions that had deserted *Anthony*, knowing them to be the most considerable part of the Army ; which *Cæsar* yielding to, after the Division made they went to take up their Winter Quarters together. Towards the end of Winter *Decimus* being sorely oppressed with Famine, *Hirtius* and *Cæsar* marched suddenly to *Modena*, to raise the Siege ; but finding *Anthony* too well intrenched, they durst not attempt forcing the Lines till *Pansa* were come up to them. There happened mean while some Horse-Skirmishes, in which *Anthony*, though much stronger in Cavalry, got not much advantage by reason of the many Brooks that crossed the Country. Affairs being in this posture at *Modena*, *Cicero*, because of the Consul's absence, strove to gain

the people of the City by frequent Assemblies, making provision of Arms, which the Artificers furnished gratis, and raising Monies, in the levying which, he made *Anthony's* Friends pay excessive Contributions; yet they payed them without grumbling, for fear of exposing themselves to Calumny, till such time as *Pub. Ventidius*, who had been an Officer under *Cesar*, and was now *Anthony's* Friend, no longer able to endure the persecution, went to *Cesar's* Colonies, where he was known, and raised two Legions for *Anthony*, with which he marched towards the City, designing to seize upon *Cicero*. He put all into such a fright, that many sent away their Wives and Children, as if they had been in utter despair, and *Cicero* himself retired; which *Ventidius* having notice of, advanced towards *Modena* to joyn with *Anthony*, but his way being cut off by *Hirtius* and *Cesar*, he turned into the Country of * *Picenum*, where he raised another Legion, waiting to see which way Affairs would go.

* *Mention of
Ancona.*

XV. Now *Pansa* drawing nigh to *Modena*, *Hirtius* and *Cesar* sent *Carfuleius* to meet him with *Cesar's* Regiment of Guards, and the Legions of *Mars*, to secure his passage through the Straits. *Anthony* had forbore to seize on them, lest thereby he might put a stop to his great design, which was to come to a Battle; wherefore not expecting any great effects from his Horse in a Marshy Plain full of Ditches; as soon as he had notice of *Carfuleius's* March, he placed two of his best Legions in ambush in the Marishes, on each side of a narrow Causeway, over which the Enemies were to pass, *Carfuleius* having crossed the Straits by night, and in the Morning early the Legion of *Mars* with five Cohorts being entered upon the Causeway, on which there was not a Man stirring, looking upon the Marishes on both sides of them, they perceived the Bushes to wag, which gave them some suspicion, and soon after the brightness of the Shields and Helmets dazzling their eyes, they forthwith beheld *Anthony's* Regiment of Guards coming to charge them. The Legionary Soldiers perceiving themselves surrounded, so that they could not make their retreat, obliged the new Soldiers to stand Spectators of the Fight, without engaging, lest their want of experience should breed disorder in the Bustle; and to *Anthony's* Guards they opposed *Cesar's*, for themselves they divided into two Bodies, one commanded by *Pansa*, the other by *Carfuleius*, and thus parted, went each into his side of the Marsh: so that in the two Marishes were fought two Battels, so near, that nothing but the Causeway hindered the one from seeing what the other did, besides the third which was fought by the Guards on the Causeway itself. *Anthony's* Soldiers burnt with a desire of revenging themselves on the Legions as Traytors and Runaways; and the Martials were no less eager to have satisfaction for the injury they had done them in suffering their Companions to be put to death at *Brundisium*, and knowing well that in them consisted the principal force of both Armies, they hoped by this one Fight to put an end to the War. The one Party were incited by the shame it would prove to them, being two Legions, to be worsted by one; and the other spurred on by the hopes of the Glory they should obtain, if, being but one Legion, they defeated two. Thus pressed forward by mutual hate, and considering more their own Honour than their Generals Interest, they fought for themselves: and being all old Soldiers they began not the Fight with a shout to frighten their Enemy, nor in the heat of the Fight did any let drop a word, whether he fell or overcame, and not having by reason of the Ditches in the Marsh any room either to wheel or gain ground, they kept firm footing without making any retreat, so that griping one the o-
ther

ther like Wrestlers, they struck not a blow but did it's execution, the ground was covered with wounded and dying persons, not crying out, or groaning for grief of their wounds, but sighing that they could do no more: as soon as one fell, another supplied his place: there was no need of advising or encouraging them, for by reason of their long experience every man was his own Captain; and when they found themselves quite tired like Wrestlers in the Gymnick Games they stood staring on each other to gain a little Breath, and then fell on afresh, to the great astonishment of the young Soldiers, to see them do such brave things, and with so much steadfastness keep their Ranks, in so profound a silence. At length having done on all parts Acts more than humane, *Cæsar's* Guards were all cut in pieces, as for the Legion of *Mars*, that part commanded by *Carfuleius*, gave some ground to the Legion that opposed them, yet not with dishonour, but by little and little, making a fair retreat. Those who fought under *Pansa* were in like manner oppressed by their Opponents, yet so as they courageously defended themselves, till such time as the Consul receiving a wound with a Pile in the Thigh, was carried off the Field to *Bolonia*. Then they began to retire by little and little, and after that somewhat faster, almost flying outright; which as soon as the young Soldiers observed, they took their flight in disorder towards an Entrenchment which the Quæstor *Torquatus* had caused to be raised to serve in case of necessity. Here whilst the rest were yet fighting, these young Soldiers shut up themselves in a strange fright and confusion, though they were Italians as well as the Martialists; so much does Exercise and Discipline more than Birth contribute to the making Men valiant. The Martialists would not enter the Intrenchment for fear of blasting their Glory, but went and planted themselves at some distance thence, where, wearied as they were, they stood expecting a fresh Charge, resolved to defend themselves to the last gasp; whereupon *Anthony* judging it would be too hard a task to vanquish them, turned upon the new raised Forces, of whom he made a horrible Slaughter. *Hirtius*, who was in the Confines of *Modena*, about sixty Furlongs from the place where this Battel was fought, hearing the news, made all the speed he could thither with the other revolted Legion, and as towards Evening *Anthony's* Men were returning singing for the Victory, he surprised them in disorder, with his Legion fresh, and in a posture of fighting; they drew into the best order of Battel they could, and again acted wonders, but at length quite tired they gave ground, yet the greatest part of them were left upon the place. *Hirtius* would not pursue the others, for fear of engaging himself in the Marishes, besides, night came on, so he caused the Retreat to be sounded. The whole Marish was covered with Arms, dead, dying and wounded Men, and some that were fallen among the rest only out of pure weariness, wherefore *Anthony's* Cavalry spent the night in gathering up the Wracks of their Party, causing some to mount on their led Horses, others to get up behind them, and perswading others to take hold of their Horse tail to help them in marching, that they might the sooner get off. And *Anthony* being after so brave a Fight defeated by *Hirtius*, went and lodged at a Village near the Field of Battel, called the Market of the Gauls, where there was no Intrenchment: on either side near half the Army was lost, with all *Cæsar's* Regiment of Guards. *Hirtius* lost few, and on the morrow they all retired into their Camps before *Modena*. *Anthony* after this loss resolved not to fight, though the Enemy should provoke him, but to weary them with frequent Skirmishes, till such time as *Decimus* oppressed with Famine should be constrained to yield. *Hirtius* and *Cæsar* on the
contrary

contrary were the more eager to engage, and because they could not draw *Anthony* to a Battel, they raised their Camp to go on the other side of *Modena*, where the Trenches were weaker by reason of the situation of the place, resolving to force the Lines, and so gain an entrance into the City. *Anthony* sent forth his Horse only, against which likewise they sent only theirs, and held on the March with the rest of the Army: insomuch that *Anthony* fearing to lose *Modena*, drew out against them two Legions whom they made a halt for, and so had a Battel as they desired. Thereupon *Anthony* sent for his other Forces, but by reason they expected not this Alarm, and were quartered at some distance from the place of Battel, they could not come so suddenly but that the Enemy had first gained a Victory. *Hirtius* in person entred *Anthony's* Camp, and bravely fighting before the Generals Tent, was slain, *Cesar* coming in brought off his Body, and made himself Master of the Camp; but being soon beat out again by *Anthony*, they each stood all night in Arms. *Anthony* having now again received this Defeat, held at the same time a Council of his Friends, who were of opinion that he should continue the Siege, without fighting, the loss being almost equal, *Hirtius* being slain, and *Pansa* being wounded, himself the stronger in Horse, and *Modena* in such want of all things, that it could not long subsist without surrendring; and surely this counsel he ought to have followed, but Fate hindred it. He was fearful lest *Cesar* should throw himself into the City, as he had attempted to do the day before; or else having conveniency for all Engines thereabout, should besiege himself, and so make his Horse useless. Then, said he, *Lepidus and Plancus will despise me, as a man lost beyond repair; but if I raise my Siege, Ventidius will forthwith bring us three Legions from the Country of Picenum, and Lepidus and Plancus will come joyn with us numerous Forces.* And in short, after having thus spoken, this Man, hitherto fearless in all dangers, presently departs from before *Modena*, and takes his March towards the *Alpes*.

XVI.

The Siege being raised, *Decimus* began to fear *Cesar*, for the Army being no longer commanded by the Consuls, he thought him his Enemy, wherefore before it was day he caused to break down the Bridge, and dispatched some to *Cesar*, to acknowledge the obligation he had to him for his deliverance, and to intreat him to come on the other side the River, where in the presence of all the Inhabitants, he would convince him that he was engaged in the Conspiracy more by misfortune than by fault. *Cesar* having hearkened to those who brought this message, answered in anger: *That he desired him not to own any obligation to him; for he came not to serve him, but to make War upon Anthony the Enemy of his Country: that nature forbade his seeing or speaking to him; however, he was safe so long as he pleased them who commanded at Rome.* This answer being brought to *Decimus*, he went to the River side; and after having called *Cesar* by his name, he read with a loud voice the Decree of the Senate which gave him the Government of *Gaul*, forbidding him to pass the River, or enter into his Province without the Consuls, nor so much as to pursue *Anthony* any farther; for that himself was strong enough to defeat him. Though *Cesar* saw well that *Decimus* durst not have talked so boldly to him, had he not been inspired by the Senate, since that he could with one sole command of his reduce him under his power, which yet he would not do, but going to *Bolonia* where *Pansa* was, he wrote to the Senate how all things passed, as *Pansa* also particularly did. *Cicero* read *Pansa's* Letters in a full Assembly of the People; and those from *Cesar* in the Senate only, where he caused

to be ordained fifty days Feast for *Anthony's* Defeat, though so many were never ordained in any War, no not for any Victory gained from the Gauls. He farther advised, that since *Pansa* was thought irrecoverable, though he were yet living, they should give *Decimus* command of the Consul's Army, with Commission himself alone to prosecute the War against *Anthony*; and that publick Prayers should be made for the prosperity of his Arms, so much was *Cicero* transported against *Anthony*; besides which they confirmed the gift of five thousand Drums a Head, promised to the Legions that had quitted *Anthony*, payable out of the Moneys of the Treasury, after the Victory, (as if it had been already gained) and permitted them hereafter upon Holy-days to wear Crowns of Olive-branches. In this Decree not so much as mention was made of *Cæsar's* name, so much they already contemned him, out of a belief they had *Anthony* could never make Head again, having to this purpose writ to *Lepidus*, *Plancus* and *Asinius*, who were at no great distance to complete his ruine. Whilst those things passed at *Rome*, *Pansa* ready to die of his wound at *Bolonia*, calling for *Cæsar*, spoke to him in this manner :

The Speech of *Pansa*, being ready to die, to *Cæsar*.

I Loved your Father as my self, but after his death could not possibly revenge him, nor oppose myself to the judgment of the most, to whose authority you have likewise prudently submitted your self, though you had an Army. As at first they feared nothing more than you and *Anthony*, who had so great an affection to your Father, so they were well satisfied with your Division, hoping you would destroy one the other; and when they saw you Master of an Army, they flattered you as a young Man, with specious Honours, which had nothing in them but shew; but after they had examples of your Gallantry and Moderation, by the refusal of those Honours offered you by your Army, they were startled, and gave you a power equal to us, that they might by this means draw out of your disposal two excellent Legions, out of hopes that one of you being defeated, the other which remained would not be considerable: and thus *Cæsar's* Party being ruined, *Pompey's* might be re-established. This was the substance of their thoughts. As for *Hirtius* and my self we had followed their order till we could have abated the pride of *Anthony*; but after having overcome him, designed to reconcile him with you, that we might pay to *Cæsar's* memory this testimony of our Friendship and Acknowledgments, by acting what might be most advantageous to his Party. It was not convenient till now to impart this design to you; but now since *Anthony* is defeated, *Hirtius* dead, and I a dying, I thought it time to discover it to you. I demand not that after my death you should think your self obliged to me; but since your Actions make it known that you are born under fortunate Stars, I tell it you, that you may bethink your self what you have to do, and that you may know what *Hirtius* and I designed to do for you, and what we have been constrained to do against you. It is therefore just to restore to you that Army you gave up to us; and I now restore it to you. As for the new raised Forces, if you can gain them to serve you, I will give them to you: but if either the Soldiers are too fearful of the Senate, because their Officers have in charge to observe us; or that you think you either may be blamed, or stand in no need of them, *Torquatus* our Treasurer shall take them in charge.

After

After having said these words, and delivered over the new Forces to the Treasurer or Quæstor, he died. The Quæstor by the Senates order delivered them over to *Decimus*, *Cæsar* solemnized magnificent Funerals for *Hirtius* and *Pansæ*, and sent their Bodies with pomp to *Rome* to be buried.

- XVII. At the same time that this was done in *Italy*, things passed thus in *Syria* and *Macedon*, *C. Cæsar* passing through *Syria*, and having already in his thoughts the War against *Parthia*, had left in this Province a Legion which he had given in charge to *Cecilius Bassus*, as Lieutenant to *Sextus Julius* his Kinsman, yet very young, and who going to take his pleasure in the Country, made his Soldiers accompany him against all decency and order, *Bassus* having one day reproved him, he reviled him; and at another time having sent for *Bassus*, because he came not so soon as he expected, he gave order to bring him by force. This Command having raised a Tumult, Blows ensued, and the Soldiers no longer able to endure *Julius* his Insolence, slew him with their Javelins. They at that very moment repented the act, being afraid of *Cæsar*; wherefore they immediately swore one to another, that if pardon and security for their persons were denyed them, they would defend each other to the death; they likewise forced *Bassus* to be of the Conspiracy; and having raised another Legion, exercised them according to the Roman Discipline. Thus write some concerning *Bassus*. But *Libo* saith, that having born Arms under *Pompey*, after his death he retired into *Tyre*, where he remained some time as a private Man, and where at last by his Money gaining some Legionary Soldiers, he prevailed with them after they had slain *Sextus* to chuse him for their Captain. However it were, *Sextus Marcus* haing been sent by *Cæsar* against them, was repulsed, till such time as he called to his assistance *Minutius Cæspus* with three Legions brought by him out of *Bithynia*, where he commanded. These had now blocked up those two Legions, when *Cassius* coming unexpectedly received them forthwith into his Service; and at the same time those six Legions that besieged them, voluntarily submitting to him, acknowledged him for Proconsul; for, as we have said before, the Senate had ordained by Decree that all the Soldiers of those Provinces should obey *Cassius* and *Brutus*, some time before *Decobella* had sent *Alicenius* into *Ægypt*, from whence he was leading back four Legions, the Remains of the Defeats of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, or of those which remained in the Service of *Cleopatra* when *Cæsar* left *Ægypt*. *Cassius* surprizing him in *Palestine*, forced him to take his Party; for he durst not resist eight Legions with four; so that *Cassius* beheld himself, beyond all imagination, Master of twelve Legions, besieged and forced *Decobella*, who returning out of *Asia* with two Legions, was received as a Friend into the City of *Ladicea*; news, which the Senate received with joy. As for what concerned *Macedon*, *Caius*, Brother to *Anthony*, disputed that Government against *Brutus* with one only Legion; and because he was not equal in numbers to *Brutus*, he laid an ambush for him, which *Brutus* escaping, laid another in his turn, wherein *Caius* falling with all his People, he did them no displeasure; but on the contrary, commanded his Soldiers to salute them, and though they would neither return nor accept the Salute, yet he let them go without any farther injury. After which, taking a turn with his Army by other ways, he surprized them again among the Straits, where instead of falling on, he a second time

time saluted them : whereupon admiring this Man's goodness and clemency to his Fellow Citizens, they returned the Salute, and joyned with him, *Caius* likewise embraced his Party, and *Brutus* treated him with much Honour, till after being convicted of having several times solicited the Army to revolt, he put him to death. Thus *Brutus* had raised his Forces to six Legions, besides two that by praising the Macedonians he raised in *Macedon*, whom he learn'd to exercise according to the Discipline of the Romans.

Thus went Affairs in *Syria* and *Macedon*. Mean while in *Italy*, *Cæsar* being offended, that in prejudice of him the Command of the Army against *Anthony* was given to *Decimus*, dissembling his discontent, demanded the Honour of Triumph, and being disdainfully refused by the Senate, as a thing dissonant with his age, and fearing, that after *Anthony* were absolutely defeated, they would treat him more scornfully, he designed a reconciliation with him, according to the advice given him by the dying *Pansa*. To bring this about he treated favourably all the Prisoners he had in his Army, as well Officers as Soldiers, received into his service such as were willing to be entertained, and sent away the rest, that he might not appear to have an irreconcilable hatred. After which encamping near *Pentidius*, *Anthony's* Friend, who had only three Legions, he was content to fright him; but making no hostile attempt, gave him either free leave to joyn with him, or go in safety to find out his General, on condition that he would tell him from him, that he knew not what was good both for the one and t'other, which *Pentidius* accepting, marched forward to find out *Anthony*. Another of his Captains called *Decius*, who had been taken Prisoner before *Modena*, remaining still with *Cæsar*, who held him in good esteem, he was permitted to return to *Anthony* if he desired it, and the Captain asking him what thoughts he had of *Anthony*; he made answer, he had already given sufficient testimonies of them to persons capable to judge of Affairs, and for others 'twas in vain to give any more. After having done these things which might easily make appear his inclinations to *Anthony*, he writ to *Lepidus* and *Asinius*, directly complaining against the Wrongs he had received from the Senate, by what they had done in strengthening against him the Murderers of his Father, that they for their parts might have reason to fear, lest in favour of *Pompey's* Faction they should one after another persecute them, as now they did *Anthony*, who through imprudence and want of foresight was fallen into misfortune : wherefore he counsel'd them to seem in appearance to submit to the Senate, but really to unite themselves one to the other for their common security, whilst yet it was in their power, and to reprove *Anthony* for the fault by him committed in not doing it. In short, that they ought to imitate the Legionary Soldiers, who disband not as soon as the War is done, for fear of exposing themselves to the Ambushes of their Enemies, and had rather be all together led to some Colony, than return every Man to his own Country. Mean while, Sickness seized on the Army which had been shut up with *Decimus* in *Modena*, the most part of the Soldiers glutting themselves too much after so long a Famine, surfeited, and the new raised Men for want of Exercise were not fit for service : yet *Plancus* being joyned to them with what force he had, *Decimus* wrote to the Senate, that *Anthony* not well digesting what he had already tasted of the War, hid himself, but that at length he would fall into his hands. 'Tis incredible how *Pompey's* Party were re-

XVIII.

joyced at this news : they made loud outcries that now their Country had indeed recovered their Liberty, and every one offered Sacrifices, and ten Commissioners were nominated to take account of *Anthony's* Administration, which was only a pretence to cancel all that *Cæsar* had ordained; for *Anthony* had done nothing, or very little of himself, acting always according to *Cæsar's* Memoirs. The Fathers knew it well enough, but having already in some occasion given judgment without any respect to *Cæsar's* doings, they thought at this time absolutely to annul all that ever he had done or decreed, to which end the ten Commissioners presently published an Ordinance, by which all persons that had received any thing from *Anthony*, were enjoined to bring it in, in writing, under pain of exemplary punishment. At length some of *Pompey's* Party demanded the Consulate for the rest of the year, in the places of *Hirtius* and *Pansæ*. And *Cæsar* had a great desire to it, he solicited not the Senate about it, but wrote to *Cicero*, praying him to endeavour that they might be Colleagues in the Dignity, and that he would leave to him the Administration of all Affairs, as being most capable, by reason of his long experience, and would content himself with the Quality, that he might with more Honour lay down Arms, having before to that end demanded Triumph. *Cicero* who loved Command, was tickled with this proposition. He therefore told the Fathers, that having understood they consulted an Accommodation between the Governours of the Province, his advice was, that they should by some good Office appease a Man they had offended, and who was at the Head of a powerful Army, that for his part he thought it better, that before the age allowed by the Laws, they should nominate him to a charge to be exercised in the City, than behold him in the Field at the Head of an Army, capable to revenge himself : nevertheless, that he might act nothing contrary to the authority of the Senate, he exhorted them to give him for Colleague some aged and prudent person to serve as a Guide to his youth. The whole Senate laughed at *Cicero's* ambition, but above all, the Kindred of the Conspirators opposed him, out of the fear they had, lest if *Cæsar* obtained the Consulate, he should study revenge ; insomuch that the Assembly was no more summoned, because a lawful one could not be called for sundry reasons.

XIX.

Mean while *Anthony* having crossed the *Alpes* by consent of *Culeo*, who guarded the passage by order of *Lepidus*, came and lodged his Army on a River side by him, without fortifying his Camp ; but as one Friend sits down by another there several times their People went and came from one to the other, *Anthony* put *Lepidus* in mind of their Friendship, of what he had done for him, and advised to beware lest all those who had been of *Cæsar's* Party were not oppressed one after another, and *Lepidus* excused himself upon the Orders of the Senate, which commanded him to make War, though it would trouble him to come to extremities with him. But *Lepidus* his Soldiers, whether they had a respect for *Anthony*, or else perceived some Negotiations, or otherwise took delight to see that unfortified Camp, mixed with those of *Anthony*, at first privately, and at last publicly, as going to see their Countrymen, and sometime Comrades : in vain did their Officers forbid it. And to the end they might more easily converse together, they made a Bridge of Boats over the River ; and the tenth Legion which had formerly been commanded by *Anthony*, carried him from *Lepidus* his Camp all things necessary. *Laterensis* one of the most considerable Senators perceiving

perceiving it, gave notice to *Lepidus*, and when he would believe nothing of it, desired him to divide his Army, and send one part to any place where he might feign employment for them, and others elsewhere, thereby to try the faith or perfidiousness of his Soldiers. Thereupon he drew his Forces into three Bodies, and commanded them to depart by night to go and convoy the Quæstors, who were not far off. But they about the third Watch arming themselves as for a March, seized on the Trenches, and went and opened the Gates to *Anthony*. He run directly to the Generals Tent, led by *Lepidus's* Soldiers, crying out, that he should make peace, and pardon his miserable Fellow Citizens. Upon the noise hereof he leaps out of Bed, and quite unready runs to meet them, promising to do what they would have him, and embracing *Anthony*, craved pardon for what he had been forced to do. Nay, some say he fell on his Knees to *Anthony*: but that he was so base and cowardly, all Authors do not affirm: and in my opinion it seems scarce credible, for he had as yet committed no act of Hostility against *Anthony*, which might occasion him to be so fearful. Thus *Anthony* became more powerful and more formidable to his Enemies than ever he had been before; for besides the Forces brought from *Modena*, among which he had excellent Horse, *Ventidius* had by the way joyned with him with other three Legions, and now *Lepidus* with seven more, furnished with light armed Foot, Horse, and a considerable train, all which went in *Lepidus's* name; but indeed *Anthony* was Master of them. This news having reached the City, wrought in a moment a wonderful change. Those who despised him before now feared him, and they who feared before, began now to take heart, with scorn they tore down the Ordinances of the Commissaries, fixed in the publick places, and prorogued to a farther time the Assembly for election of Consuls. The Senate most heavily perplexed with fear, lest *Cæsar* should make an Accommodation with *Anthony*, deputed two of their Body, *Lucius* and *Pansa* to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, to assist them in what they could, under pretence of overlooking the Estate of *Greece*: of the three Legions *Sextus* had in *Africa* they sent for two over, and gave the other to *Cornificius*, who commanded in a part of that Province, and was firm to the Senates interests, though the Senate were jealous of these Forces, which they knew well had served under *Cæsar*: but necessity forced the Fathers to this, as well as most shamefully to give *Cæsar* joynt Command with *Decimus* of the War against *Anthony*, because they were afraid he should joyn with *Anthony*.

But *Cæsar* did all he could to incense his Soldiers against the Senate, as well for the injuries himself had received, as because they were sent upon a second Expedition, without being payed the five thousand Drams a Head, due for the first; insomuch that upon his advice to send Deputies to *Rome* to demand that Money, they gave Commission to their Centurions. The Senate knew well he had set them on, and therefore said they would give an answer by other Commissioners of their own. And indeed they sent them with orders to address themselves to *Anthony's* two Legions, without speaking to *Cæsar*, and to advise them not to place their hopes upon one man alone, but rather rely on the power of the Senate, which was immortal, and to march over to *Decimus*, where they should find the rest of their Money; for to the end they might the more easily speak to them, they had brought half the Money, and deputed ten Commissioners to distribute it, without so much as naming *Cæsar* for the Eleventh: but the Legions re-

refusing to hear the Deputies, unless *Cæsar* were present, they went away without doing any thing. Hereupon *Cæsar* thinking it no longer fit to delay, or to declare his mind by others, assembled the Army to speak to them himself, where after having related all the injustices of the Senate, he told them that all was done tended only to the ruine of *Cæsar's* Party one after another, that they should beware of fighting for their Enemies, or suffering themselves to be engaged in endless Wars, wherein they employed them only, that they might perish in Fight, or be ruined by Seditions, which was the reason why after they had all served together at *Modena*, they offered reward only to two Legions, that they might raise a jealousy and division amongst them.

The Oration of *Cæsar* to his Army.

YOU know, (said he) why they have of late made War upon Anthony, in what manner those of Pompey's Faction have in the City treated such as have received kindnesses from my Father; and pray judge after that whether they will let you enjoy the Lands and Money he gave you, or can there be any security for my person, so long as the Kindred of the Murderers are so powerful in the Senate. As for my part I will endure with patience whatever can happen to me; for 'tis a Glory for me to suffer for my Father; but I am troubled for your concerns, you that for my interest and my Father's Honour daily expose your selves to so many dangers: you had an evidence I had then no ambition, when I refused the Office of Pretor offered by you; but now there is but one only way to preserve us all. It is by your means I may obtain the Consulate, then will be confirmed to you the benefits received from my Father, then will be given you Colonies and other rewards due to you; and I will proceed in judgment against the Murderers, and dispense with you from going to any other Wars.

These Words were attended with a general Acclamation of the whole Army, who presently deputed their Centurions to Rome, to demand the Consulate for *Cæsar*. The Senate objecting that he was not of age, required by Law, they answered (as they were prepared) that *Corvinus* was formerly created Consul as young as he, and *Scipio* after him, who as young as they were had both done signal service for their Country. They alledged likewise the fresher examples of *Pompey* and *Dolobella*; besides that a Decree had already passed permitting the same *Cæsar* to demand the Consulate ten years before the appointed age. Whilst the Centurions resolutely offered these reasons, some of the Senators offended at the freedom of their speech, interrupted them, by saying they talked too high for People of their Quality, which being reported to the Army, so highly incensed the Soldiers, that they desired to be led directly to the City, where themselves holding the Assembly they would make *Cæsar's* Son Consul, to whom at the same instant they gave a thousand praises. *Cæsar* seeing them thus disposed, presently drawing together his Army, raises the Camp with eight

eight Legions, good Horſe, and all other things neceſſary, paſſes the *Rubi-con* that divides *Gaul* from *Italy*, from whence formerly his Father had begun the Civil War. There he divides his Army into two Bodies, leaving one in the Rear to follow him at leiſure, and at the Head of the other who were all choſen Men, marching by great journies directly towards *Rome*, that he might ſurpriſe his Enemies before they could be prepared. Having advice by the way, that upon the ſame Road Commiſſioners ſent by the Senate with the Soldiers Money were coming to meet him, he was jealous leſt any of his Men might be tempted by this reward, wherefore he privately ſent Scouts towards them, who ſo terrified them, that away they fled with their Money. The news of his approach filled all the City with Tumult and Terrour; ſome run through the Streets in diſorder, others carried away their Wives, Children, and choiceſt Goods into the Country, or to the ſtrongeſt places of the City. For it not being certainly known if he only demanded the Conſulate, upon the rumour that he came in a hoſtile manner at the Head of an angry Army, every thing appeared dreadful to them. Eſpecially in the Senate the conſternation was great, becauſe they had not at preſent any Army to defend them. Some (as it happens ever in like Alarms) accused others, either that they had injuriouſly taken from him the Legions they had given him to make War upon *Anthony*, or that they had denied him the Triumph due to him, or that out of envy to him, when they ſent the ten Commiſſioners to pay the Army, they had not ſo much as named him for the eleventh, or that they had not payed the Money promiſed the Soldiers, either not in time, or at leaſt not in full, and thereby had given them cauſe to revolt. But that which they moſt of all blamed, was the diſobliging *Cæſar* in an ill Conjunction, *Brutus* and *Cæſſius* being at a great diſtance, and as yet but meanly prepared, and *Anthony* and *Lepidus* both at hand, and ready to fall upon the City, who, if they entertained but the thoughts of making an Accommodation with *Cæſar*, might complete its ruine. *Cicero* himſelf, who appeared moſt officious in all other matters, now ſhewed not his Head: inſomuch that in a moment the face of all things was ſo utterly changed, that inſtead of two thouſand five hundred Drums offered to every Soldier, it was ordered by Decree of the Senate, that five thouſand ſhould be payed them, not for two Legions only, but for eight, of which *Cæſar* himſelf ſhould have the diſtribution, and the ten Commiſſioners. As for *Cæſar*, though he were abſent, they gave him the Conſulate, and diſpatched away Commiſſioners poſt to carry him the news of it.

But ſcarcely were they got out of the City when the Senate repented, moſt of them began to cry out, that it was a ſhame they ſhould ſo cowardly ſuffer themſelves to be trod under foot, and ſuffer the ſetting up of a new Tyranny without ſhedding of Blood, or ſhould accuſtom pretenders to the Conſulate to demand it with Arms in their hands, and Soldiers to command their Country. That therefore they ought preſently to arm, and oppoſe the authority of the Laws to thoſe who offered them violence; and if they repented them not (as it was not credible they would) endure a Siege, expecting the coming of *Plancus* and *Decimus* to relieve the City, and in the mean time fight to the laſt gasp, rather than ſubmit to ſervitude without defending themſelves. They alledged hereupon example of things which their Predeceſſors had undertaken, executed, and ſuffered, to maintain their Liberty: and when they ſaw the two Legions they had ſent for
out

out of *Africa* arrive at the Port that very day, they thought the Gods concern'd themselves in their defence; insomuch that they confirmed themselves in their repentance, and *Cicero* beginning to appear, the Decree was absolutely changed. They made a Roll of all the youth capable to bear Arms, to joyn with the two Legions newly come from *Africa*, a thousand Horse, and another Legion which *Pansa* had left them, they gave Quarters to all these Troops, one part guarded the *Faniculum* with the Riches there stored up, another the Bridge over *Tiber*, under the Command of the Pretors of the City, and others kept within the Port Boats and Vessels laden with Money, ready, if necessity required, to flie towards the River, and gain the Sea, making these preparations with a countenance of defending themselves, they hoped *Caesar* might take his turn to be in fear, or that they should perswade him to come, and demand the Consulate without bringing his Army, or that at last they should repulse him by force, and that the question being the preservation of common liberty, all contrary Parties might unite. But when after having made a long search both publickly and privately for *Caesar's* Mother and Sister, and not finding them, their fears returned, beholding themselves robbed of such mighty Hostages, it being unlikely that those of *Caesar's* Party would joyn with them in the common defence, who had so well concealed his best Friends. Whilst *Caesar* was yet in conference with the Deputies, came other to tell him, that the Senate had changed their resolution; so that the first returned loaden with shame and confusion, and he with an Army incensed at these proceedings, marched towards the City, troubled for his Mother and his Sister, and fearful lest any mischief should befall them. He sent before some Horsemen to assure the People, who trembled for fear, and to the great astonishment of all the world came and encamped over against Mount *Quirinal*, whilst none durst either oppose or hinder him. At his arrival likewise a sudden change arose in the minds of Men, the Nobility went in throngs to do him reverence, and the People ran by whole companies to welcome the Soldiers, who for their parts committed no more disorders, than in time of the profoundest peace. On the morrow leaving his Army in that place, he set forward towards *Rome* with an indifferent Train, which increased infinitely as he went, by the concurrence of multitudes of persons, who came from all parts to complement him, and to pay him all the testimonies of respect and submission possible. His Mother and Sister who had taken Sanctuary among the Vestals, received him with extreme joy in the Temple of that Goddess; and the three Legions that were in the City, without taking notice of their Officers, sent their Deputies, and submitted themselves to him, and after them the Officers themselves made their composition, and swore fidelity to them, save only *Cornutus*, who slew himself. *Cicero* understanding how things went by the intermission of *Caesar's* Friends, had leave to see him, who made an Oration to him, praising him that he demanded the Consulate, concerning which he had before made a proposition to the Fathers, to all which he in Raillery answered, *That he was the last of his Friends that came to see him.* The night following a rumour was raised, that the Legion of *Mars*, together with the fourth were coming towards the City to seize it by surprise, which the Pretors and Senate too easily believed: and though *Caesar's* Army was all at hand, they imagined that they alone with the principal Citizens could for some time make resistance till other Forces from elsewhere might come to their relief: so that very night they sent away *Acilius Crassus* to go and raise Men in the Country of *Picenum*, and gave order to *Apuleius* one of the

the Tribunes to go through the City, and declare this news to the People ; and at the same instant assembled themselves in the Palace, where *Cicero* received them at the Gate ; but when the report proved false, fled away in his Litter out of the City : *Cæsar* laughed at their weaknels, and caused his Army to advance into the *Campus Martius*, yet offered no affront to the Pretors, not so much as to *Crassus*, who was going to raise Men against him, though brought to him disguised in the Habit of a Slave, but freely pardoned all, that he might beget in the Citizens an opinion of his Clemency. In the mean time he caused to be brought to him all the publick Treasure that was in the *Funiculum*, or elsewhere, of which according to Decree of the Senate passed before by the advice of *Cicero*, he distributed to each Soldier two thousand five hundred Drams, promising to be accountable for the rest, and that done he went out of the City, expecting till the day for election of Consuls.

In conclusion, he was nominated to that Dignity, and with him (according to his desire) *Quintus Pedius*, who had given him his part of the Inheritance left by *Cæsar*. He entred *Rome* as Consul, and offered the Sacrifices accustomary upon such occasions, during which there appeared over the City twelve Vultures, in like manner, as it is said, there appeared to *Romulus* when he founded it. After having performed these Sacrifices, he declared himself Son of *Cæsar* in the Assembly of the Tribes, that he might confirm his Adoption by the People ; for the People are divided into Tribes in *Rome*, in the same manner as the Phratrians among the Greeks. Now this formality observed in the Adoptions of those who have no Father, gives them the same advantages and the same right that natural Children have in respect to the Kindred and * Freed Men of their Fathers ; wherefore because *Cæsar* besides the great Wealth he left, had many Freed Men very rich, I am of the mind, that the Son not content with his first Adoption, thought the second necessary. He revoked likewise the Decree by which *Dolabella* was declared Enemy, and permitted all persons whatsoever to become parties against those who were guilty of his Father's Murder. There presently appeared great numbers of *Cæsar*'s Friends, who formed their accusations not only against those who had an immediate hand in the Action, but likewise against many who were privy to the plot, but were not in *Rome* when it was executed, nor were otherwise guilty, than in not discovering it. Having all been publicly summoned to appear on the same day, they were condemned by default, *Cæsar* sitting in Judgment, and not one of the Judges arguing for their Discharge, except one of the most considerable, to whom nothing was said at present, but not long after he was proscribed with many others. About the same time one of the Pretors of the City named *Quintus Gallius*, Brother of *Marcus Gallius*, who was with *Anthony*, having obtained from *Cæsar* the Government of *Africa*, and after standing convict of an Attempt against the life of his Benefactor, was deposed from his Charge, by his Brethren in Office, the People plundered his House, and the Senate condemned him to death. However, *Cæsar* commanded him to go and find out his Brother, and he imbarquing himself to that purpose, was never seen more. After these Exploits *Cæsar*'s whole thoughts were employed in reconciling himself with *Anthony*, because he certainly knew that *Brutus* and *Cassius* had twenty Legions,

* The Patron
and Son of the
Patron was
Heir to the
Freed Man.

to that standing in need of him, he went out of the City, and by small Journies marched towards the Ionian Sea, that he might find out how the Senate stood affected. For in the absence of *Cæsar*, *Petius* advised the Fathers to an Accommodation with *Anthony* and *Lepidus* before the Animosities that were between the Parties became irreconcilable. They saw well such an Accommodation was neither for theirs, nor their Countries Advantage, and that by it *Cæsar* only aim'd at strengthening himself against *Cassius* and *Brutus*: yet they beheld themselves in a necessity to consent; wherefore they repealed the Decrees by which *Anthony* and *Lepidus* with their Armies had been declared Enemies, and sent them assurances of their good will. *Cæsar* wrote Letters of Congratulation to the Senate, and sent to *Anthony*, that if he stood in need of his Arms against *Decimus*, he was ready to serve him: and *Anthony* returned Answer, that he made War against *Decimus* as a Traytor to *Cæsar*, and against *Plancus* as an Enemy to *Anthony*; and therefore if he pleased, he would joyn Forces with him. After the mutual sending and reception of the Letters, as *Anthony* pursued *Decimus*, *Asinius Pollio* came and joyned with him with two Legions, and by his intercession *Plancus* reconciled with *Anthony* brought him three more; so that he became mighty powerful. As for *Decimus* he still had ten Legions, four whereof composed of experienced Soldiers, were yet sick after the Famine they had undergone in *Molona*, and six were newly levyed, neither trained, nor inured to hardship; wherefore thinking it imprudence to bring them to action, he resolved to retreat to *Brutus* in *Macedon*, and took his March not by the Cisalpine *Gaul*, but by *Ravenna* or *Aquileia*, and yet at last because *Cæsar* was to come into those Quarters, he attempted a longer and more incommodious March by going over the *Rhine* to cross a Country inhabited by Barbarians. The difficulty of this unknown way at first sight so affrighted his new Forces, that they left him, and submitted to *Cæsar*, and not long after the four old Legions went over to *Anthony*, with all the rest of his Forces, except only the French Horse designed for his Life Guard. Reduced to this small number, he gave license to all that had yet a mind to depart, making them some present of Money, and with three hundred Horse only came to the Banks of the *Rhine*, but by reason of the difficulty of passing the River, they by little and little forsook him, except only ten, with whom, habited after the fashion of the Gauls, and speaking their language, he began again to travel, and without fetching so great a compass, took the Road to *Aquileia*, where he thought he might pass unknown, because of his slender Train. In the way being taken by Thieves, and bound, he asked them how they called the Lord of that Country; and when he understood it was *Camillus*, for whom he had done some services, he intreated them to carry him before him. When *Camillus* saw him, he received him with much civility before the People, sharply reproving those that brought him bound, that through ignorance they had affronted so great a Man, but in private he gave advice to *Anthony*, who had so much compassion of his fortune, that he would not see him. However, he sent to *Camillus* for his Head, which after having viewed, he gave to some of his People to be buried. Thus ended *Decimus*, who had been General of the Horse to *Cæsar*, Governour of the Transalpine *Gaul* under him,

him, designed by him for Consul the year following, and with it provided of the Government of the Cisalpine *Gaul*. He was the second that perished for murdering *Cæsar*. And about the same time *Minutius Bassus*, who was likewise of the Conspiracy, was slain by his Slaves for making some of them Eunuchs by way of punishment.

*The End of the Third Book of the Civil Wars
of Rome.*

X X X

APPIAN

A P P I A N
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars
OF
R O M E.

P A R T II.

B O O K IV.

The Argument of this Book.

- I. **T**He Author's Design in this Book : The Accommodation of Cæsar, Anthony and Lepidus. II. Dismal Presages of future Miseries : Pedius begins the Proscriptions ; and Cæsar, Anthony and Lepidus are named Triumvirs. III. A Copy of the Edict of Proscription. IV. The general Cruelties,

Cruelties committed in the Execution of it. V. Many Particularities of such as suffered. VI. The Triumph of Lepidus: Proscription of the Women, and Hortensia's Oration for her Sex. VII. Particulars of several escaped the Proscription. VIII. Defeat of Cornificius, Lelius and Ventidius in Lybia, by Sextus Cæsar's Lieutenants. IX. Cassius besieges and takes Dolobella in Laodicea, and does many other things in Syria. X. Cassius about to besiege Rhodes, Archelaus endeavours to dissuade him. XI. Cassius answers him, and besieges and takes Rhodes. XII. Brutus besieges the Xantians, and takes the City. XIII. After which Patara yields to him; and Murcus, who sides with him, is besieged by Anthony near Brundisium. XIV. Sex. Pompey coming into Sicily, fights at Sea against Salvidienus with equal Advantage. XV. Murcus and Domitius Ænobarbus seize on the Passage of the Ionian Sea; and Ciditius and Norbanus, Lieutenants to Cæsar and Anthony, march by Land against Cassius and Brutus. XVI. Brutus and Cassius having drawn together their Army, Cassius makes an Oration to them. XVII. Brutus and Cassius go and encamp near Philippi. XVIII. Anthony and Cæsar encamp hard by them; they engage; Brutus gets the better, but Cassius is worsted. XIX. The Death of Cassius: Murcus and Ænobarbus defeat Domitius Calvinus. XX. Brutus Speech to his Army, to oblige them to temporize; and Anthony's, to encourage his to the Battel. XXI. Brutus's Army force him to fight. XXII. The Battel: Brutus defeated. XXIII. The Death of Brutus: Praises of Brutus and Cassius; and End of this Book.

HAVING in the former Book declared how two of *Cæsar's* Murderers perished in their Governments; to wit, *Trebonius* in *Asia*, and *Decimus* in *Gaul*; in this we shall set forth how *Brutus* and *Cassius*, the principal Authors of the Conspiracy, were punished. Men, that were Masters of all the Provinces from *Syria* to *Macedon*, who commanded mighty Armies both by Sea and Land; having more than twenty Legions, great number of Shipping, and abundance of Money. And this was done at a time when Proscriptions were dreadful at *Rome*; and that as many proscribed Persons as could be found were miserably put to death. So that the like had never been seen or known among all the Tumults and Wars of the Grecians, nor yet among those of the Romans, if you except the time of *Sylla*, who was the first proscribed his Enemies: for *Marius* only slew such as fell into his Hands; whereas *Sylla* not only permitted any that would to slay those he had proscribed, but proposed Rewards to the Murderers, and decreed Punishments against any durst give succour to a proscribed Person. But of all those things we have discoursed in writing what passed in the time of *Marius* and *Sylla*; let us proceed to our order of History.

Cæsar being reconciled to *Anthony*, it was determined to have a Conference together. The place designed for it was near *Modena*, in a little flat Island of the River *Labinia*: whither they came with each five Legions; which taking their Stands on each side the River, the two Generals, accompanied only by three hundred Men each, advanced to the Bridges that went over the Streams. *Lepidus*, who was before gone into the Island to see that there were no Ambuscade, having made them the Signal by shewing his Coat-Armor, they left all their Train at the Bridges; and advancing on to the highest part of the Island, they three sat down; *Cæsar* in the middle, because of his Quality of Consul. After two whole Days Conference they

came to this Result : That *Cæsar* should for the rest of the Year quit the Consulate to *Ventidius* : That to put a stop to the Civil Wars there should be created a new Office, which *Anthony*, *Lepidus* and *Cæsar* should exercise jointly for five Years, with the same Power as the Consuls (for they would not make use of the name of Dictator, perhaps because of the Law *Anthony* had so lately made to abolish the Dictatorship.) That as soon as they had taken Possession of this new Dignity, they should design for five Years the Annual Officers of the City. That the Provinces should be parted among them : *Anthony* should have all the *Gauls*, except only that confining upon the Pyrenean Mountains, called Antient *Gaul* ; which, together with *Spain*, should remain to *Lepidus* ; and that *Cæsar* should take *Africa*, with *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and all the other adjacent Isles. In this Division of the Roman Empire among themselves, they forbore sharing the other Provinces, because *Brutus* and *Cassius* yet held them. They agreed therefore together, that *Anthony* and *Cæsar* should make War upon them : That *Lepidus*, designed Consul for the Year following, should remain in the City, that he might provide them of all things necessary ; and should govern *Spain* by his Lieutenants : That of the ten Legions that composed his Army, he should keep three for the Defence of the City, and give three to *Cæsar* and four to *Anthony* ; by which means each of them would have twenty Legions. And that they might encourage the Soldiers, besides the Recompence usually referred till after the Victory, and other Donatives ; they assigned them for Colonies eighteen of the best Cities of *Italy*, as well for the beauty of the Buildings, as Fertility and Riches of the adjacent Soil, whose Houses and Fields they set out amongst them, as it is usual to divide a conquered Country. The chief of these were *Capua*, *Rhegium*, *Venosa*, *Beneventum*, *Luceria*, *Rimini*. Thus was the best part of *Italy* destined a Recompence to the Soldiers. They resolved likewise that before all things else they would rid themselves of their particular Enemies, lest they should be a hindrance to their Designs when they were gone out of the City. These things being all agreed to, and put in writing, *Cæsar* as Consul, read them publickly before all the Forces (except only that concerning the Proscriptions, which he kept secret) who received them all with a general Acclamation ; and forthwith both Armies saluted each other in token of Reconciliation.

- II. Mean while many dreadful Prodigies appeared at *Rome*. All the Dogs of the City howled like Wolves, which is accounted an unhappy Prefage. The Wolves, which do not usually come into Cities, came now into the Great Place. An Ox spoke with a Man's voice. A Child spoke as soon as it was born. The Statues of the Gods sweated, some Water, and some Blood. The cries of Men, clattering of Arms, and running of Horses were heard ; yet not seen. Many frightful Signs appeared about the Sun. It rained Stones. Thunder fell upon several Temples, and some of the very images of the Gods were stricken. Hereupon the Senate sent for Divines out of *Tuscany* ; the eldest of which told them, that the Royalty should be re-established, and they all Slaves but only He : and therewith stopping his Mouth, held his Breath so long, till he fell down dead in the place. This Triumvirate then after their Agreement made, began to contrive among themselves the Roll of the Proscribed ; wherein they inserted all those whose too great power they were jealous of, and all their particular Enemies ; abandoning their own Friends and Relations to one another, so they might by that means be revenged on those they hated. And this they did, not only at present, but even afterwards ; for they proscribed an infinite number

number one after another, either out of some old Grudge, or some light Offence, or for being Friends to their Enemies, or Enemies to their Friends, or because they were rich. And indeed they stood in need of store of Money for the War, *Brutus* and *Cassius* having received abundance from the Tributes of *Asia*, besides what those Kings and Potentates furnished them with ; whereas these had none to receive, but only out of *Europe* and *Italy*, already drained dry by Exactions and Wars. In so much, that to raise Money, there was no Person to the most miserable of the People, without excepting the very Women, who suffered not a thousand Violences from the Tax-Gatherers, if they were but informed they had any thing. There were some likewise proscribed for the beauty of their Houses or Gardens. In short, the Roll of the Proscribed, with Confiscation of Goods, amounted to three hundred Senators, and two thousand Roman Knights ; among whom some were Brethren and Uncles to the Triumvirs, and Officers that had served in their Armies for having displeased the Generals or their Lieutenants. They deferred the rest of the Proscription till such time as they came to the City ; and in the mean time resolved to begin the Execution by twelve (or as some say) by seventeen of the Principal, among whom was *Cicero*. To this purpose they sent some of their People, who forthwith slew four whom they found either at their Tables or in the Streets. The others were sought for in Temples and Houses ; in so much, that all that Night there was a great Tumult : People running up and down the City with such cryings and howlings, as if the Enemy had been in the midst of them ; for hearing of some being taken, and not knowing of any Person yet proscribed, every Man thought the next he met sought for him. So that in a general Despair some disposed themselves to set fire, either to their own Houses, or the Publick Buildings, that before they died they might do something worthy of Memory : And they had done it if the Consul *Pedius*, running about to all parts, had not exhorted them to be in good hopes, and to expect till Day gave better knowledge of the Cause of the Disorder. Morning being come, without staying for the Triumvirs Orders, he proscribed those seventeen Men as the only Authors of Intestine Mischiefs, and the only Men condemned ; promising Security to all others, because he knew not what had been agreed upon ; and after dyed of a Distemper caused by the too much labour undergone that Night. Three days following arrived one after another, *Cesar*, *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, each with his Regiment of Guards and one Legion ; and immediately the City was filled with armed Men, and Courts of Guards placed in the most convenient Stations. Then were the People assembled, and *Publius Titius* the Tribune proposed the Law for Creation of the Triumvirate ; to which he nominated *Lepidus*, *Anthony* and *Cesar* to govern the Commonwealth for five Years, with the same Power the Consuls had (this is what the Greeks call *Harmostates*, and the Lacedemonians Reformers) and without giving the People time to deliberate, or to appoint a Day for holding another Assembly, the Law was at that instant ratified. The Night following besides the seventeen before there were found one hundred and thirty more, whose Names were fixed up in divers places of the City ; soon after one hundred and fifty others were added ; and at last the Roll was daily augmented with names of newly condemned People, or of those who had been slain by mistake, that they might not be thought to be killed without Cause. Those likewise who killed any proscribed Persons were commanded to bring their Heads to the Triumvirs ; and to this purpose Rewards were decreed them, to the Free Men Money, and to Slaves Freedom and Money. Nothing was barred
against

againſt thoſe that fought for them, becauſe it was forbid under the like pain, either to receive them, or conceal them, or deny entrance into the Houſe to any that fought after them, with a like Reward to any gave Information of all theſe things.

The Ordinance for Proſcription was conceived in theſe Terms.

M A R C U S



MARCUS LEPIDUS,
 MARCUS ANTONIUS
 AND
 OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS
 Deputed for the
 Reformation & Re-Establishment
 Of the
 COMMONWEALTH,
 To the PEOPLE of
 ROME.



*L*F by an extraordinary Infidelity wicked Men who had received Pardon had not become Enemies to their Benefactors so far as to attempt against their Lives, and that they had not murdered Cæsar; who after having reduced them under his Power, saved them, honoured them with his Friendship, and loaded them with Honours, Favours and Dignities; we had not been forced to come to Extremities to revenge our selves of the Injuries they have done us, in declaring us Enemies to our Country. But now that after so many Ambushes laid for us, and the Murder committed on the Person of Cæsar, we are bound to believe that their Malice cannot be overcome by fair means, we have chose rather to prevent our Injuries, than to wait till they destroy us. We therefore, whoever shall consider in what manner they have treated

III.

treated Caesar, with the Injuries that we have suffered, will not find in our proceeding either Passion, Injustice or Cruelty. Since Caesar their General, their High Priest, who had subdued Nations ever before formidable to the Roman People. Had first of all crossed an unknown Sea beyond the Columns of Hercules, and opened to the Romans away to a New World; has been murdered in a Sacred Place, in the midst of the Palace, in the sight of the Gods, basely stabbed with three and twenty Wounds of Daggers, by people whose lives he had saved after having made them Prisoners at War: Nay, some of which he had by Testament made his Heirs. Whilst instead of punishing this Attempt, others transported by the same hatred, have made them Governors of Provinces; or else abusing their Power, have seized upon the Revenues of the Commonwealth, raised Arms against us; calling to their Assistance Barbarians, perpetual Enemies to this Empire; and burning, sicking and rasing some Cities under our Obedience, that would not submit to theirs; and forcing others by threats and terror to take Arms against us and their Country. Some of these we have already punished, and by God's Assistance you shall see us punish others. But because after those great things we have done for the security of Spain, Gaul, and the Heart of the Republick, there yet remains a troublesome Affair, which is the Expedition against Caesar's Murderers: To effect which we must cross the Sea; being ready, for the Service of the Publick, to carry our Arms into a remote Country, we cannot think it either secure or advantageous for us to leave behind us our Enemies, who will not fail to make their best use of our absence, and of the uncertain Success of War. There may likewise be danger in delay; wherefore we have resolved to destroy them, since they have begun to persecute us by declaring us Enemies of our Country. And though neither respect to Gods, nor fear of Men restrained them from endeavouring to destroy with us so many thousand Citizens, yet will we not imitate them, nor offend any of the people; nay, nor so much as hold all those for Enemies who have took part against us, or have disoblged us. We will assault no person because of his Riches and Dignities, nor put so many to death as did another who had the same power before us; and who having, as well as we, undertaken to remedy the Mischiefs caused by Civil War, deserved the Title of HAPPY, for the happy success of his Enterprizes; though it cannot be imagined he could have so many Enemies as we three. We will therefore only punish such as are the most criminal, and most guilty of those Mischiefs the Commonwealth groans under; which will be no less advantageous to you than to our selves: for as long as our Dissentions last, it will be impossible for you, whilst things hang between two, not to suffer extraordinarily. Besides, it is convenient to satisfy the Soldiery offended, that without reason you have declared them Enemies. And though we could without notice punish those we think worthy of it, yet we think fit rather to proscribe than to surprize them; which indeed we do for your sakes, lest the Soldier's anger might transport him against those are uncondemned, or to destroy others with those whose Names are fixed up in publick places. For these reasons we forbid all persons the receiving into their Houses any of those whose Names are inserted in the Roll of the Proscribed, or to conceal or send them to any place of security, or to furnish them with Money, under pain that all that shall be found convicted of having secured or relieved them, shall be put themselves into the number of the Proscribed, without hopes of Pardon. We ordain likewise those who have slain any of the Proscribed to bring to us their Heads; for each of which he shall be payed * five and twenty thousand Attick Drams if he be a Free Person brings it; and if he be a Slave he shall receive * ten thousand, with the same Liberty and Right of Burgessship his Master enjoyed. We promise likewise the same Reward to all Informers; nor shall the Name of any receives it be recorded in our Registers, that it may remain secret.

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Such was the Ordinance of Proscription made by the Triumvirs. *Lepidus* proscribed the first, and his Brother *Paulus* was the first Proscript. *Anthony* proscribed the second, and his Uncle *Lucius* was the second Proscript ; because they had first given their Opinions when they were declared Enemies of their Country. The third and fourth Proscripts, whose Names were put in another Table, were the two Consuls designed for the following Year, *Plotius*, Brother of *Plancus*, and *Quintus*, Father in Law to *Asinius* ; who were not named with the first only because of their Preheminence, but to strike terror, and make Men lose all hopes of escaping. And indeed, *Thoranius* was found among the Proscribed ; he who, as it is said, had been *Cæsar's* Tutor. The Proscription being published, Guards were forthwith placed at the Gates ; and all the Avenues of the City, at the Sea-Ports, and in the Marshes, and in all places where there was any likelihood an unhappy Man might shelter himself : Besides, Centurions were commanded abroad, to make search in the Country, which was done all at an instant ; so that both within and without the City many persons dyed suddenly of several kinds of Deaths. The Streets were filled with the sad Spectacle of Heads carrying to the Triumvirs, to receive the Reward ; and every step some Person of Quality endeavouring to save himself, was met shamefully disguised ; some running down into Wells, and others into Privies ; some hiding themselves in the tops of the Chimneys, or under the Tiles, where they durst not utter a sigh or groan ; for they stood in more fear of their Wives, or Children, or Freed Men, or Slaves, or Debtors, or Neighbours that coveted some of their Goods, than of the Murderers themselves. All private Grudges were now discovered ; and it was a strange change to see the prime Men of the Senate, Consulars, Pretors, Tribunes, or Pretenders to these Dignities cast themselves at the feet of their Slaves with tears in their eyes, begging and caressing them, calling them their Saviors and Patrons ; and which is most deplorable, not be able with all these submissions to obtain the least favour. The most pernicious Seditions and cruellest of Wars never had any thing in them so terrible as the Calamities wherewith the City was now affrighted ; for in War and Tumult none but Enemies were feared, and Domesticks were confided in ; whereas now Domesticks were more dreadful than Enemies, because having no cause to fear for themselves, as in War or Tumult, from Familiars they became of a sudden Persecutors ; either out of a dissembled hate, or out of hope of Recompence publicly proposed, or because of some Silver or Gold hid in the House : So that no person found himself secure in his House, Servants being ordinarily more sensible of Profit than of the Affection they owe to their Masters ; and though some might be found faithful and kind, yet they durst not assist a Proscript, nor conceal him, nor so much as stay with him, for fear of falling into the same misfortune. There was now much more danger than when the seventeen first proscribed were fallen upon ; for then no person being publicly proscribed, when on a sudden they saw some killed, one Man defended another, for fear lest the same should happen to him. But after the Proscription was published, those comprized in it were presently forsaken by all the World ; some that thought themselves secure, having their minds bent on Profit, sought them to deliver them to the Murderers, that they might have the Reward ; others pillaged the Houses of those that had been killed, and with the present gain comforted themselves against the Publick Misery. The most Prudent and Moderate surprized at a thing so extraordinary, stood like Men astonished, considering that o-

ther Cities turmoiled with Divisions were re-established by the Concord of their Citizens : Whereas the Romans, already afflicted with Civil Diffentions, compleated their Ruin by this Reconciliation. Some were killed defending themselves ; others, who thought themselves not condemned, without any defence : Some let themselves die with hunger, or hanged, or drowned themselves, or threw themselves headlong from the tops of Houses, or cast themselves into the Fire, or run to meet their Murderers : Others again sought to protract the time ; and either hid themselves, or begged shamefully, or fled, or offered Money to save their Lives. Many likewise were slain contrary to the intention of the Triumvirs, either by mistake, or out of some particular grudge ; but the Bodies of the Proscripts might be known from the others, because they wanted the Head, which was cut off, and carried before the Tribunal for Orations, where they payed the Reward. On the other side, wonderful Examples were to be seen of the Affection of Wives, Children, Brethren and Slaves ; who found out a thousand inventions to save their Husbands, Fathers, Brethren or Masters ; dyed with them when they were discovered, or killed themselves upon those Bodies they were not able to defend. Of those that escaped the Proscription, some, pursued by their ill fortune, perished by Shipwreck ; others saved beyond all probability, came afterwards to exercise Dignities in the City, to have Command of Armies, and arrive at the Honour of Triumph. Such wonderful things were to be seen in those days which do not happen in an ordinary City, or in a small Kingdom ; but in the Mistress of the world, as well by Sea as Land : Providence disposing it so to reduce things to that excellent order wherein you now see them. Not but that *Rome* felt the same miseries under *Sylla*, and before him under *Marius* ; and we have in writing of them reported many Actions of Cruelty, even to the depriving their Enemies of Burial : But what passed under the Triumvirs made much more noise, because of the height of their Reputation ; and particularly the Valour and Good Fortune of him, who having fixed the Foundations of this Empire, has left it to those of his Race and Name, even to this present. I will therefore relate what was now done most remarkable, and most cruel ; which I can the easier do, because the length of time has not yet quite effaced the memory of these Actions. Yet I will not write all : for a common death, or the flight of some private Men, who after obtaining Pardon of the Triumvirs, returned and spent the rest of their Lives without appearing, seems not to me worthy being recorded : But I will relate some extraordinary Examples, that the Reader may be perswaded of the truth of what I have before said. Many Roman Authors have hereof wrote particular Books ; out of which I have extracted what appeared most credible, to compose a Summary, which may well make the happiness of our Times be admired.

v. The Massacre unhappily began with the Magistracy, of whom the first slain was *Salvius*, Tribune of the People ; though by the Laws the Tribunes were holy and inviolable ; and so powerful, that sometimes they have imprisoned Consuls. This Man when they were about to declare *Anthony* Enemy opposed it, but afterwards he took part with *Cicero*. Therefore when he knew the Triumvirs were agreed, and marched towards the City, he made a Feast for his Domesticks, as having now but a short time to live with them. The Soldiers entring the place where they were eating, all the people affrighted, began to rise up ; but the Centurion commanding them to keep their places, took *Salvius* by the Hair, drew him over
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The Table, cut off his Head, and forbid the others from stirring; for if they made the least noise he would serve them in the same manner: At which they were so affrighted, that after the Centurion was gone they spent most part of the Night by the Body, without speaking a word.

After *Salvius*, was slain the Pretor *Minutius*. Upon notice brought him as he gave Audience in the place, that the Soldiers were coming towards him, he rose suddenly to seek out some place to shelter himself in: and having changed Cloaths, went to hide himself in a Shop; but his People, and those that carried the Marks of his Dignity, whom he commanded to leave him, staying there some time out of a fear and affection they had for him, were the occasion, without designing it, that the Murderers did the more easily find him.

Annalis the other Pretor, as he solicited the People for his Son, who demanded the Questors Office; his Friends and Lictors understanding that he was in the Roll of the Proscrits, all of a sudden left him: Whereupon he fled, and retired into a wretched House that one of his Creatures had in the Suburbs; where, because the place was utterly contemptible, he was for a while secure; till such time as his own Son, having some doubt he was gone thither, shewed the way to the Executioners of the Proscription: In reward whereof the Triumvirs gave him his Father's Estate, and the Office of *Ædile*, but he enjoyed not either long; for returning drunk from a Debauch, upon some reviling words given to the Soldiers who had killed his Father, they killed him too.

For *Thoranius*, who was not Pretor, but had been; he was Father to a wretched Youth, who yet had a great deal of power over *Anthony*. He therefore entreated the Centurions to delay his death but so long till his Son had begged him of the Triumvir. To which they laughing, answered; *He has already begged you, but it is in another manner.* Which the Old Man hearing, prayed them but to give him so much time as to see his Daughter; and having seen her, forbade her from pretending any thing to his Estate, lest her Brother should beg her likewise of *Anthony*. The end of this wicked Son was no better than the others; for after having consumed his Patrimony in all sorts of Debauchery, he was accused of Theft, and condemned to Banishment.

As for *Cicero*, who had ruled in the Assemblies of the People after *Cæsar's* death; he was proscribed, with his Son, his Brother, and all their Servants, Clients and Friends. He was embarked on a small Boat to make his Escape by Sea; but not able to endure the tossing of the Waves, he returned to a Meadow that belonged to him near *Capua*; which upon occasion of writing this History, I would needs see. As he reposed himself, and that those that sought him were not far off (for of all the Proscrits, *Anthony* caused him to be sought with most diligence) a Flock of Crows flying over the place where he slept, waked him with their Cries, and began with their Beaks to pull the Covering from off him; till his Slaves thinking it an Advertisment of the Gods, returned him into his Litter, and took their way towards the Sea, through the thickest of the Forest. Presently after several Soldiers coming to that place one after another, and demanding of those they met if they had not seen *Cicero*, they all, out of the compassion they had for him, answered, that he was embarked, and was already a good way off at Sea: But a Shoemaker called *Cerdo*, a Creature to *Clodius*, formerly a mortal Enemy to *Cicero*; having shewed the Centurion *Lena*, followed but by a few Soldiers, the way he had taken, he presently pursued him. *Cicero* was accompanied with more people disposed to defend him, than *Lena* had

* *A. rufi* digit
reversum. P. 22.

But *Egnatius* and his Son embracing each other, died together ; and their Heads being both struck off at one blow, the two Bodies kept still their hold of each other.

Balbus designing to escape with his Son by Sea, sent him before, thinking that by not going together they would not so easily be known ; and himself soon after set forward to follow him at a distance : but some one, either out of malice or mistake, having told him that his Son was taken, he returned of his own accord to offer himself to the Executioners, and his Son perished by Ship-wrack : So much did fortune contribute to the Calamities of these times.

Arantius had a Son that could not resolve to fly without him ; yet at length he prevailed so far as to persuade him, that being young, he ought to survive him. The Mother having been his Guide as far as the City Gates, returned speedily to give Burial to her Husband whom they had slain. And some days after hearing her Son was starved to death at Sea, she slew her self.

Hitherto we have proposed Examples of good and evil Children.

As for Brothers. Those two called *Ligarii*, proscribed together, lay hid in an Oven, till such time as being betrayed by their Slaves, one was slain at the same time ; and the other who slipped from the Executioners, knowing his Brother was dead, cast himself from the Bridge into the River. Some Fisher-men that thought he fell in by mischance, and not designedly, came

came in to save him ; from which he defended himself some time by plunging himself to the bottom of the Water : till such time as they pulling him out, do what he could, he told them ; *You do not save me, but lose your selves with a Proscript.* Yet, say what he could, they were resolved to save his Life. But the Soldiers who had the Guard of the Bridge understanding he was a Proscript, came in and cut off his Head.

Of two other Brothers, one having cast himself headlong into the River, his Slave, after having sought the Body five days, at length found it ; and in the condition he was, being hardly to be known, cut off his Head, and carried it to the Tribune to have the Reward. The other being hid in a Privy, was betrayed by another Slave ; and because the Soldiers vouchsafed not to go down, they slew him with Javelins, drew him out ; and in the condition he was cut off his Head without washing it.

Another seeing his Brother stopped, ran in ; and without knowing that he likewise was proscribed, cryed out, *Kill me first.* Whereupon the Centurion, who knew the order of the Roll, made answer ; *You ask but reason, for your Name does indeed stand in the Roll before his :* And therewith slew one after the other.

These are Examples of Brothers.

As for Wives. *Ligarius* his Wife had hid him ; and went from time to time to see him, attended only by one Maid ; who betraying him, she followed those who carried away her Husband's Head, crying out ; *It is I that hid him, the Concealers are condemned to the same Punishment.* And because no one would either kill or accuse her, she went and discovered herself to the Magistrates : who not judging her guilty for loving her Husband, she starved her self to death.

I have spoke of her in this place, because, having in vain endeavoured to save her Husbands Life, she would not survive him : for as for those whose Conjugal Affection had better success, we will reserve them to another place, when we are to speak of those escaped.

Here therefore we shall now only relate Examples of such as made wretched Attempts upon the Lives of their Husbands ; among whom *Septimius* Wife shall have the first place. It was a long time before that one of *Anthony's* Friends had abused her Husband's Bed : But she desiring rather to be his Wife than his Mistress, he prevailed so far by the Credit he had with *Anthony*, that *Septimius* was found among the number of the Proscripts. He was advertized of it by her own self : And knowing nothing of the dishonour of his House, disposed himself to Flight. But she, like a kind Wife, shut the Doors ; and kept him very diligently, till the Executioners came to rid her of him ; and the same day of her Husband's death espoused the other.

Salaffius had escaped ; but out of a belief the danger diminished, was so imprudent as to return by Night into the City. In the mean time his House was sold, and there remained in it of all his People none but the Porter, who was comprized in the Sale : So that he alone knowing him, made him come into his Lodge, promised to keep him close, and to feed him the best he could. He was no sooner entred but he sent for his Wife, who was lodged elsewhere : who professed a great passion to see her Husband ; but excusing her self upon the fear of the Night, and the suspicion she had of the fidelity of her Servants, she said, she would not come till the Morrow.

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As soon as it was Day he went to seek for Executioners, and the Porter went to find her to desire her to come : which was the occasion that *Salaffius* missing the Porter, began to fear some treachery ; and got up to the top of the House to expect the event : whence beholding not the Porter, but Soldiers coming under his Wife's Conduct, he precipitated himself from top to bottom.

In like manner *Fulvius* having sought for refuge in the House of a certain Woman, who having been his Slave and Concubine, he made free and married : for so many good turns she betrayed him, jealous that he had espoused another woman. But I have said enough of wicked Women.

Statius the Samnite, who had performed many great Services for his Country in the War with the Allies : After which, by his worthy Actions, Riches and Birth, he was arrived to the Dignity of Roman Senator : being proscribed at the age of fourscore Years only for his Riches, caused his House to be ransacked by the People and his Slaves, who carried away what they could, the rest he himself threw into the Street ; and barring his Doors, set fire to his House, wherein he was burnt with a good part of the City.

Capito having half opened the Door of his House, so that but one at a time could enter, slew with his own hands many of the Soldiers ; till at last, over-powered by numbers, he was himself slain.

Italikus assembled about the Country of *Regium* great Forces, composed of proscribed Persons, and others who came to take Sanctuary under him, together with the Inhabitants of those eighteen Cities destined for the Soldiers Reward after the Victory ; which made them desperate : And with these took the Field ; where he cut in pieces all the Centurions he could meet with that were searching for Proscriptors. But the Triumvirs having sent greater Forces against them, he, without losing heart, crossed over into *Sicily*, where *Pompey* then commanded, the Refuge of all such Proscriptors as could escape out of *Italy*. After which generously returning to renew this sort of War, being defeated in several Engagements, he embarked his Son, with other Proscriptors, to send them before him to *Messina* ; but his own Boat scarce reaching the middle of the Straits, till he was surrounded by Enemies, he there honourably dyed.

Nasō having been betrayed by a Freed-man, by whom he had been abused, snatched the Sword out of one of the Soldiers hand ; and after having slain the Traitor, offered them his own Throat.

A certain faithful Slave had left his Master hid in a Sepulchre, while he went to the Sea to hire a Boat. His Return happened to be just at the instant that the Soldiers were murdering his Master ; to whom, seeing him ready to die, he cried out, *Stay a little, my dear Master* : and at the same minute falling upon a Centurion, slew him first, and then himself ; saying, *Now Master, you have some cause of Comfort.*

Lucius having two Freed-men, upon whose fidelity he relied, gave them his Money to carry to the Sea, where he designed to embark : but they running away with what they were intrusted with, he returns ; and condemning himself to death, delivers himself up to the Murderers.

Labienus, who in the Proscription of *Sylla* had taken and destroyed many, had been a Coward if he had not bravely born what he had made others suffer. Wherefore, coming out before the Gates of his House, he sat him down in a Chair, expecting some who would come and cut off his Head.

Cestius,

Cestius, who lay concealed in a Country-house with faithful Slaves, seeing armed Centurions daily pass by carrying of Heads, could no longer endure to live in that continual fear ; but having commanded his Slaves to raise a Pile of Wood, and set fire to it, that they might tell those that passed they burnt the Body of *Cestius*, threw himself into it in good earnest.

Apomius was in a place of Security : But not able to accustom himself to such coarse Provisions as were brought him, went out to seek his death.

Another publicly waiting for the Executioners ; because they came not soon enough, strangled himself before all the People.

Lucius, Father in Law of *Asinius* now Consul, having escaped by Sea ; not able to endure the tossing of the Waves, threw himself over-board.

Sisinius being pursued by Soldiers ; and crying out he was not proscribed, but they had a mind to destroy him for his Riches, was led to a place where the Names of the Proscripts were affixed, thrt he might see his own ; which having read, they cut off his Head.

Æmilius not knowing himself was of the number of the Proscribed, and seeing another that fled, asked the Centurion who that Proscript was : Upon which the Centurion knowing him, replied ; *Thou art one as well as he* : and so slew them both.

Cilon and *Decius* being informed as they came out of the Palace, that their Names were in the Roll of the Proscripts ; before any one set upon them, took their way towards the Gate so affrighted, that their Flight alone made them known to the Centurions, had the Guard of the Avenues.

Icilius, the same that in the Judgment of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, when *Cæsar* late President, when all the other Judges gave privately their Votes to condemn them, alone durst publicly argue for their Discharge, remembered not himself in this occasion of that great Generosity ; for seeing a dead Body carrying out of the City, he set to his Shoulder with the rest, that so he might gain a passage in favour of the Bier : But the Guards at the Gate perceiving there more people than were usually employed in that Office ; yet without doubting of them, would only know if they did not carry a live Body instead of a dead : Which occasioned that *Icilius* being disowned by the rest, was known, and at the same time slain.

Varus being betrayed by one of his Freed-men, fled ; and taking the way of the Mountains, got to the Marshes of *Minturnum*, where he hid himself to take a little repose. Mean time those of *Minturnum* coming by chance to seek for Thieves who often run thither for Shelter, seeing the Leaves of the Bushes shake, discovered him. So that being taken, and confessing himself to be a Thief, they condemned him to death : But seeing that they went to put him upon the Rack, to make him confess his Companions, he told them ; *I give you notice, my Masters, that I have been Consul, and am proscribed : in which Quality I am more considerable to those that now govern, that you ought not have the boldness either to torment or put me to death ; for since my death is inevitable, I had rather die by my Equals.* The Judges had much ado to believe him, and thought it only a Fiction, when a Centurion arriving, knew him, cut off his Head, and left the rest of his Body to the People of *Minturnum*.

Largus found in the Country by Soldiers that sought for another, they had pity of a Man fallen into their Hands unlooked for, and let him escape into the Woods ; where being met and pursued by others, he run again to the first ; crying out, *Kill me, you that would have saved me ; for I had rather you than others should have the Rewards.* Thus dying, he made his acknowledgments of their good will.

Refus,

Rufus, who was Neighbour to *Fulvia*, *Anthony's* Wife, having a very fine House which formerly he had refused to sell her, though now he would gladly have given it her, was found among the number of the Proscripts. His Head being brought to *Anthony*, he said, it belonged not to him; and sent it to his Wife: who caused it not to be nailed up in the Publick Place, but before the same House.

Another having a House of Pleasure in the Country with a magnificent Garden, wherein was a deep and beautiful *Grotto*, which had been the cause of his Proscription. One day, as he was refreshing himself in his *Grotto*, one of his Slaves espying the Soldiers afar off, hid him in the obscurest part of the Cave; and taking his Cloaths, presented himself to the Soldiers in such a frightful posture as if he indeed had been his Master: And certainly he might have passed for him, had not another of his Slaves discovered the Deceit. Thus the Master being slain, the people incensed against the Traytor, never left importuning the Magistrates till he was hanged, and that the other had obtained his Liberty.

Aterius being likewise hid, one of his Slaves discovered him; and for it had his Liberty. But not content therewith when the Goods of the Proscript were publickly sold, and that the Children would have bought them, he not only out-bid them, but reviled them with words; which they seemed not at all to resent, but still followed him every where with tears in their eyes, till such time as the people were so much incensed, that the Triumvirs condemning his Avarice, revoked his Liberty, and remitted him under the power of the Children of the Proscript.

One would have thought this Cruelty should have been exercised only upon persons grown, at least to full years; it extended it self even to Orphan Children, with intent to spoil them of their Riches. And one was killed as he went to School with his Master; who held the Child so strongly embraced, they could not pull him out of his arms.

Another, called *Attilius*, had the same day taken the Robe Virile; and his Friends conducted him to the Temple, to offer Sacrifices, ordinary upon those occasions: when he was inserted in the Roll of the Proscripts, his Slaves and Friends all presently fled every one his way; and he remaining alone, forsaken of all his great Train, retired to his Mother; who was so frightened, that she refused him her House. So that not daring to apply himself to any other person after being so treated by a Mother, he fled to the top of a Mountain: whence Hunger forcing him to descend, he fell into the hands of one of those Thieves who steal Free Persons to make them Slaves. This Young Man, tenderly bred, and not able to undergo Labour and Hardship, escaped chained as he was, and recovered the publick Road; where presenting himself to the first Centurion passed by, he ended his life.

VI. Mean while *Lepidus* triumphed over the Spaniards; and to that purpose published an Ordinance drawn up to this effect. *All Persons of what Degree soever are enjoined to employ this day in Feasts, Sacrificing and Rejoycing, under pain of Proscription.* After that he mounted in Triumph to the Capitol, accompanied by all the most remarkable Persons of the City; chearful in appearance, but with Souls oppressed with Hate and Anger. As for the Goods of the Proscribed, they plundered their Houses, but they found few Purchasers of their Lands; for most Men were ashamed to add to their Misfortunes, and believed ill luck would attend themselves should they deal
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in such Goods. Besides, there was no security for such as were known to have Money; and it was so dangerous to make new Acquisitions, that no Man was secure of what he held from his Ancestors. There were therefore none but very bold Men that bought: and because they were but few, they had them for a small matter. So that the Triumvirs, who thought that the Moneys hereby raised would serve for the Expence of the War; found it to fall short * two hundred Millions. They thereupon in the Assembly acquainted the People with their Wants, and proscribed fourteen hundred of the richest Women of the City; to whom they commanded to come and declare what Riches they had, to be employed in the Necessities of the State, as the Triumvirs thought convenient: and strictly forbidding all Concealments whatsoever, or valuing things below their true Value, under pain of Punishment; with promise of a Reward to any that should inform of such an Omission, whether Free Man or Slave. The Women, as soon as they had notice of it, having resolved to become Suitors to the Kindred of the Triumvirs, to solicit them in their behalf, were favourably received by *Cesar's* Sister, and *Anthony's* Mother; but *Fulvia*, his Wife, shut the Gate against them. They were so concerned at the Affront, that they came in a Body to the Place; and the People and Guards making way for them, they advanced to the Tribunal of the Triumvirs: where *Hortensia*, before prepared to that purpose, spoke to them in this manner, in the name of all the rest.

* Of Drums

The Oration of *Hortensia*.

BEing obliged to make to you our Remonstrances, as we are *Women*, we had recourse to your *Women*; which surely was no more than what was decent: But having received from *Fulvia* an affront which even Decency and Good Manners forbid her to put upon us, we are forced to come hither to speak for our selves. You have deprived us of our Fathers, our Children, our Husbands, and our Brothers, accused of the Crime of having offended you; if after that you spoil us of our Goods, you will reduce us to Extremities unbecoming our Birth, our Quality, and our Sex. If you perhaps say we have offended you as well as the Men, prescribe us in the same manner: But if none of you have been declared Enemy by the *Woman*; if we have neither demolished your Houses, nor defeated your Armies, nor given your Dignities to others, nor hindered you from being preferred to Honours and Magistracies, why are we equally punished? Why do you exact Contributions from us, who pretend nothing to Dignities, nor Honours, nor Command of Armies, nor Government of the State, nor all those things for which you dispute among your selves with so much Heat and Obstinacy? But it is because you have War you inflict this on us: Was the *World* ever without War? And were *Women* ever made contribute to it, whom Nature dispenses with by the general Consent of all Nations upon Earth? I know well that in the time of our Ancestors, our Mothers derogating from the Privileges of their Sex, contributed to the Expence of the War; but it was but once, and in a time when the *Roman Empire* and the City it self were in hazard of becoming a Prey to the *Carthaginians*. This too they did voluntarily, and sold not for it either their Lands, or their Houses, or their Foyntures; without which free *Women* cannot subsist. They were content to contribute those *Movables* which only served for Ornament, not to be employed for any certain Use; nor after Rewards promised to

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those that accused them, nor by constraint, but as much as they pleased. Should the Gauls or Parthians invade Italy, and we be demanded to defend our Country, we shall not be less generous than our Mothers; but think not that we will contribute our Estates for Civil Wars, and to maintain one against another. In the War of Pompey nothing was demanded, neither did Marius nor Cinna exact any thing from us: no, nor Sylla himself though he had oppressed that Commonwealth which you pretend to be the reestablishers of.

The Triumvirs were nettled at these words of *Hortensia's*, and thinking it strange, that where Men were silent, Women should dare to speak, and be so bold as to demand of the Magistrates an account of their Actions, and refuse to contribute Money to a War, to which Men payed their persons, commanded the Ushers to make them withdraw from the Tribunal; but the multitude beginning to cry out, the Ushers stopped, and the Triumvirs adjourned the business till the morrow. As soon as it was day, of fourteen hundred Proscripts they retrenched a thousand, and only taxed four hundred; and for the Men it was decreed, that whoever had more than one hundred thousand Drains effective, whether he was Citizen or Sojourner, Freed Man or Priest, of what Nation soever he was, without excepting person, should give in a Declaration of it, of which the fifteenth penny should be taken at interest, and one years Revenue towards the charge of the War, under pain of punishment to the Transgressors, and promise of reward to the Informers. Whilst these Ordinances were published at *Rome*, the Soldiers contemning their Officers, committed greater disorders in the Country, for the power and security of the Triumvirs depending upon them, they demanded either the Houses, Lands, or confiscated Goods of the Proscripts; others would have rich persons to adopt them, others of their own Motion slew Men uncondemned, or plundered the Houses of private Men, insomuch that the Triumvirs deputed one of the Consuls to chastise them, but he durst not touch the Soldiers, for fear of incensing them against himself, only took occasion to hang a few Slaves, who in Soldiers habit committed the same Violences.

- VII. After having related the miseries of the Proscripts, I think it expedient to speak of those who escaped beyond their own hopes, or came afterwards to Dignity in the City, such Examples not being unprofitable to the Reader, who from thence may learn not to lose courage in the worst of misfortunes. A great part of these who could get out of *Italy* made their retreat to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and some to *Cornificius*, who likewise stood for the People in *Africa*, but the greatest part escaped into *Sicily*, which is nigh unto *Italy*, where *Pompey* took care to receive them, and did in this unhappy occasion great services to these miserable People; for in the first place he caused it to be published, that whoever would make their retreat to him, should be welcome, and that he would give to those who saved a Proscript, whether he were Freeman or Slave, double the reward which the Triumvirs promised to the Murderers. Then he appointed great numbers of Barques and other Vessels to go out and meet such as might be escaped to Sea, and his Gallys continually cruised along the Coasts, making Signals to all that passed, and receiving all such as would embarque on them, whom at their landing he in person received, furnished them with Cloaths and Necessaries, and to such as were worthy gave Command in his Army

Army by Sea or Land, and declared he would never come to an Accommodation with the Triumvirs, unless those who had fled for refuge to him were comprised in it. Thus he beneficially served his Country, and besides the Glory derived from his Father, made himself illustrious by his own Virtue. Others that fled or hid themselves in Country Houses, or in Sepulchres, or in the City it self, lived miserably, and in perpetual fear, till the persecution was overpassed, which lasted a good time, during which were found wonderful examples of Friendship, of Wives for their Husbands, of Children for their Parents, and even of Slaves to their Masters, of which we will relate the most memorable.

Paulus Brother to *Lepidus* being proscribed by himself, the Centurions had yet respect for him as he was their General's Brother, so that he retreated in safety to *Brutus*, and after *Brutus's* death to *Miletum*, from whence, though after the peace he were recalled, he vouchsafed not to come.

Lucius, *Anthony's* Uncle, was received into his Sister's House, who kept him a long time without concealing him, because the Centurions respected her as Mother to their General; yet at last when they would have entred, she run to the place; and *Anthony* with his Colleagues being seated on the Tribunal, *I accuse my self, Sir, (said she) that I have received and will receive Lucius into my House till such time as you put us both to death together, since the Proscripts and those that receive them are equally guilty.* *Anthony* answered her, that she was a good Sister, but an ill Mother, and that she either ought not now to save *Lucius*, or have hindred him before from declaring her Son Enemy; yet he took such order, that the Consul *Plancus* exempted him from punishment by a Decree of the People.

Messala, a young Man of noblest Birth, having made his escape to *Brutus*, the Triumvirs, who feared him because of his Generosity, revoked his Proscription in these terms: *Since the Kindred of Messala have attest'd to us that he was not in the City when Cæsar was killed, we have decreed that he be erased out of the Roll of the Proscripts.* But he would not accept their kindness: and yet after *Brutus* and *Cassius* were killed in *Thrace*, when the Army being yet in a good condition, and wanted neither Ships nor Money nor hopes, had chosen him General, he refused it; nay, on the contrary, perswaded the Soldiers to yield to fortune, and take part with *Anthony*. After which he was one of his particular Friends, till such time as affronted by *Cleopatra*. he withdrew to *Cæsar*, who made him Consul in the room of *Anthony* after he was declared Enemy the second time. After which he served under *Cæsar* at the Battel of *Actium*; and in conclusion *Cæsar* having sent him against the revolted Gauls he defeated them, and deserved the Honour of Triumph.

Bibulus, who gained *Anthony's* favour at the same time with *Messala*, and was some time Admiral of his Fleet against *Cæsar*, got at last the Government of *Syria*, where he died.

Acilius, who was dragged out of the City, having been delivered to the Soldiers by one of his Slaves, perswaded them by hopes of great gain to send some of their company to his Wife with the tokens he gave them. They going, she shewed them her Jewels, and told them she would give them all, on condition they would release him, which they promised to do, and though she doubted of their promise, yet her friendship to her Husband was worthy not to be deceived, and the Soldiers hired a Boat for *Acilius*, and sent him for *Sicily*.

Lentulus being watched by his Wife, for fear he should fly without her,

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and he was unwilling she should hazard her self in the danger with him, escaped secretly into *Sicily*, where being made Pretor, he wrote to her the happy success of his flight, and the Honour he had received from *Pompey*. When she knew where her Husband was, she stole from her vigilant Mother, and only with two Slaves and her self in the habit of a Servant came with much trouble and labour to *Rhegium*, from whence towards Evening she got passage to *Messina*; where having easily found the Pretor's House, she found *Lentulus*, not in the Equipage of a Pretor, but lying on the ground upon a Mattress, with untrimmed Hair and a slender Supper, all out of grief and impatience to see his Wife.

Apuleius's Wife threatened to have him taken if he fled away alone; so that he was constrained to carry her along with him, which made none be suspicious of his flight, seeing him march publickly with his Wife, Men, and Maid-Servants. And *Antius* his Wife wrapped him in Coverlids, and made him be carried like a Pack to the Sea side, from whence he escaped into *Sicily*.

Reginus his Wife made her Husband by night go down the Privy, of which he smelt so strong next Morning, that the Soldiers loath to come near him, the next day she cloathed him like a Collier, giving him an Ass loaden with Charcoal to drive before him, and she at a small distance went before in her Litter. One of the Soldiers that had the Guard of the Gate had some suspicion of the Litter, and would needs see what was in it. *Reginus*, who was in fear for his Wife, came up praying the Soldier (as in passing) not to affront Women: and the Soldier having at first given him a surly answer as to a Collier, at last knowing him, for he had born Arms under him in *Syria*, said to him, *Save your self without fearing any thing, my General, for it is yet reasonable that I call you so.*

Copponius by means of his Wife, who had been chaste hitherto, got his pardon of *Anthony*; but she remedied one mischief by another.

Geta's Son made a Funeral Pile for his Father's Body, as if he had strangled himself, and sent to hide him at a Town he had lately purchased in the Country, where the old man, the better to disguise himself, clapped a Plaister on one eye: and after the Peace was concluded, found that for want of making use of his eye, he was indeed blind of it.

Oppius refusing to flie, because he was already old and infirm, his Son took him upon his Shoulders, carried him out of the City, and laboured so long, that sometimes leading, and sometimes carrying him, he brought him at last to *Sicily*, without any ones having the least suspicion, or doing them the least injury. Thus we paint *Aeneas*, respected by his Enemies themselves, for carrying his Father. The People afterwards gave the *Aedility* to this young Man, out of respect to his Piety, and because his Father's estate being confiscate, he had nothing to defray the expence of those Plays, the Artizans with one accord supplied him gratis with whatever he wanted from each several Trade, and every Spectator cast what Money he pleased on the Stage, so that he became rich.

Arrius likewise by Will ordered this Epitaph to be engraven on his Sepulchre:

Here lie the Asbes of a Proscript, whose Son not proscribed, concealed, accompanied in his flight, and saved from the Proscription.

There lived in these times two *Metellus's*, the Father and the Son, whereof the Father having command under *Anthony* at the Battel of *Acti-*

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um, was taken without being known, the Son siding with *Cæsar* had Command under him in the same Battel. When *Cæsar* being at *Samo*, would needs see the Prisoners; this old Man was brought among the rest, his Hair long, and so filthy, that he was not to be known; but when they called him in his order of the Roll, the Son who was seated near *Cæsar*, hearing the name of *Metellus*, leaped from his place, and ran with tears in his eyes to embrace his Father, whom he scarcely knew; and then restraining his tears, spoke thus to *Cæsar*: *He bore Arms against you, I have served you: he deserves punishment, I reward, I beseech you then either pardon my Father in consideration of the services I have done you; or let me die with him for the offences he has committed against you.* This Discourse moving all the Assembly to compassion, *Cæsar* promised to give life to *Metellus*, though he had been his greatest Enemy, and that he could never by any offers he made, oblige him to serve against *Anthony*.

The Slaves of *Marcius* were so faithful, and so fortunate as to keep him in the House all the time of the Proscription, insomuch that when the danger was over, he came out of his House, as if he came out of Banishment.

Hirtius being escaped out of the City with his Slaves, went throughout *Italy*, releasing Prisoners, gathering together Fugitives, and at first plundering small Towns, afterwards greater, till such time as he beheld himself at the Head of considerable Forces, and subdued the Brutians, but the Triumvirate sending against him a potent Army, he retreated with all his People to *Pompey*.

Restion thinking to flee alone, was privately followed by one of his Slaves born in his House, whom formerly he had used kindly, but since branded in his Face with a hot Iron for his Roguery. His Master as he was lying down in the Marches, seeing him come, was much affrighted, which the Slave observing, told him the Brand he had set in his Face touched him not so much as the memory of his former Benefits: and at the same time hiding him in a Cave, fed him by his labour in the best manner he could; and afterward perceiving the Soldiers who were not far from the Cave, and were coming thither upon suspicion some one might be there hid, he fell upon an old Man that passed by, slew him, and cut off his Head; whereupon the Soldiers wondring at the action, and laying hold on him as a Murderer, he told him: *It is Restion my Master whom I have thus slain, to revenge these marks of Infamy*; whereupon they presently took from him the Head, that they might have the reward, which, whilst they in vain went to seek at the City, he removed his Master thence, and got him a passage into *Sicily*.

Appius being in Bed in a small Country House, whither the Soldiers came to seek him, one of his Slaves pulled off his Cloaths, which making him put on, he lay down in the Bed as if he had been the Master, and was willingly slain for him, *Appius* standing by in the Habit of a Slave.

In the same manner *Menenius* being besieged by the Soldiers in his House, one of the Slaves went into his Litter, and caused himself to be carried out by some of his Comrades, who contributed to his design, and so was killed for his Master, who by that means escaped for *Sicily*.

A Freed Man of *Fonius*, called *Philemon*, who dwelt in a magnificent House, hid him in a publick Room in a strong Chest made to keep Writings or Plate, and fed him by night till the time of peace.

Another Freed Man to whom was committed the keeping of his Master's Sepulchre, whose Son was likewise proscribed, kept there both Father and Son.

Lucretius

Lucretius having wandered some time up and down the Fields with two faithful Slaves, was at last by hunger forced to return and see his Wife, causing himself to that end to be carried by the Slaves in his Litter as a sick Man, one of those that carried him having broke his Leg, he pursued his way, supporting himself upon the other. But when he came near to that Gate where his Father, proscribed by *Sylla*, was taken, and saw a company of Soldiers coming towards him, his heart upon the omen of the place misgave him, and he went and hid himself in a Sepulchre. Certain Thieves used to rob Sepulchres, coming thither, he let himself be stripped. The Slave while his Master lay close was gone towards the Gate, where he waited for him, and when he came, covering him with some part of his Cloaths, carried him in that manner to his Wife. There was in his House a Room double floored, where she hid him, till by the intercession of his Friends he got pardon from the Triumvirs, and after peace was made, obtained the Consulate.

Sergius remained some time hid in *Anthony's* own House, who at last managed Affairs so, by the means of the Consul *Plancus*, that his return was assented to; wherefore when *Caesar* and *Anthony* after fell at odds, when the Senate declared *Anthony* Enemy, *Sergius* was the only man that openly opposed it.

As for *Pomponius*, he took the Habit and Ensign of a Pretor, and having cloathed his Slaves like Ushers, went as a Pretor all the length of the City with his Litters, his Officers crowding close about him for fear he should be known by others; being got out of the Gates he mounted in one of the publick Coaches, and marching in this Equipage through *Italy*, was every where received as a Pretor deputed from the Triumvirs to make peace with *Pompey*, till such time as he passed into *Sicily* upon one of the publick Gallies.

Apuleius and *Aruntius* acted the Centurions, armed their Slaves like Soldiers, and run about the City as if they had pursued some Proscript. At length separating, they began to release Prisoners, and to gather together Fugitives, till having levied some Troops, each beheld himself with Ensigns, Arms, and a certain kind of Army; both one and the other strove to get the Sea side, and therefore came to encamp on certain eminencies in view of each other, one mightily afraid of the other. Morning coming on they took one the other for Enemies, came down from the Hills, and engaged each other, till at length, knowing their error, they threw down their Arms, and with tears embraced, casting this accident on fortune which had been cross to them in all things. After that they embarked and made their retreat, *Aruntius* to *Pompey*, with whom he returned to the City, and *Apuleius* to *Brutus*, whose Lieutenant he was in the Government of *Bithynia*, which after *Brutus's* death falling to *Anthony*, he permitted him to return to his House.

As soon as *Ventidius* was proscribed, one of his Freed Men bound him, as if it were to deliver him to the Executioners, the Night following he armed all his Slaves like Soldiers, and as if he had been Centurion brought forth his Patron, and managed his business with so much cunning, that crossing in this manner all *Italy* as far as *Sicily*, they lodged often in the same Inn with other Centurions, under pretence of searching for *Ventidius*.

Another whom his Freed Man had hid in a Sepulchre, being struck with horror at such a Lodging, went and hired a wretched Chamber next to one hired by a Soldier, where not able to endure to live in continual fear, he passed from infinite terrour to prodigious boldness, and causing himself to be

be shaved, went and kept a School in *Rome* it self, till such time as peace was made.

Volusus being proscribed whilst he was *Ædile*, had a Friend, Priest to the Goddess *Isis*, who lent him a Linnen Robe that covered him to the very Heels, so that passing through the Country in the habit of a Priest to that Goddess, and every where performing the usual Ceremonies, he escaped to *Pompey*.

Sittius a Native of *Cales*, as he was very rich, so he had been at great expence in the service of his Countrymen, in acknowledging of which they took Arms in his defence, threatened his Slaves with death, if any ill happened to him, and permitted not the Soldiers to approach their Walls, till such time as the mischief diminishing, they sent to the *Triumvirs*, and obtained from them that he might stay in his own Country, banished from any part of *Italy*. So *Sittius* became the only person of all mankind that ever was in exile in his own Country.

Varro a Philosopher, Historian, Soldier, and General of great Reputation, was also proscribed, possibly for being so, as an Enemy to Monarchy. All his Friends were at strife who should have the Honour to secure him, *Calenus* carried it, and kept him in a Country House of his, where *Anthony* often diverted himself as he passed by; yet none, either of *Varro's* or *Calenus's* Slaves discovered him.

Virginus a fair spoken Man perswaded his Domesticks, that if they slew him for a small gain, which yet they were not sure of, they would be afflicted with eternal remorse of conscience; whereas on the contrary by saving his life they might expect immortal Glory, and hope for rewards greater and more certain; wherefore, as if they had been one of his companions, they followed him in his flight, wherein being known by the Soldiers, he talked to them in the same manner, he told them that there was no hate between them for which they should kill him, and that doing it only for Money, they might get more and more honestly if they would go with him to the Sea side, whither his Wife was to bring all he had. They believed him, and went along, and indeed his Wife had been there according to agreement betwixt them, but *Virginus* staying too long, she believed, that coming there before her he was embarked, and therefore embarked to follow him, yet leaving a Slave on the Shore to give *Virginus* notice, if he were yet behind. The Slave seeing *Virginus* coming, ran to meet him, and shewed him the Vessel wherein his Wife was, not yet out of sight, and withal talked to him of his Wife, his Money, and the reason why she left him. The Soldiers were so absolutely perswaded, that when *Virginus* entreated them either to stay till he could make his Wife return, or to embark with him to go after her, and receive their Money, they entred with him into the Vessel, and themselves setting hand to the Oars brought him into *Sicily*, where after having received what he had promised them, they continued in his service till the time of the Peace.

Rebulus being in a Vessel that was to carry him for *Sicily*, the Pilot began to demand Money of him, threatening to discover him if he gave it him not, to whom *Rebulus* made a like answer, as *Themistocles* had done in his flight that he would have saved a Proscript for Money, insomuch that the Pilot affrighted with the answer, brought him speedily to *Pompey*.

Murcus was likewise proscribed because he had Command in *Brutus's* Army, and being taken after *Brutus* was defeated, he feigned himself a Slave: *Barbula* bought him, and because he saw him active, gave him the Government

Government of all his other Slaves, and withal made him his Cash-keeper. *Marcus* behaved himself in this Employment with more prudence than nature ordinarily gives to Slaves, his Master hereupon had some suspicion of him, and exhorting him to courage, promised to secure him, though he were one of the Proscripts, which he constantly denyed, telling him out of his own invention his Name, his Family, and his former Masters. *Barbula* thereupon carried him to *Rome*, thinking if he were one of the Proscripts he would be loath to go: however he followed him; but some time after as *Barbula* was before one of the Consul's Gates, one of his Friends knowing *Marcus* in his Train in the Habit of a Slave gave him notice of it, and he by the intercession of *Agrippa* desired his pardon of *Cesar*, who caused him to be crazed out of the Roll of the Proscripts, esteemed him afterwards as his Friend, and employed him not long after in the Battel of *Actium* against *Anthony*. *Barbula* served under *Anthony*, and fortune had ordered each of them his turn; for *Barbula* after *Anthony's* Defeat was taken prisoner, feigning himself a Slave, *Marcus* bought him as if he had not known him, and gave advice of it to *Cesar*, from whom he obtained power to return him like for like; and this conformity of fortune between them continued ever; for they were afterwards Colleagues in one of the highest Dignities of the City.

Some time after *Lepidus* reduced by *Cesar* to the condition of a private Man from a Sovereign, that he was constrained by a like necessity to submit to *Balbinus*, who escaping the Proscription returned with *Pompey*, and was now Consul, and thus it happened, *Mecenas* had accused *Lepidus* the Son, of a Conspiracy against *Cesar*, together with the Mother as an Accomplice; for *Lepidus* himself he despised as weak. The Son being sent to *Cesar* then at *Actium*, *Mecenas* caused it to be ordered, that if the Mother would be dispensed with from the toil of the Journey, she should give in such security as the Consul should approve, but none being found would be bound for her: *Lepidus* having often in vain presented himself before *Balbinus's* Gate, and sometimes too before the Tribunal, from whence the Officers had forced him to retire, had scarce the liberty at last to say these words: *The accusers themselves are testimonies of my innocency, by saying I am no Abettor with my Wife and Son. 'Twas not I proscribed you, and at this day I am my self under the power of Proscribers; wherefore let me beg you to consider the instability of humane things, and to accept my security for my Wife, or send me prisoner along with her.* *Lepidus* having thus spoke, *Balbinus* moved at this great change, discharged his Wife from the security demanded.

Cicero the Son of the Orator being sent into *Greece* by his Father, who foresaw the miseries that afterwards happened, retired first to *Brutus*, and afterwards to *Pompey*, and had both under one and the other very honourable Employments in the War. At last *Cesar* to make it appear he had not consented to his Father's death, made his Son first Pontifex or High Priest, sometime after Consul, and in the end Proconsul of *Syria*: and then when *Cesar* after having defeated *Anthony* at *Actium*, wrote news of it to *Rome*: *Cicero* as Consul read it in full Assembly, and fixed a Copy before the Tribunal for Orations, where formerly his Father's Head had been exposed.

Appius after having deposited what Goods he had in the hands of his Slaves, embarked himself to go with them into *Sicily*. A Tempest arising, the Slaves who were desirous to enrich themselves with his Money, perswaded him there was more security in the Boat, and prevailed with him to go into her. But fortune would that against all probability he was saved, and the slaves all perished.

Publius

Publius, * Questor to *Brutus*, who had been solicited by *Anthony's* People to betray his General, and was proscribed by the Triumvirate for not consenting, returned at last to *Rome*, and was beloved by *Cæsar* to that degree, that when *Publius* shewed him Pictures of *Brutus* in his House, he yet esteemed him the more. These are the most memorable accidents happened to some Proscripts who escaped the danger.

Whilst these things passed at *Rome*, all the rest of the Empire concern'd either for one or the other party was filled with Wars, especially in *Africa*, between *Sextus* and *Cornificius*, in *Syria* between *Cassius* and *Dolabella*, and in *Sicily* against *Pompey*, in which Actions many Cities were forced, as *Liodicea*, *Tharsus*, *Rhodes*, *Patara* and *Xant*, not to speak of others less considerable; the particulars whereof we will relate in the briefest method possible. The Romans divide *Africa* into two Provinces, of which, they call that the old which they conquered from the Carthaginians, and that whereof *Cæsar* had newly despoiled King *Juba* they call the new, that is *Numidia*. *Sextus* sent into this last in quality of *Cæsar's* Lieutenant, gave Commands to *Cornificius* to surrender to him the old, because by the division made among the Triumvirate all *Africa* belonged to *Cæsar*: *Cornificius* made answer, that he knew nothing of any such Division, and could not without orders of the Senate quit the Government of a Province they had given him in charge, whereupon they declared War: *Cornificius* had an Army both better disciplin'd, and stronger in Men than *Sextus*, who having only light armed Foot made incursions into *Cornificius's* Government, and daily drew some to his Party, till such time as *Ventidius* Lieutenant to *Cornificius* coming against him with more Forces than he had, besieged him, and *Lelius* the other Lieutenant of the same *Cornificius* entred into *Sextus's* Province, and besieged *Cirta*. Mean time both Parties sent to demand alliance of King *Arabion*, and those they call Sittiens, for the reason we are going to relate. *Sittius* accused of crimes at *Rome*, not daring stand a trial, fled, and gathering together some Forces as well in *Italy* as *Spain*, went over into *Africa*. There happened then to be War between the African Kings, wherein *Sittius* taking sometimes one part, and sometimes another, and still carrying Victory to that side he joyned with, soon gained a fair reputation, and by exercising his Army made it capable of great Attempts. He served likewise *C. Cæsar* when he came to make War upon those who took part with *Pompey*, and slew *Saburra* Lieutenant to King *Juba*, in acknowledgment of which services *Cæsar* gave him the confiscation of *Manasses's* Estate, yet not all of it, but the better part. *Manasses* was Father of this *Arabion*, and for having assisted King *Juba*, *Cæsar* divided his Country between *Sittius* and *Bocchus* King of the Moors. *Sittius* distributed his part to his Soldiers, and *Arabion* went over into *Spain* to *Pompey's* Sons. After *Cæsar's* death he returned into *Africa*, from whence he continually sent fresh Troops of Africans to *Sextus* the Son of *Pompey*, who being returned from *Spain* well experienced, he drove out *Bocchus*, and got rid of *Sittius* by treason, and though he had an inclination for *Pompey's* Children, because of the good Offices he had received, yet would he no longer oblige himself to that Party which he saw forsaken by fortune, but chose rather to declare for *Sextus*, by whose means he hoped to gain *Cæsar's* favour, and the Sittiens in consideration of his Father's kindness to them, did the same: *Sextus* encouraged by such a reinforcement went and charged *Ventidius*, routs his People, cuts the most part in pieces, and takes a great many Prisoners. News whereof being brought to *Lelius*, he raises the Siege of *Cirta*, and returns

VIII.

town with *Corneius*. *Sextius* puff'd up with this success, marches against *Corneius*, who lay near *Utica* with much greater Forces; and encamp'd close by him. There *Zelus* being commanded out with his Horse, to the discovery of the Posture of the Enemy, *Sextius* gives Order to *Arabion* to go charge him in Front with his Horse; and he with his Light-armed Foot gains the Flank, whilst he thought to have to deal only with Horse. He charges him so home, that *Zelus*, before he received farther disgrace, fearing to be surrounded, and his Retreat cut off, goes and seizes upon an Eminence in the midst of the Campaign; where *Arabion* in his Rear having slain many of his Horse-men, invests him. *Corneius* seeing that, sallies out of the Camp with his best Troops: *Sextius* falls in his Rear: He faces about; and during the Fight, wherein he is hard put to it, *Arabion* sends privately to his Camp people used to clamber up Rocks; who make themselves Masters of it. *Rufus*, who had the Guard of it, makes one of his people kill him. *Corneius* tired out with fighting, not knowing his Camp was taken, hastes towards the Eminence to make good his Retreat to *Zelus*; but *Arabion* getting between him and his mark, he was cut in pieces. *Zelus*, who beheld all this from the place where he was, kills himself. The Army seeing their Commanders dead, made every Man the best way he could. The Proscripts that were with *Corneius* fled, some to *Sicily*, others where best they might. *Sextius* gave to *Arabion* and the Sittians great quantity of Spoils; and pardoning the Cities, received them under the Obedience of *Cesar*. Thus ended the War in *Libya* between *Sextius* and *Corneius*; which was thus short, as it seems, by reason of the heat of the Commanders.

IX.

We will now speak of what was done by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, after having made some short repetition of what has been said before, for the better understanding the whole. *Cesar* being slain, the Conspirators seized the Capitol; from whence they defended after the Senate had proclaimed the Indemnity. Afterward, the people moved for *Cesar*'s death, took Fire-brands from his Funeral-pile, and clapped them to the Houses of the Conspirators; which defending themselves from above, repulsed the multitude, and soon after every one of them retired into the Governments which *Cesar* had given them. *Cassius* and *Brutus* exercised still the Office of Pretors in the City, and had been designed Pro-Pretors by *Cesar*; *Cassius* of *Syria*, and *Brutus* of *Macedon*. But because the time appointed for their going to their Provinces was not yet come, and that without fear they could not stay in the City. The Senate sent them out honourably, under pretence of giving them the Superintendence of Provision, lest otherwise they should seem to have fled. After they were gone the Governments of *Syria* and *Macedon* were given by Decree to the Consuls, *Anthony* and *Dolabella*, against the mind of most of the Senate; and yet in some manner to recompence *Brutus* and *Cassius*, they granted them *Crete* and *Cyrene*: But they despising these Governments because they were too small, began by Money to allure themselves of Forces, with intent to seize upon *Syria* and *Macedon*. To this end they were labouring, when *Tribonius* being slain by *Dolabella*, and *Dolabella* belieged in *Gaul* by *Anthony*, the Senate offended, declared *Anthony* and *Dolabella* Enemies, confirmed *Brutus* and *Cassius* in their first Governments, added *Libya* to that of *Brutus*; and gave Command to all Governors, and all Soldiers of the Oriental Provinces, to receive the Orders of *Cassius* and *Brutus*. After which *Cassius*, without considering *Dolabella*, advances to possess himself of *Syria*, with the Ensigns of Com-

Command, together with twelve compleat Legions of Old Soldiers, who had served their Apprenticeship under *Cæsar*. For *Cæsar* having already in his thoughts the War against the Parthians, had left one in *Syria* under the Charge of *Cecilius Bassus*, as Lieutenant to *Sextus Julius*, his Kinsman, yet very young : who roving about the Country to take his pleasure, used to carry his Legion along with him, contrary to all Decency : which when *Bassus* reprehended unto him, he reviled him. And another time when he sent for *Bassus*, because he came not immediately, he commanded to bring him by force : This Command raised a Tumult, and the Tumult a Scuffle, wherein the Soldiers no longer able to bear with *Julius* insolence, slew him with their Javelins : But at the same instant they repented themselves, for they feared *Cæsar* ; wherefore they swore mutually to one another, that if he granted them not a Pardon for this Action, they would defend themselves to the death. They likewise forced *Bassus* to be of the Conspiracy ; and raised another Legion, whom they exercised after the Roman way of Discipline. *Sextus Marcus*, sent by *Cæsar* against them with three Legions, was repulsed ; till such time as having called to his Assistance *Minutius Crispus*, with three other Legions out of *Bithynia*, *Bassus* found himself besieged by six Legions, when *Cassius* coming that way, *Bassus* Army voluntarily submitted to him, and soon after the six Legions commanded by *Marcus* and *Minutius* ; whether they had an inclination for him, or else were willing to obey him in compliance with the Senate's Decree. *Allienus* sent some time before by *Dolabella* into *Egypt*, now brought thence four Legions of the Remains of *Pompey's* and *Crassus* Defeats ; or of those which *Cæsar*, at his departure from *Egypt*, had left in *Cleopatra's* Service. *Cassius* surprized him in *Palestine*, and forced to take part with him ; for he durst not resist eight Legions, having but four. Thus, beyond all expectation, he found himself Master of twelve Legions, besides a great number of Parthian Archers on Horse-back, who were come to offer themselves to him out of the great Esteem he had gained among them, when being Questor to *Crassus*, they judged him more prudent than his General. *Dolabella*, since *Trebonius* death, had stayed in *Ionia* ; where he exacted great store of Money from the Cities, and prepared a Fleet of Ships which *Livius Figulus* hired from the *Rhodians*, *Lycians*, *Pamphilians* and *Cilicians*. So that having made these Preparations, he attempted to seize upon *Syria* ; and to that purpose took his March by Land with two Legions, and gave order to *Figulus* to follow him by Sea : But when he understood the State of *Cassius* his Power, he turned into *Laodicea*, a City affectionate to his Interests, and situate on a Peninsula fortified to the Land ; and whereof the Port was very commodious to enter with Provisions, or to go out again whenever they had a mind to set Sail. As soon as *Cassius* had notice hereof, that *Dolabella* might not escape him, he caused to be raised at the Neck of the Peninsula, which was two Furlongs over, a Bulwark of the same length, raised with Stones and other sorts of Materials, which he took from the Houses and Sepulchres that were in the Suburbs. He sent likewise to require Shipping from the Phenicians, Lycians and Rhodians ; who all refused him : But though only the Sidonians sent theirs to him, he forbore not with them to assault *Dolabella's* Navy. There was in this Fight a great many Ships sunk of one side and the other ; nevertheless, at last *Dolabella* got five, with all the Sea-men and Soldiers in them. *Cassius* sent afresh to demand Aid of those had refused him at first ; and besides them, to *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Egypt* ; and to *Serapion*, who commanded for her in *Cyprus*. The Tyrians, the Aradians and *Serapion* (without the Queen's Order) sent him all they

had : But the Queen pretended that *Egypt* was afflicted with Famine and Plague to excuse her self ; though indeed, for the first *Cæsar's* sake, she was concerned for *Dolabella*, had already sent him four Legions by *Allienus*, and had likewise at that present a Fleet in readiness to relieve him, which only stayed till the foul Weather Season was past. As for the Rhodians and Lycians, they made Answer, that they would serve neither *Brutus* nor *Cassius* in a Civil War ; and that they had lent their Ships to *Dolabella* for passage only, not believing he would make use of them in War. After this Answer, *Cassius*, with those Forces he had, returned to give an Assault to *Dolabella's* Fleet ; where the advantage was very doubtful at first, but at last *Dolabella* suffered some loss. At the same time the Bulwark being finished, they planted Batteries ; and whilst they played at the Wall, *Cassius* laboured to corrupt the Guards : And not being able to gain *Marsus*, who commanded the Guard by Night, he prevailed with the Centurions that did it by Day ; who, when *Marsus* was gone to his Repose, let in *Cassius* at many little Posterns. The City being taken, *Dolabella* commanded one of his People to cut off his Head, and carry it to *Cassius*, to save his own : He obeyed in the first point, but after killed himself upon his Master's Body : *Marsus* likewise slew himself. *Cassius* took an Oath from *Dolabella's* Army, plundered the Temples and Treasuries of *Laodicea*, put to death the principal Inhabitants, and taxed the rest in vast Sums ; so that he reduced the City to extreme necessity. From *Laodicea*, he took his March towards *Egypt*, upon the News that *Cleopatra* was going with a great Fleet to meet *Cæsar* and *Anthony*. He hoped to hinder that Queen's Voyage, and to revenge himself of her : and indeed, he was very desirous to have siezed upon *Egypt*, then oppressed with Famine, and disturnished of Men of War, *Allienus* having lately drawn thence the four Legions. And it is probable something might have been done, but *Brutus* sent for *Cassius* in haste, because *Cæsar* and *Anthony* had passed the Ionian Sea. Thus *Cassius* diverted from the Expedition of *Egypt*, of which he had great hopes, dismissed the Parthians with Rewards, and sent Ambassadors to their King, to demand a greater Succor ; which arriving after the Defeat, over-run *Syria* and the Neighbouring Provinces, as far as *Ionia*, and so returned. After this, having left his Nephew in *Syria* with one Legion, he sent his Horse before into *Cappadocia* ; surprized *Ariobarzanes*, under pretence that he had deserted *Cassius*, and defeated him, and brought to the General all his Treasures and Provisions which he had made ready for the War. Those of *Tarsus* being divided into two Factions, the one had first received *Cassius*, and made him a Present of a Crown ; the other some time after payed the same Honours to *Dolabella* ; and both acted in the Name of the Community : So that by having received sometimes one and sometimes the other, they exposed their City to be punished by both for their Inconstancy ; and at last *Cassius*, after *Dolabella's* death, taxed them in fifteen hundred Talents. They were already so poor, that they had not wherewithal to pay this Sum ; but the Soldiers tormented them with a thousand Cruelties to make them find it : They sold first all the Publick Goods ; then things consecrated, even to the Ornaments of the Temples, and the Offerings had been made : Which yet amounting not to the least part of the Sum, the Magistrates sold the Free Persons ; first the Maids and Children, then the Women and Old Men, who yielded but little ; and after all, the Young Men, many of which slew themselves. At last *Cassius* returning from *Syria*, had compassion on their misery, and remitted the Remander of the Tax. These were the Calamities wherewith *Tarsus* and *Laodicea* were afflicted.

Cassius

Cassius and *Brutus* consulting together what they were best to do ; *Brutus* was of Opinion they should go into *Macedon*, and give Battel to the Enemies, who had forty Legions ; eight of which had already passed the Ionian Sea. *Cassius* judged on the contrary ; that the Enemy being so numerous were not to be dreaded, seeing they would scatter of themselves for want of Provisions : and therefore, that it were better to begin the War with the Rhodians and Lycians, who held for the Enemies, and were very strong in Shipping, lest they should fall into their Rear whilst they were engaged with *Cæsar* and *Anthony*. This Opinion was followed ; *Brutus* undertook the Lycians, and *Cassius* those of *Rhodes*, where he had been educated, and had studied those Sciences taught in *Greece*. And because he had to deal with People very expert in Sea-Fights, he fitted up all the Ships he had, manned them both with Sea-Men and Soldiers, and exercised them at *Mynda*. As for the Rhodians, the most prudent of them were fearful to come to Extremities with the Romans ; but the People made insolent with those Victories, which they remembred to have gained against People, to whom the Romans were no ways comparable, were very glad of it ; and began to set in order three and thirty of the best Vessels they had. However, they sent Deputies to *Cassius* to desire him not to condemn *Rhodes*, which had always revenged it self on those that had despised them : Nor to violate the Treaties between the Romans and the Rhodians, by which they had promised not to bear Arms one against the other. That if he found fault with them for refusing their Ships, they would send Deputies to the Senate ; and if the Senate ordered it, they would assist him with all their Forces. To this *Cassius* made Answer, that now it was no more time to make use of Words, but Arms : That as for those Treaties which obliged them not to bear Arms one against another, they had first violated them by assisting *Dolob* against him : That the same Treaties contained likewise a Promise of assisting one the other ; and that when *Cassius* demanded theirs, they mocked him with a pretence of sending Deputies to the Senate, now dispersed into all parts in their flight from those Tyrants had made themselves Lords of the City ; Tyrants which he would punish as well as the Rhodians their Abettors, if they did not suddenly submit themselves. This Answer increased the fear of the Wise Men : But the People suffered themselves to be led by *Alexander* and *Mnasæus* ; who encouraged them by putting them in mind how *Mithridates*, and before him *Demetrius*, had in vain attempted *Rhodes* with far greater numbers of Shipping. Wherefore they made *Alexander* Prytane, which is the chief and most powerful Magistrate of the City ; and *Mnasæus* they made Admiral. However, they again deputed to *Cassius*, *Archelaus*, under whom he had studied the Greek Learning ; who, as one that had lived familiarly with him, taking him by the hand, spoke thus.

The Speech of Archelaus to Cassius.

Will you that love the Greeks, ruin a Greek City ; and that fight for Liberty, take it from Rhodes that is a Free City ? Are you envious of the Glory of the Dorick Nation, which never yet was overcome ; or have you forgot those Noble Stories you learnt at Rhodes, and at Rome it self ? At Rhodes the mighty Actions the Rhodians, when assaulted in their City, have done against a number of Kings ; and above all, against those were thought invincible, Demetrius and Mithridates, for the Defence of that Liberty for which you say you are now in Arms ? At Rome, the important Services we have done the Romans, especially against King Antiochus ; the Monuments of which you may there behold engraven in Copper ? This I say to oblige you to consider our Nation, the Honour of our City, its good Fortune which never yet abandoned it, its Affection to the Romans, and the Assistance it has offered them. But as to what may concern your self, Cassius ; you ought particularly to bear some respect to a City wherein you have been educated, taught, cured of your Sickness, and where you have a long time sojourned, and that even in my School ; which makes me hope that the pains I have formerly took in instructing you, will not prove unprofitable to my Country, in dispensing her from engaging in a War with her Nursling and Scholar ; wherein of two things, one must be inevitable ; all the Rhodians must perish, or Cassius must be overcome. I will add a little Counsel to the Request I make you. In the important Affair wherein you are engaged for the Publick Good, take the Gods for the Guide of all your Actions ; those Gods by which you swore, when by Cæsar's intermission we last renewed the Alliance between us ; and after we had sworn mutually, gave hands in token of that Faith which ought to be kept, even to Enemies ; but with much more reason to Friends, and those from whom we have received our Education. Besides, we ought not only to consider the Gods, but also take care to preserve our Reputation for the sake of Men ; for those who violate Treaties are abhorred of all the World ; and after having once broke it, neither Friends nor Enemies have any more Reliance on their Word.

XI. After these words the Old Man let not go his Hand, but wet it with his tears ; which Cassius could not see without blushing : and yet at last he made this Answer.

Cassius's Answer to Archelaus.

IF you dissuaded not the Rhodians from affronting me, you have affronted me your self ; and if you told them your thoughts, because they did not believe you, I will revenge you. Now, it is manifest they have affronted me, first in refusing that Assistance I demanded, in which they have despised me ; Me that have been bred and educated in their City. Secondly, In preferring Dolabella before me, who was neither fed nor bred there : And what is yet more odious ; whilst Brutus, and I, and all the rest of the Senators that fly from Tyranny, labour

how as you see to restore our Country to Liberty; and that Dolabella and others, whose Party you favour, oppress it. You, Gentlemen of Rhodes, that are such mighty Lovers of Liberty, you make a pretence that you will not concern yourselves in our Civil Wars; though this be no Civil War, since we pretend not to the Sovereignty. It is a declared War against Tyrants, and the Republick demands your Assistance; you decline it by desiring to be left in Liberty, under colour that you have Alliance with the Romans, and yet have no compassion for so many Romans unjustly condemned to death, and proscribed, with Confiscation of their Goods; feigning that you expect the Orders of the Senate, now so oppressed, that it is in no power of defending it self: Yet it is a long time since you received those Orders by Decree, commanding all the Oriental Provinces to obey Brutus and I. As for you, Archelaus, you set a great value upon the Services the Rhodians have done us in the increase of our Empire, and of which you have received ample Recompence: But you say nothing to what you owe to our Assistance, now that we fight for Liberty and the Safety of our Country; though the Dorians, had we never had any Commerce together, ought to gain the Romans Friendship, defend from Oppression the Roman Commonwealth. If without considering any of these Reasons, you stand upon the terms of Alliance made between us by Julius Cæsar, the Founder of the Tyranny; it expressly says that the People of Rome and the People of Rhodes shall assist one the other in necessity. Assist therefore the Romans in the Extremity wherein they now are; Cassius summons you to it according to the terms of the Treaty: He is a Roman, and Commander over the Romans, authorized by Decree, which commands all the People of the East to receive his Orders: Brutus requires the Execution of the same Decree; and Pompey too, appointed by the Senate to the Superintendence of Sea Affairs. Add to these the Prayers of all the Senators who are escaped, part to Brutus and me, and part to Pompey; though by the Treaty the Rhodians are to help any single Roman that calls to them for Aid. But if you take not us either for Pretors, or so much as for Romans; but treat us like Strangers or Fugitives, or as the Tyrants call us, for condemned Men; you have indeed no Alliance with us, but with the People of Rome: But we Strangers that are not comprehended in this Treaty, will make War upon you till you pay us an absolute Submission.

After this Answer Cassius dismissed Archelaus with much Civility: And after his Return Alexander and Mnasæus, the Commanders of the Rhodians went to Myndus with their three and thirty Ships, to out-brave Cassius; and it may be too, they had some hopes of Victory, the remembrance how they dealt with Mithridates near this place begetting thoughts in them that they might now likewise come off with success. The first day they were satisfied with shewing their skill at the Oar, and so returned to Grindus: The next day they came again resolved to fall upon Cassius Fleet: The Romans wondring at their boldness, weighed, and went to meet them; and now they fought bravely on both sides. The Rhodians by nimble rowing hither and thither, with their lighter Vessels charged the Romans sometimes in the Bow, and sometimes on the Broad-side; but when the Romans could grapple with them, they fought with them hand to hand, as if upon firm Ground. At last, Cassius having a greater number of Ships than the Enemy, surrounded them in that manner, that they could no more turn about in that nimble manner as before; but if charging the Romans a Head, they went presently off again, they must needs come to damage, being closely blocked up: And the Rhodian Prows not being able to pierce the strong

strong built Roman Ships, whereas the Roman gave shrewd shocks whenever they joyned Board and Board to the lighter Rhodians. So that at last they had three Ships taken with all their Gang, and two sunk; the rest escaped to *Rhodes*, but in an ill condition; and the Romans retreated to *Mylus*, where they refitted several of their Ships that had come to damage. Such was the Success of the Sea-fight between the Romans and Rhodians near *Mylus*; where *Cassius* was not in person, but beheld it from the top of a Hill. After he had refitted his Ships, he came to *Zoryna*, a Fort standing upon the Continent, but by the Sea side, and belonging to the Rhodians. From hence he transported his Land Army, commanded by *Famius* and *Lentulus*, upon Ships of Burthen into the Island; and himself with fourscore Galleys, went and anchored near the City, besieged now by Sea and Land; where he for some time remained without doing any thing, in hopes the Enemy would submit: But they charged him as fiercely as at first; and again with the loss of two Ships, found themselves invested on all sides. The Walls were immediately lined round with Soldiers, to defend themselves from *Famius*, who at the same time stormed the City by Land; and from *Cassius*, who approached with his Fleet and all things necessary for an Attack. For foreseeing he should stand in need of them, he had brought along Towers of Wood ready framed; which were soon set together and mounted. Thus *Rhodes*, after the ill success of two Fights, was beleagured by Sea and Land; unprepared to sustain a Storm, as is usual in unexpected Surprizes; so that in all likelihood the Enemy would in a short time become Master of it, either by Force or Famine. The most prudent of the Inhabitants had no doubt of it; and were already capitulating with *Famius* and *Lentulus*, when they were all astonished to see *Cassius* with the choicest of his Forces in the midst of the City, without perceiving any Violence, or that he had made use of any Scaling Ladders. Many thought, and not without reason, that some of his Friends in the City had opened him the Wickets to save it from Plunder, or before it should be forced yield for want of Provisions. *Rhodes* being thus taken, *Cassius* seated himself in a Tribunal, upon which was fixed a Spear, as if he had taken the City by Force: and having drawn up his Army to a stand, he published a Proclamation forbidding the Soldiers to plunder or commit any violence upon pain of death. After which he called by name about fifty of the Inhabitants of *Rhodes*, whom he put to death; and five and twenty others which absented themselves, he condemned to Banishment. In conclusion, he spoiled all the Temples, and all the Publick Places of all the Riches, and of all the Gold and Silver which he could find; and moreover, commanded every particular Person to bring in all he had at a prefixed day; with threats to put to death those that concealed any thing, and promise to reward the Informer with the tenth Penny if he were Free, and with Liberty if he were a Slave. At first many ventured upon Concealments, imagining the threats would not be executed with severity; but when they saw the Reward given to the Informers, they grew fearful, and requested that the time might be prolonged; which being granted, some dug up their Money from under Ground, others drew it up out of Wells, others out of Sepulchres; so that they brought much greater quantities than before. To such calamity was the City of *Rhodes* reduced, in which *Lucius Varro* was left Governor. *Cassius* extraordinarily well satisfied to have taken it in so short a time, and to get withal so much Money, gave Command to all the other Provinces to pay him in ten Years Tribute; which was readily performed. Mean time a report was brought that *Cleopatra* with a mighty

mighty Fleet, and great Warlike Preparations were at Sea to go joyn *Cæsar* and *Anthony* : for having formerly underhand favoured their Party for old *Cæsar*'s sake, she now openly declared her self for the fear she stood in of *Cassius*. Wherefore he caused *Marcus* to embark with the best Legion he had, and some Archers ; and in sixty ships sent him to *Peloponnesus*, giving him Order to post himself about *Tenarus* ; from whence himself had taken off all the Cattel and other Provisions in the Peninsula.

We will now relate the Exploits of *Brutus* in *Lycia* : But here it will likewise be necessary to look a little back, the better to revive the remembrance of things. After that he had received from *Apuleius* those Forces he had, with sixteen thousand Talents ; and gathered in the Tributes of *Asia*, he came to *Beotia* : Where the Senate having given him order to employ this Money for his present Necessities, with the Command of the Armies in *Macedon* and *Illyria* ; *Pentidius*, his Predecessor in the Government of this last Province, delivered up to him three Legions, whereof the Illyrian Army was composed. He took at the same time one from *Caius*, *Anthony*'s Brother, whom he found in his Government ; and after raised four Legions more of new Troops. All which together, made eight Legions ; among which were many of *Cæsar*'s Veterans, and great numbers of Macedonians, whom he caused to be exercised in the Roman Discipline : And all this without comprizing his Horse, which were in no small numbers ; and his Light-armed Foot, and Archers. Whilst he was endeavouring to raise Men, and gather up Money, there appeared an Adventure to him from part of *Thrace*. A King of that Country being slain by his Enemies, *Polemocratia* his Widdow, who was fearful for her Son, came to *Brutus* ; recommending her Infant to him, and delivering into his hands the Treasures of her dead Husband. He sent the Infant to the *Cyziceni*ans, to take care of him till he had leisure to go and restore him to his Kingdom : But finding in those Treasures a prodigious quantity of Gold and Silver, he caused it to be coyned into Money. When at the Conference with *Cassius* they had agreed together, that before all other things they would make War upon the *Lycians* and the *Rhodians* ; he undertook to fall upon the *Lycians*, by the Siege of the City of *Xanthus*. The Inhabitants pulled down their Suburbs, lest *Brutus* should lodge in them, or out of them furnish themselves with Materials for the Seige : And fortifying their City, defended themselves by the favour of a Ditch fifty Foot deep, and proportionably broad ; in so much that those on either side could do each other no hurt, unless with Slings or Arrows ; for they stood as if parted by a deep River. *Brutus* resolving to fill this Ditch, caused Mantlets to be made to secure his Men's Approach, and divided the Work by night and day amongst the whole Army ; beginning to labour in good earnest, causing Materials to be with all speed brought from far, and omitting no care or diligence necessary on such an occasion. In short, though at first it seemed likely that either the Enemies would hinder the Work ; or, at least, that it would take up some Months time ; yet it was finished in few days, and *Brutus* found himself at the Foot of the Wall ; where he caused his Machines to be raised, and the Gates stormed by his Foot, continually relieved by fresh Companies sent one after another. Yet for all this did the Besieged, though almost all tired out, and the most wounded, defend themselves as long as their Walls stood. There was already some Breaches made, and their Towers were all shattered ; when *Brutus* well foreseeing what would happen, gave over the Storm at the Gates, and caused his Men to retreat from the Assault. Whereupon, the

Inhabitants imagining this Retreat proceeded from the Negligence or Cowardise of the Besiegers, made a Sally by night upon their Enemies with Torches in their hands. The Romans, who expected them, running in upon them, they took their flight towards the Gates, which those that had the Guard of shut, for fear lest their Enemies should enter with them ; so that there happened a great Slaughter. Some time after those that remained in the City sallyed out at Noon day ; and having beaten off the Guards, fired all the Machines. The Gates being left open because of the misfortune that happened before, there entred with the Inhabitants about two thousand Romans ; and as the rest were thronging in after them, the Portcullis all on a suddain fell upon them ; whether by order of the Xanthians, or that the Ropes that held them broke. Thus of the Romans that had engaged themselves too far, some were lost, and the rest found themselves inclosed, not being able to lift up the Portcullis for want of Cordage : so that knocked down from above by the Xanthians in those narrow Streets, they with much difficulty gained the Publick Place, which was not far off ; where still extremely tormented with the Arrows shot at them : and having neither Bows nor Arrows, they retreated into the Temple of *Sarpedon*, for fear of being at last over-pressed by the multitude. Mean while the Romans troubled, and fearful for those shut within the City, attempted all ways possible to relieve them : And *Brutus* went from Quarter to Quarter, to encourage his Soldiers ; but they could not break open the Gates, almost covered over with Bars of Iron ; and their Ladders and Towers of Wood were burnt. Notwithstanding, some applyed themselves to make new Ladders ; others raised Perches, Forks and other pieces of Timber against the Walls to serve instead of Ladders ; others fastned Iron Hooks upon Ropes, cast them over the Battlements ; and when they caught hold, climbed up by help of the Rope. The Oenandes, Neighbours and Enemies to the Xanthians ; and therefore now serving under *Brutus*, began to scramble up the Rocks and Precipices, where the Romans with much pain followed them ; and though many tumbled back, yet some gained the Wall, and opened a little Gate, before which was a Palisade of very sharp Stakes ; over which some of the bravest, assisted by those already within, passed : So that now being a considerable number, they attempted to break open a great Gate, which was not on the inside lined with Bars of Iron ; to which effect those without laboured likewise. The Xanthians were at the same time fighting with those shut up in the Temple of *Sarpedon*, who made a great noise ; which made those who both within and without were endeavouring to break open the Gate to make one great push for all ; which effecting their business, they about Sun-set entred pell mell into the Town, shouting out as loud as they could, that those in the Temple might hear them. The City being taken, the Inhabitants retreated to their Houses ; where they slew all those they loved best, who of themselves came to offer themselves up to death. *Brutus* hearing the cries and groans which this fury caused throughout the City, thought the Soldiers had been plundering ; and by Proclamation forbad it : But when he understood the true cause, he had compassion of People so fond of their Liberty, and sent to offer them Composition : but they with Darts and Arrows drove back those that came to speak with them ; and after having slain all their Domesticks, and layd their Bodies upon Piles, they set them on fire ; and then slaying themselves, they burnt with the rest. *Brutus* preserved from the flame all the Temples he could, and took Prisoners only a few Slaves, and about one hundred and fifty Virgins and Women who had no Men to kill them. And this was the third time the

the Xanthians were destroyed for defence of their Liberty : for being besieged by *Harpalus* the Median, Lieutenant to *Cyrus*, they chose rather to die than yield, and their City served them for a common Tomb ; which *Harpalus* put not himself to the trouble to hinder. And under *Alexander*, the Son of *Philip*, they fell under the like misfortune ; refusing to submit to that Conqueror of so many Nations.

From *Panthus*, *Brutus* went down to *Patara*, which seemed to be the Port of the Xanthians ; invested the City, summoned the Inhabitants to surrender, under the penalty of being treated like their Neighbours : And the better to persuade them, brought before them Prisoners of *Xanthus* ; who making a Recital of their Misery, exhorted them to be wiser. The *Patarans* making no Answer, *Brutus* gave them the rest of that day to consider of it, and retreated. The next morning he returned before the place ; when the Inhabitants cried out from the Walls, that they were ready to follow his Orders, and opened to him the Gates. Being entred, he neither put to death nor banished Person, but caused be brought to him all the Publick Mony of the City ; and commanded likewise every particular person to bring in what he had, under the same Penalties and the same Rewards as *Cassius*, after the taking of *Rhodes*, had decreed to the Concealers and Informers : which was exercised so punctually, that there was not a Concealer, save one who was accused by his Slave. After this Traytor had shewed to the Centurion that was sent, the place where the Mony was hid, as they carried away all the Family before *Brutus*, the Master said not a word ; but his Mother followed crying out, to save his life, that it was she that had hid it. Upon which the Slave, without being asked, saying, that the Mother lyed, for that it was her Son himself had hid it, *Brutus* praising the Son's silence and the Mother's affection to her Son, sent them away with their Mony without any Punishment ; but for the Slave that would have destroyed both Master and Mistress, he caused him to be hanged. At the same time *Lentulus* sent to *Andriac*, which is a Port of the *Myrians*, broke the Chain which crossed over the Port ; went up to *Mira*, which was surrendred to him by the Inhabitants ; and after having taken their Mony, as was done at *Patara*, returned to *Brutus* : whither came the Lycian Deputies, promising him to serve him and assist him to the utmost of their power. He imposed on them a certain Tribute, sent back to *Xanthus* all the Free People, gave order to the Lycian People to meet him at *Abydos* ; whither having sent his own Ships, he marched himself by Land, there to wait for *Cassius*, who was to come from *Ionia*, that they might together pass over to *Sestos*. Mean while *Murcus*, who had posted himself about *Peloponnesus*, with design to engage Queen *Cleopatra's* Fleet if she passed that way ; understanding that she had been driven by Storms upon the Coasts of *Lybia*, and that some of her Wracks were brought as far as *Lacedemon* ; she her self being surprized by Sicknes, being forced to make her Retreat into *Egypt* ; he, that he might not lose time, and do nothing with so great a number of Ships, crossed over to *Brundisium* ; where he seized upon the Island that makes a part of the Harbor ; from whence he hindered the Remainder of the Enemy's from being transported over into *Macedon*, or Provisions to be carried to those were there. But *Anthony* besieged him with those few long Ships he had ; raising to this purpose Towers upon Rafts of Timber, whilst he made his Companies, one after another, go aboard the Ships of Burthen, and taking the opportunity of the Wind off Shore (for fear of being surprized in their passage by *Murcus* Fleet)

Fleet) put out to Sea. Yet he found that this Siege would prove very painful ; wherefore he called *Cæsar* to his Assistance, who was now fighting with *Pompey* on the Sicilian Sea for *Sicily* it self. But it is necessary that I say something of this *Pompey*, the youngest of the Children of the great *Pompey*.

XIV.

After that his Brother was killed in *Spain*, *Cæsar* despised him as a young Man, unexperienced and incapable of attempting any great matter : and indeed, he was retreated towards the Ocean, at the Head of a few Highway-Men, with whom he rambled the Country, not known to be *Pompey*. But at last a greater number of Vagabonds joyning with him, seeing himself Commander of pretty considerable Forces ; and declaring himself for *Pompey's* Son, all the Soldiers who had served under his Father or under his Brother, and had neither Employ nor certain Residence, came to him as to their General. *Arabion* likewise came from *Africa* after having been expelled his Father's Estates, as we have heretofore said. The name of *Pompey* soon spread it self through all *Spain*, the greatest of the Roman Provinces : And he shewed himself sometimes in one place, sometimes in another ; yet not daring to adventure a Battel with *Cæsar's* Lieutenants. When all these things were known at *Rome*, *C. Cæsar* sent *Carinas* and greater Forces to defeat *Pompey* : But he with his flying Army fell upon *Carinas* when least looked for, and then made his Retreat to places of Security ; for he had already got some Towns, both small and great. Wherefore *Cæsar* sent to succeed *Carinas*, *Asinius Pollio* ; who made no farther Advances than his Predecessor had done : And *Cæsar* being dead, the Senate recalled *Pompey* ; who came thereupon to *Marsilia*, to attend what course the Affairs of the City would take. Afterwards the Superintendence of Sea-Affairs being given to him, with the same Power that formerly his Father had ; instead of returning to the City, he went and gathered together such Shipping as he found in several Ports ; and with a considerable Fleet set Sail from *Spain*. At the beginning of the Triumvate he landed in *Sicily* ; where *Bithynicus*, who was Governor, refusing to surrender to him the Government, he besieged him in the Isle ; till such time as *Hirtius* and *Phanius*, Proscripts, who escaped, perswaded *Bithynicus* to yield to *Pompey*. Thus he soon beheld himself extremely powerful in *Sicily* ; Master of a great number of Ships, of an Island commodious for *Italy*, and of a mighty Army ; composed as well of the People he had at first, as those which the Proscripts brought him, Free Men and Slaves, or which came to him from those Cities of *Italy* decreed by the Triumvirs for a Reward of their Soldiers after the Victory ; for the Inhabitants of those Cities abhorred nothing more than the name of that Victory. Wherefore, they secretly opposed it all they could possible ; forsaking their Country, which they now held no more for their Country ; and retreating to *Pompey*, who was their Neighbour, and now in the esteem of all the World. Besides, he had Seamen, Africans and Spaniards, very expert Men ; so that he wanted neither Officers, nor Soldiers, nor Ships, nor Money. *Cæsar* having notice of these things, sent away *Salvidienus* with his Fleet, to go drive *Pompey* out of *Sicily*, as if it had been an easie thing ; and himself followed with his Land-Army through *Italy*, to *Rhegium*, where he had ordered the Navy to meet him. But *Pompey* met *Salvidienus* with a great Fleet, and engaged him in the Entrance of the Streights, near *Scylla*. *Pompey's* Ships were the nimblest, and his Sea-men the most skilful ; whereas the Roman Vessels were heavy, and therefore not so yare in working : Besides, the Sea, which was
very

very boisterous in the place where they fought, was less troublesome to *Pompey's* Sea-men, who were used to it, than to *Salvidienus's*, who perhaps had never past that Strait ; and therefore were not able to keep any steady course, for they could neither row nor sterc. Towards Evening *Salvidienus* first retreated, and *Pompey* drew off soon after. The loss of Ships was equal : *Salvidienus* refitted his Ships in a Port called *Balara*, nigh unto the place where they fought, and whither he at first retired ; and *Cæsar* being arrived in those Quarters, gave his promise to those of *Rhegium* and *Vi-bone*, that he would except their Cities from the number of those which were to be given in reward to his Soldiers ; which they were sorely afraid of, because they lay so nigh the Strait of *Sicily*.

Thereupon, *Anthony* having sent in haste for him, he embarked for *Brundisium* ; leaving *Sicily* on the Right Hand, and referring to another Season the reducing of that Island, and the War against *Pompey*. *Murcus* having intelligence of his coming, that he might not be surrounded by *Cæsar's* and *Anthony's* Powers, at once quitted *Brundisium*, to go and watch in their passage for those Ships of Burthen that carried the Enemy's Army to *Macedon*. They were convoyed by Gallies ; but the fair Wind contributed more to their Security than their Convoy. *Murcus* troubled to see his hopes frustrated, watched once more to surprize them as they returned empty ; but both then, and afterwards, when they were loaden again with more Forces, they escaped him with full Sails, till the whole Army, together with *Cæsar* and *Anthony*, were got over. Though *Murcus* believed Fortune opposite to his designs, yet he stayed still in his Post to hinder, as much as in him lay, the transportation of Ammunitions, Provisions, or the new raised Forces. Thither, as to a convenient place, came to joyn Forces with him *Domitius Ænobarbus*, sent by *Cassius* and *Brutus* with fifty other Ships, one Legion, and some Archers : For because the Enemy could have but small store of Provisions elsewhere, they thought it a matter of importance to hinder the transportation of any out of *Italy* : And indeed, *Murcus* and *Ænobarbus* with one hundred and thirty long Ships or Gallies, a great number of smaller Vessels, and a considerable Army, did very much annoy *Cæsar* and *Anthony* by guarding this Passage. Mean while *Ceditius* and *Norbanus*, whom the Triumvirs had sent before into *Macedon* with eight Legions ; having from *Macedon*, advanced by way of the Mountains, towards *Thrace* ; after fifteen hundred Furlongs March, were got beyond the *Philippi's*, and went and seized upon the Strait of *Torpidæ* and *Salapæes*, in the Estates of *Rascupolis*, which were then the only known Passages from *Europe* to *Asia*. And this was the first stop that presented it self to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who were crossed over from *Abidos* to *Sestos*. This *Rascupolis* and *Rascus*, his Brother, Princes of the Blood-Royal of *Thrace*, and Sovereigns of a certain Country, were of different Parties ; and with a thousand Horse each, *Rascus* held for *Anthony*, and *Rascupolis* for *Brutus* and *Cassius*. When therefore *Cassius* and *Brutus* informed themselves of the Ways, *Rascupolis* told them that the Ways of *Aena* and *Maronia* were the greatest Road, and the shortest and most ordinary Way to go to the Straits of *Salapæes*, then possessed by the Enemies ; and that to fetch a turn about the March would be thrice as long, and very difficult. Upon this Advice, they judging that the Enemy had not seized upon the Post, so much to cut off their passage, as that thereby they might have the greater conveniency of foraging and fetching Provisions out of *Thrace* than *Macedon*, they set forward on the way of *Aena* and *Maronia*, and from thence went to *Lyfimachia* and *Cardia*, which

* *Tragalis.*

which serve as Gates to the Neck of the Thracian *Chersonesus*, from whence the next day they came to the Black Gulf. Here they mustered their Armies, and found they had nineteen Legions, nine for *Cassius*, and eight for *Brutus*, which were not quite full, and two which they distributed into the others to make them complete, so that the whole amounted to about fourscore thousand Foot; as for Cavalry *Brutus* had four thousand Gaul and Lusitanian Horse, and two thousand Thracians, Illyrians, Parthians and Thessalians, and *Cassius* had two thousand Spaniards and Gauls, and four thousand Archers on Horseback, Arabians, Medes and Parthians, besides the Kings and Tetrarchs of the Galatians in *Asia*, who brought with them good store of Foot, and five thousand Horse. These were the Forces *Brutus* and *Cassius* had at the Black Gulf, and with which they fought the Battle, the remainder of their Forces being employed upon other Affairs. The Army being here purged with the usual Ceremonies, they payed what they had promised to those who had not yet received it; for they had taken a course not to want Money, because indeed they stood in need of it, to gain by force of gifts the hearts of the Soldiers, and especially of the Veterans who had born Arms under *C. Caesar*, for fear lest at the sight or name of his Son they should change their minds. Besides they thought it convenient the Army should be spoke too; and at the same time caused to be erected a great Tribunal, whereon the Generals with the Senators only being mounted, and all the Army as well their own Forces as the Auxiliaries, drawn round about them, they took great delight to view one another. The Command began to take heart, and to hope well in the great number of their leaders, and the Soldiers began to grow in love with their Commanders; for there is nothing unites hearts so much as common hopes. Now because there was a great noise made by so vast a multitude, silence was commanded by sound of the Trumpet, and then *Cassius*, who was the elder of the two, advancing somewhat out of his place, spoke in this manner:

The Oration of Cassius.

XVI. **T**Hat danger which is common to us, Fellow Soldiers, obliges us to be faithful one to another, besides that you are farther engaged by receiving the Donative we had promised you, which ought to beget a belief in you that we will keep our words with you for the future, and you ought to hope for a happy success of this War from your own valor, from our Conduct, and from the Generosity of these great Men of the Senate, whom you see here sitting. We have as you well know great store of Munitions, Provisions, Arms, Money, Ships, and many Provinces and Kingdoms, which declare for us. Wherefore we need not make use of words to exhort to resolution and concord those whom common defence and interest obliges. As for the Calumnies which our two Enemies cast upon us, you know them, and 'tis that knowledge binds you so firmly to our Party: yet I shall be well content to give you this day an account of our Actions, that you may the more clearly understand, never was any War more honest and just than this we are now going upon. By serving with you under *Caesar* in many Wars, in some of which we likewise commanded, we contributed to his Greatness, and therefore

“ were

“ were always his Friends, that no Man may think we attempted his life
“ out of any particular grudge. Peace being made, as he was Criminal, he
“ ought to have been accused, not by us who were his Friends, and whom
“ he had raised to Honours in the City, but by the Laws, and by the Com-
“ mon-wealth ; but because neither the Laws, nor the Determinations of
“ the Senate, nor the Decrees of the People were now any more of any
“ account, but he had thrown down all those things instituted by our Fore-
“ fathers, when they expelled Kings, and swore never again to suffer the
“ Regal Power, we being their Successors have prevented the violation
“ of their Oath, we have diverted from our selves, and cast off from our
“ own Heads those imprecations they pronounced, by not suffering one
“ Man, though so much our Friend and Benefactor, to be longer Master of
“ the Treasures and Forces of the Republick, or have the dispose of all
“ Dignities and Governments, to the shame of the Senate and Roman Peo-
“ ple : or in short, change the Laws according to his fancy, usurping over
“ the People and Senate and absolute power and Sovereign Authority ; pos-
“ sibly in those times you did not make sufficient reflections on these things,
“ but regarded only in him the quality of Generalissimo. But now you may
“ better understand what I say, by what particularly concerns you ; you
“ are of the People, during War you obey your General, and in Peace
“ have the right of giving your vote. The Senate first deliberates all mat-
“ ters, that you may not be deceived, but it is you, who in your Assemblies,
“ either by Tribes or Centuries create Consuls, Tribunes of the People,
“ Pretors, who give Sovereign Sentences, and decree to us either Rewards
“ or Punishments, according as we have well or ill behaved our selves in
“ our Charges. Thus for giving to every Man according to his desert, our
“ Empire owes to you its felicity ; and when you distribute honours to those
“ deserve them, they have likewise to you a particular obligation. ’Twas
“ by this very power you made *Scipio* Consul, to whom in testimony of his
“ valour you gave the surname of *African*, by this you created annual Tri-
“ bunes of the People, who had power to oppose the Senate, when it was
“ necessary for your advantage. But what need I relate things, your selves
“ so well know. Since *Cesar* made himself Master of the Common-wealth,
“ you have not by your Votes nominated any Magistrate, neither Pretor,
“ nor Consul, nor Tribune of the People, you have given no person a testi-
“ monial of his Virtue, nor have had the power to grant him any reward.
“ In short, no person is obliged to you, neither for his Government, nor
“ for Judgment given in his behalf ; and what is yet more worthy of com-
“ passion, you have not been able to secure from outrage the Tribunes of
“ the People, who are your particular Magistrates, and whom by your
“ Decree you have declared sacred and inviolable. But those inviolable
“ persons you have beheld infamously degraded from a sacred Dignity,
“ divested of a sacred Habit, without any legal trial, by the command of
“ a single person, and that for maintaining your rights, and declaring their
“ indignation against those who would have given him the Title of King.
“ The Senate suffered it with regret for your sakes only ; for the Office of
“ Tribune belongs to the People, and not to the Senate. But not having
“ the power to accuse, or bring to judgment this Man, because of the great
“ Armies whereof he made himself Master, to the prejudice of the Roman
“ People, to whom they belonged, we applied the only remedy left for the
“ chasing away the Tyranny, by conspiring all together against his person ;
“ for it was requisite this Affair should be assented to by all honest Men,
“ though it were executed but by a few. And immediately after the Action
“ the

“ the Senate declared it done by common deliberation, when they forth-
“ with proposed us rewards as for having slain a Tyrant. But *Anthony* op-
“ posing it under pretence of appeasing the tumult, and we our selves not
“ desiring any greater reward than the service of our Country, they were
“ not ordered because they would not defame *Cæsar*, being content to have
“ thrown down the Tyranny. However, they decreed a general Indemni-
“ ty, with prohibitions to all persons of prosecuting in form of Justice for
“ the action done; and a small time after, because *Anthony* incensed the
“ multitude against us by his Orations, the same Senate gave to us
“ the greatest Provinces of the Empire, with the command of Armies, and
“ an absolute power over all their Territories from the Ionian Sea to *Syria*;
“ was it to punish us as Villains and Murderers, that they thus honoured
“ us with the sacred Purple, with Rods and Axes? ’Twas for the same
“ reasons they recalled from Banishment the young *Pompey*, who had no
“ hand in the Conspiracy, but only was the Son of that great *Pompey* who
“ first took up Arms for the Common-wealth, and did in some measure op-
“ pose the Tyranny, by concealing himself in *Spain*. That they ordered
“ the value of his Father’s Estate should be payed him out of the publick
“ Monies: that they made him Admiral over all Seas, to the end, that
“ having a love for the Common-wealth he might not be without com-
“ mand. After all these, can you desire more ample testimonies to incline
“ you to a belief, that the Senate knew and approved our Action, unless
“ possibly you expect they themselves should tell you so; but they will tell
“ it you, and with telling it you reward your services, as soon as they shall
“ have again attained the power of speaking, and giving rewards. For you
“ know in what condition the Senators Affairs stand at present, they are
“ proscribed without any form of Justice, their Goods are confiscated, and
“ without hearing them speak they are slain in their Houses, in the Streets,
“ in the Temples, by the Soldiers, by their Slaves, by their Enemies; they
“ are dragged out of their Coverts, and hunted from place to place, that
“ they may have no way to escape. We never were used to bring our E-
“ nemies Heads into the place, but only their Arms, and the Prows of their
“ Ships: now they expose there the Heads of the Consuls, Pretors, Tri-
“ bunes of the People, Roman Knights, and reward those commit such
“ Villanies. For ’tis a dreadful disorder. The enmities which have a long
“ time layn hid, now declare themselves openly, and many of the Pro-
“ scriptions perish by the private hatred of their Wives, Children, Freed Men
“ and Slaves, so many cruelties has this Plague occasioned in the City, to
“ which the Triumvirs gave the first examples, by proscribing their Bro-
“ thers, their Uncles and their Tutors. ’Tis said, that *Rome* formerly be-
“ came a Prize to the most Barbarous Nations upon earth; but the Gauls
“ cut off no Heads, nor abused not dead Bodies, nor were troubled that
“ their Enemies fled, or hid themselves: and we our selves in all the Cities
“ we have taken, have neither acted, nor heard that ever were acted the
“ least of those cruelties which are now acted, not in a vulgar City, but in
“ the Mistress of the World, by Magistrates created to reform and restore
“ the Common-wealth. Was ever the like committed by *Tarquin*, who
“ only for acting a violence upon a Woman he loved, was driven out of
“ *Rome* by our Fore-fathers, and for that sole Action the Royalty abolished?
“ yet after all this, Citizens, we are treated as execrable persons by the Tri-
“ umvirs, who say they revenge the death of *Cæsar*, by proscribing persons
“ who were not in the City when he was slain, several of whom you see
“ here, who were only proscribed for their Riches, or Birth, or affection
“ to

“ to the Common-wealth. Why was *Pompey* proscribed with us, he who
 “ was in *Spain* at the time of the action, unless it be because he is a Son to a
 “ Father that loved the Common-wealth ; because the Senate recalled him
 “ and gave him the Admiralty, therefore the Triumvirs judged him wor-
 “ thy of Proscription ? Were the Women confederate in the Conspiracy,
 “ those whom they have taxed with such immense Contributions ? Had
 “ the People committed any crime, for the punishment of which they had
 “ reason to command every Man that was worth above a hundred thousand
 “ Dracs to make Declaration of it, under a penalty, if he failed. And
 “ yet with all these cruelties, all these exactions, they have not been able to
 “ raise Money to pay that Donative they promised to those Soldiers that
 “ serve them ; whilst we that have done nothing but what is reasonable,
 “ have satisfied you the rewards we promised you, and have greater pre-
 “ pared for you. The truth is because we have respect to Justice in all our
 “ actions, the Gods favour our Designs. The Gods (I say) after whose
 “ example you ought to consider humane Affairs, look upon your Fellow
 “ Citizens, under whose Command you have often fought, and who have
 “ with applause administered the Consulate, you see as well as we whither
 “ they have been forced to flee for Refuge, because they have been good
 “ Men, and Lovers of their Country. They embrace our Party, offer up
 “ Vows for the prosperity of our Arms, and will never decline our interests.
 “ Therefore have we proposed a greater and juster reward to those shall
 “ save them, than our Enemies promise to their Murderers. On the other
 “ side the Triumvirs imagine, that after having slain *C. Caesar*, because he
 “ alone usurped the Sovereign Power, we will suffer them to divide it a-
 “ mongst them, instead of restoring the Government of the Common-
 “ wealth to the People, according to the establishment of our Predecess-
 “ sors. But as our intentions are different in this War, theirs tending only
 “ to Dominion and Tyranny, as their Proscriptions have already made ap-
 “ pear, and we having no other aim but the liberty of our Country, in
 “ which we shall content our selves to live equal with other Citizens, un-
 “ der the authority of the Laws, there is no doubt but Gods and Men will
 “ esteem our Party the most just ; and there’s nothing in War gives better
 “ hopes than the justice of the cause. Nor let any one make a scruple that
 “ he has formerly served under *Caesar* ; for he served not him but his Coun-
 “ try : nor was it he gave you rewards, but the Common-wealth, in the
 “ same manner as you are not now the Army of *Cassius* or of *Brutus*, but
 “ the Army of the Romans : we are only your companions, and if we com-
 “ mand you, it is only in the name of the Senate and People of *Rome*.
 “ Had our Enemies the same intentions with us, how easily might we all
 “ disarm with security, and surrender up to the Common-wealth their Ar-
 “ mies, to be employed for the publick Good, we would our selves become
 “ suppliants for it, if we thought they would accept of these conditions.
 “ but because they have no heart to do it, nor can hope to find security for
 “ themselves, after their Proscriptions and other crimes they have com-
 “ mitted ; Let us go, Fellow Soldiers, let us go fight with courage and
 “ cheerfulness for the Senate and People of *Rome*, and having no other end
 “ but Liberty.

Here all the Soldiers cryed with one voice ;

Let us go whither you think fit to lead us.

C c c c

And

And *Cassius* glad to see them so well disposed, as soon as silence was made, continued to speak in this manner :

“ May the Gods, who preside over just Wars, reward my Fellow Soldiers your Faith and Affection. As for that foresight your Generals, as they are Men, ought to have, observe but how much we are at this present stronger than our Enemies : we are equal in number of Legions, though we have left Men in many places where we judged it necessary : we have far the greater number of Horse, Ships and Auxiliary Forces sent us from Kings and Nations, extending as far as the Medes and Parthians. Our Enemies can only assault us before, whereas we can likewise fall upon them behind, for we have *Pompey* in *Sicily*, and *Murcus* in the Ionian Sea, besides *Enobarbus* has his Fleet well flesh’d with Seamen, with two Legions, and good store of Archers, who do sorely annoy them, whereas behind us, all is peaceable, both on Sea and Shore. As for Money, which some call Nerves of War, they have none at all, not being able to pay what they promised their Army, that brought in by Proscriptions not answering their expectations, for no honest Man would buy those Lands, the purchase of which would render him odious to all the world : and they can have none elsewhere, *Italy* being drained dry by Seditions, Exactions, and Proscriptions, whereas we have taken such effectual care, that we have it in such abundance, that we are able to give you another Donative ; and the Provinces we have left behind us will sufficiently supply us. As for Provision which occasions all the difficulty for the subsistence of great Armies, they can be supplied only from *Macedon*, a Mountainous Country, or *Thessaly*, a Province of small extent, and that by Land with incredible labour, and if they pretend to have it brought from *Africa*, *Lucania* or *Porcilia*, *Pompey*, *Murcus* or *Enobarbus* will cut off their passage. For our parts we have already plenty, and more will daily be brought by Sea from all the Islands, and all the Provinces between *Thrace* and the *Euphrates* easily, without the opposition of any person, we having no Enemy behind us. These are, Fellow Soldiers, the works of humane fore-sight, we expect the rest from you, and the Gods. For our parts, besides what you have already received, we will pay you what we have promised, and as we have already rewarded your fidelity with a Donative ; so by God’s assistance, after having gained the Victory, we will recompence you with something worthy your services. And in the mean time, the more to encourage you, and because I see the whole Assembly disposed to do well, as soon as I descend from this Tribunal, we will give every Soldier fifteen hundred Italian Drams, to every Centurion five times as much, and to every Tribune proportionable.

XVII. After having thus spake, and gained the hearts of the Army by Actions, by Words, and by Gifts, he dismissed the Assembly, which yet would not break up till after many Acclamations to *Brutus* and *Cassius* with promises of good service, immediately they distributed in ready Money what they had promised, gratifying with somewhat more, such as had signalized themselves upon any other occasions, and as they received their Money they sent them forward on their march towards *Lerissa*, whither in few days the General followed them. At the same time two living Eagles came and perched

peached upon the Silver Eagles of the Standard-bearers, and pecking at them (as some say) and covering them with their Wings, there stayed. The Generals caused food to be given them till the day before the Battel, when they fled away. After two days March on the Banks of the Black Gulf, the Army came to *Aena*, and from thence to *Doriscæ*, and other Maritime Cities, as far as Mount *Serræ*, which advances it self into the Sea, from thence the Army turned into the Land; and *Tullius Cimber* was commanded, with the Fleet, one Legion, and some Archers, to proceed on the way along the Coast. Now this Coast was formerly uninhabited, though the Land were excellent good, because the Thracians made no advantage of the conveniency of the Sea, nor so much as came near the Shore, for fear of Ships that passed by. Afterward the Chalcidians and other Greeks using the Sea, inhabited, tilled it, and settled a Trade, besides that many Thracians were well satisfied to change the Mountains for such a Residence, till such time as *Philip* the Son of *Amyntas* chasing away the Chalcidians and others, there remained no other marks of its ever being inhabited, save the pavements of some Temples. *Tullius* then coasting along this desert Shore, according to his Orders; when he came near the Straits of *Salapeas* he began to set out the Lines of a Camp, and to chuse out certain Caves in the Shore might serve to harbor his Ships, that *Norbanus* thinking it needless to guard both Passes, might quit them. And indeed part of what he had projected, happened; for as soon as *Norbanus* saw the Ships, fearful lest he alone should not be able to defend the passage of *Salapeas*, he sent presently to *Ceditius* to quit that of *Torpidæ*, and come to his assistance, which he did, and thus *Brutus* and *Cassius* finding the Strait of *Torpidæ* deserted, passed it. But the deceit being discovered, *Norbanus* and *Ceditius* so well defended that of *Salapeas*, that *Brutus's* People not being able to force it were disheartened, growing fearful lest at last they should be forced to go that great way about, which at first they had declined, and withal return back all the ground they had gone; besides that Summer was far spent. Whilst they were in this trouble, *Rasceupolis* told them, that he would find out a way by which in three days they should cross all the Mountains of *Salapeas*, which never any before had passed, by reason of the cragginess of the Rocks, want of Water, and the thickness of the Woods, but if they would resolve to carry Water with them, and cut a way through the Wood large enough for them to pass, they should march under covert without being seen by any Man, nay, not so much as by the very Birds, and on the fourth day should arrive at the River *Arpessa*, which falls into the *Heber*, from whence in one day they might reach *Philippi*, and so inclose their Enemies, that it would be impossible for them to escape. Though no advice could be proposed, in the execution whereof there could be more difficulty, yet this was followed, the Soldiers being chiefly encouraged to it, by the hopes they had in so short a time, to behold so great a number of Enemies in their power. *Lucius Bibulus* having then together with *Rasceupolis* taken upon him the charge of preparing the way, they caused one half of the Army to move, who, though it were with much labour and difficulty, marched on briskly and cheerfully, especially after those who were sent before to discover, brought word, that from the tops of the Hill they might see the River; but the fourth day the Soldiers spent with travel, and tormented with thirst, because the water brought with them failed, began to make reflection upon what had been told them (that it was but three days march ere they should find water) and to suspect some treason: not but they believed those who assured them they had seen the River, but they imagined they were led out

of the way, and therefore afflicted themselves, as thinking they were betrayed; and when *Raspolus* came to encourage them, they railed and threw stones at him. At length *Bibulus* entreating them in the name of the Gods, to wait with patience the close of that day, towards the Evening those that were in the Front perceived the River, whereupon with shouts of joy giving the word back, it soon reached those in the rear. *Brutus* and *Cassius* having advice that a part of their Army was happily passed, caused the rest to file off the same way, yet they could not conceal their march from the Enemy, nor did they inclose them as *Raspolus* had made them hope. For *Rascol* his Brother having heard some shouts, grew suspicious, and going himself upon the scout, made a perfect discovery, with wonder that such mighty Forces had passed through a Country so dry, and where the Wood was so thick, that he scarce believed the very Beasts could have found a passage; and immediately giving notice hereof to *Norbanus*, he the same night deserted *Salpeas*, and with what People he had fled towards *Amphipolis*, insomuch, that in all the Armies nothing was so much spoke of as these two Thracians, of the one for having been Guide to the Army through such an unknown way; and of the other for discovering it. Thus *Brutus* and *Cassius*'s Forces by a wonderful Adventure came to *Philippi*, whither *Cimber* being likewise arrived, they had a general Rendezvous. This City was formerly called *Data*, and before that * *Crenides*, because of the many Springs about the Hill on which it is seated. *Philip*, who found this place convenient to make War upon the Thracians, fortified it, and called it by his name. On the North lie Woods, through which *Rascolus* brought the Army: on the East are the Straits of *Salpeas* and *Torpides*: and on the West vast places which reach as far as the Cities of *Marcina*, *Dorabysca*, and the *Strymon*, which is about * one hundred and fifty Furlongs distant. The Soil is good, and the Country pleasant, and 'tis said that heretofore a young Damsel, as she was gathering Flowers, was ravished by a God, and that in passing a River hard by, the Yoke of his Chariot broke, whence the Greeks called that River *Zygastes*: from *Philippi* to *Amphipolis* is an easie descent, so that Men go up hill from *Amphipolis*, and down from *Philippi*. At some distance from *Philippi* is another eminence, said to be consecrated to *Bacchus*, where are Mines of Gold, called *Asyles*, thence advancing ten Furlongs are found two other Eminencies distant from *Philippi* eighteen Furlongs, and eight one from the other, upon which *Brutus* and *Cassius* pitched their Camps; *Cassius* on the Southern, and *Brutus* on the Northern. They pursued not *Norbanus* in this flight, because word was brought that *Anthony* came on apace, having left *Cesar* sick at *Epidamnium*. The Plain was very proper for a set Battel, and the Eminencies commodious to encamp on; for on one side were Marishes and Pools of Water as far as the *Strymon*; on the other inaccessible Straits. The space between both of eight Furlongs was as it were the Passage or Gate out of *Europe* into *Asia*, they caused Walls to be built from one Camp to another, and left a Gate in the middle to joyn together when they pleased. Hard by they had a River called *Gangua* or *Gangira*, and on their Backs they had the Sea, by which they brought their Provisions from *Thassa*, not above one hundred Furlongs distant, where they kept their Stores, and for their Gallies they left them at *Nes*, not above seventy Furlongs distant, insomuch that they were extremely satisfied with having found a place so commodious, and where they could with so great advantage post themselves.

* *Krenin*
signifies a fountain or spring.

* *Nes* twenty Miles.

Mean

Mean while *Anthony* advanced by great Marches to possess himself of *Amphipolis*, which he had designed to make the Seat of the War. And because he found *Nobinus* had fortified it to receive him, wherewith he was extremely well pleased: He left there all his Stores, with a Legion commanded by *Pompey* to keep the Guard of them; and with an astonishing boldness advancing still forward, went and encamped in the Plain, eight furlongs distant from the Enemy. Now was plainly to be seen the advantage that *Brutus* and *Cassius* had over *Anthony* in the Seat of their Camps: For they were encamped upon Hills, he on the even Plain; they fetched Wood from the Mountains, he from a Marish; they watered at a River, he at a Well which himself dug; their Stores were at *Thissa*, not far distant; his at *Amphipolis*, * three hundred and fifty Furlongs from the Camp: So * *about 100 Miles* that in all appearance *Anthony* seemed to have encamped there out of pure necessity, all the high Ground being seized upon, and the rest of the Plain so low, that sometimes the River overflowed it. And indeed, in sinking Wells, they found abundance of fresh Water. However, though this boldness were an effect of necessity, yet it stroke some kind of terror in the Enemy; who were amazed to see him, after so long a March, as soon as he arrived, come, and with so much scorn encamp so nigh them. Wherefore they raised a great number of Forts, with Ditches, Palissadoes and Walls, whilst he only wrought upon the Lines of his Camp. *Cassius*, for his part seeing this raving fury of *Anthony's*, caused a little space of Ground that lay betwixt his Camp and the Marish, which before he had neglected, to be now fortified, that he might omit nothing for the security of the Camps; for the outmost side of *Brutus's* was defended by Rocks, and that of *Cassius's* by the Marish; and the space between both shut up with Ditches, Pallissadoes, Walls and Gates. Whilst the one and the other were busied at their Intrenchments, their Horse and Light armed Foot made trial against each other in some Skirmishes: But after that their Works were brought to perfection, and *Cæsar* was come (though he had not yet recovered so much health as to be able to fight in Person, and was fain to be carried about the Ranks in his Litter) all their Forces drew out in order of Battel. On the other side, *Brutus* likewise drew out his Army upon the Hill, but offered not to come down, for he had no desire to fight, being in hopes the Enemy would soon be in want of Provisions. There were on each side nineteen Legions; of which, those on *Brutus* side were not compleat, whereas in those of *Cæsar's* there were Supernumeraries. As for the Horse, accounting the Thracian Auxiliaries on both sides; *Anthony* and *Cæsar* had thirteen thousand Horse, and *Brutus* and *Cassius* had twenty thousand: So that both for the number of Men, the bravery and valour of the Commanders, the Arms and Artillery, it was a glorious sight to see these two Armies. Yet they lay several days without doing any thing; for *Brutus* and *Cassius* would not fight, but rather starve their Enemies; they having for themselves *Asia* and all the Countries adjacent to furnish them with all things necessary, which were brought to them by Sea; whereas the Enemy neither had Provisions, nor any place whence to fetch them; for the Merchants could not bring any from *Egypt*, at present afflicted with Famine: *Pompey*, *Mureus* and *Enobarbus* stopped their coming from *Africa*, *Italy* and *Spain*; and *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, who only fed the Army, were not long able to maintain it. *Cassius* and *Brutus* knew all this very well, and were therefore in no haste to give Battel; but *Anthony*, who was apprehensive of Famine, resolved to force them to it. He imagined that if secretly he could contrive the making of a way cross the Marish, he might cut off the Enemy's Passage
for

for their Provisions brought them from *Thassa*. Having therefore several times caused the Army, with all their Ensigns, to draw out into Battel, as if all his Force had been there; wrought night and day with a Party he had drawn out of the Grofs, to make a little way through the Marish; cutting of Bushes, and raising a Causeway; supported with Walls on both sides, lest it should tumble down; and driving in Piles on those places he could not fill up, on which he placed Bridges of Wood with such a profound silence, that the Enemy perceived nothing; for the Bushes they left on both sides the Causeway hindered their Prospect. The Work being finished in ten days, he sent by night a great number of Cohorts to the other side; who seizing on some advantageous Posts, raised Forts which they soon brought into a condition of defence. *Cassius* was astonished at this Undertaking, and at the secrecy of its Execution: And to put the change upon *Anthony*, by hindring his Communication with his Forts: He undertook likewise a like Work quite cross the Marish, from his Camp to the Sea. They therefore began to raise Terrasses, and to place Bridges of Wood on Piles in the deepest places, as had been done by *Anthony*; and already the Causeway which he had made was broken, so that those which were passed over had no way of Return, nor could he, though he knew it, relieve them. This put him in such a rage, that, though it was already Noon, he immediately made his Army which was on the other side march to the Intrenchment which first *Cassius* had made between his Camp and the Marish; making them bring with them Spades, Pick-axes and Ladders; resolving after he had carried it, to storm *Cassius* his Camp. Mean while, as *Cesar's* Men made their Bravadoes in that Space which was between the two Camps, *Brutus's* Men thinking it a shame for them, if, armed as they were, they suffered their Enemies, unpunished, to affront them to their very Beards; without any other Orders than that of a Tribune, sallied out; and charging them in Flank, killed as many as they could reach: and having once begun the Fight, turned upon the Grofs of *Cesar's* Army, which was marching towards them; put them to flight, and pursued them to the very Camp, and at last became Masters of the Camp it self, which was in common between *Cesar* and *Anthony*. *Cesar* was not there because of a Dream, by which he was advertized to absent himself that day, as himself has writ in his Commentaries. But *Anthony* seeing the Fight grow hot, was very glad to see the Enemy engaged, for he was mighty fearful of wanting Provisions; yet he would not return into the Plain for fear of disordering his Ranks in countermarching his Army, but continued his March towards the Hill; which, in spite of the Darts lanced at him from above by the Enemy, he mounted, and came to handy strokes with *Cassius's* Army, which was there drawn up, and stood amazed at an Attempt so little judicious. Having presently broken them, and put them into disorder, he assaulted the Trench between the Camp and the Marish; and with an incredible briskness pulled out the Pallissadoes, filled up the Ditch, beat down the Rampart, cut in pieces the greatest part of those that defended the Gate, passed over the Bellies of the rest, and threw himself into the place. Many of his People entred by the Breaches of the Rampart, some clambered over heaps of dead Bodies: And all this was done in such a moment of time, that those who were at work in the Marish came not to the Assistance of their Companions till their Trench was gained; and then *Anthony* and those that entred with him charging them with fury, drove them back into the Marish; and returned to assault *Cassius* his Camp, whilst the rest of the Army were still fighting with *Cassius's* People without the Trench. The
Camp,

Camp, because it was strong of it self, was very slenderly guarded, and therefore soon forced; whereupon, those who defended themselves without, and were before hard put to it, seeing now their Camp in the power of the Enemies, betook themselves to a shameful flight. Thus the Advantage became equal on both sides; *Brutus* beat the Enemy on the left Wing, and took their Camp; and *Anthony* on the other side, by a wonderful boldness took *Cassius's* Camp, after having slain great numbers of his Men. The dust flew so thick in the Field of the Battel, that one Party knew not what had happened to the other. And when the Soldiers came to know the place where they were, they called to them their Fellows, who looked rather like Day-labourers than Soldiers; being so besmeared with dust, they could scarce be known; and certainly had one Party of them met another laden with Booty, they had again fought for their Spoil. It is thought that on *Cassius's* side there might be slain about eight thousand besides Lacquies, and on *Cesar's* side twice as many more.

Cassius having lost his Camp, and all hopes of regaining it, retreated to a Hill hard by *Philippi* to see what passed; but because the dust was so thick that he could see nothing but that his Camp was taken, he commanded *Pindarus* his Esquire to kill him. As *Pindarus* was excusing himself from doing it, there came a Man from *Brutus*, to tell him that *Brutus* on his side had the better, and was Master of the Enemy's Camp: To which he made only this short Answer; *Tell him I wish him an entire Victory.* And turning at the same time towards *Pindarus*; *Why delay you,* said he, *dispatch and free me from this Infamy.* *Pindarus* thereupon ran him with his Sword into the throat; and so died *Cassius*, according to the opinion of some. Others say, that some Horse-men coming to bring him the News of *Brutus's* Victory, he imagined they were Enemies, and sent to *Titinius* to know the certainty; and that those Horse-men having received *Titinius* as *Cassius's* Friend, with Caresses and Shouts of joy, he believed *Titinius* was fallen into the hands of the Enemy; and saying, *We have stayed to see them take away our Friend,* retired with *Pindarus* into his Tent, and was no more seen: wherefore, some think he slew his Master without having any Command to do it. However it were, *Cassius* died on his Birth-day after this Battel, which passed as we have described. *Titinius* likewise slew himself for grief that he was not come sooner, to give him an Answer: And *Brutus*, weeping over *Cassius's* Body, called him the last of the Romans, whose Vertue would never find its Equal; lamented his haste and precipitation, and yet esteemed him happy in being delivered from those cares and troubles in which he was engaged, and of which he knew not the Success. At length, having delivered the Body to his Friends to be privately disposed, lest the sight of it might sadden the Army; without taking any food, or sleeping, he spent the night in rallying *Cassius's* Troops. On the Morrow the Enemies appeared in Battel, that they might make it be thought they had no disadvantage: but knowing their thoughts, *Let us arm too,* said he, *and by a like Fiction conceal our loss.* But the Enemy retreating at the same time that he drew up his Army in Battel, he jestingly said to his Friend; *These people who came out to fight us, thinking us wearied, durst not make the Experiment.* The same day of this Battel of *Philippi*, there happened on the Ionian Sea a memorable Defeat. *Domitius Calvinus* was bringing over to *Cesar* upon Ships of Burthen, two Legions; one of which was for its valour honoured with the Title of Martial; with a Pretorian Cohort, or Regiment of two thousand Men, four Troops of Horse, and other choice Foot, which were

XIX.

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convoyed by some Gallies. *Marcus* and *Enobarbus* engaging them with one hundred and thirty long Ships, part of the Ships of Burthen escaped at first with a fresh Gale ; but the Wind ceasing all on a sudden, the rest were surprized with a Calm, and were not able to stir ; as if God had delivered them up to their Enemies ; who began to assault them one after another, and to send them to the bottom ; for the Gallies, which were but few in number, could not relieve them, being kept off by the long Ships : Not but that, in the danger wherein they were, they did all that was possible for Men to do ; they at first lashed their Ships fast together with Booms and Cables, that the Enemy might not separate them. But when this succeeded well for a while, *Marcus* at length cast into them great numbers of flaming Darts, which forced them to cast off as fast as they had got together, and strive to get clear of one another, lest they should all burn together. So that they again saw themselves exposed to the shock of *Marcus* Prows, or else were soon encompassed each one by a great number. The Soldiers were in despair, especially those of the Martial Legion ; that, brave as they were, they must die unrevenge. Some slew themselves for fear of being burnt ; others leaped into the Enemies Ships, and were cut in pieces fighting : Some Ships half burnt rowed a long time upon the Water, with the Men wherewith they were laden ; some whereof perished by the Fire, others by Hunger and Thirst. Others grasping Masts or Planks, were cast either upon Rocks or desert Shores. Some were saved beyond all hopes ; and some there were remained five days upon the Sea, licking the Pitch, or eating Sails and Cordage ; till at last the Waves cast them on Shore. Many overpressed with so many misfortunes, yielded themselves with their Vessels ; among which were seventeen Gallies, whose Sea-men and Soldiers turned to *Marcus*'s Party, and swore Fidelity to him. *Calvinus* their Captain, whom all Men thought lost, returned the fifth day to *Brundisium* with his Ship. And this, that may be called Ship-wrack or Sea-fight, happened on the Ionian Sea, the same day that the Battel of *Philippi* was fought, to the wonder of all the World that knew it.

XX. As for *Brutus*, having drawn together his Army, he spoke to them in this manner.

The Oration of *Brutus*.

IN what passed yesterday, Fellow-Soldiers, we gained the advantage of our Enemies in all points ; for you began the Fight cheerfully, though you had no Command to do it ; cut in pieces the fourth Legion, drawn up of purpose in that Station because of its Valour ; and pursued them into their Camp, which you took and plundered : So that this Victory very much exceeds the Loss we suffered on the Left Wing. You might have made it perfect, had you not thought it better to rifle the Enemies Carriages, than utterly to ruin them ; for most of you let the Men escape, to fall upon the Baggage. In which, yet we had the better ; for of two Camps we had, they took but one ; whereas, we became Masters of all they had : so that in that point their loss was twice as great as ours. Hitherto then, we have had all the advantage of the Fight. And now, to know the whole of our Strength, you need only ask the Prisoners ; they will tell you how scarce Victuals are in their Army, how dear they cost, with what difficulty they

they are brought to them, and that they can scarce find any more to bring : For Pompey, Murcus and Ænobarbus, who keep the Sea with two hundred and sixty Ships, prevent the bringing any from Sicily, Sardinia, Africa and Spain : They have already drained Macedon, and now only Thessaly affords them a Subsistence ; and pray judge you if that can last any long time. Wherefore, when you behold them urging you to fight ; know that, ready to perish with hunger, they seek an honourable death : Therefore our endeavours ought to be to fight them first with Famine, and when we see it convenient for our purpose we may fall on ; and shall then find them so weak and feeble, they will not be able to defend themselves ; but let not us permit our Courage to transport us before it be time. If any one say this is retreating instead of advancing, let him look upon the Sea behind us ; which brings us abundance of all Conveniences, offers us an opportunity of overcoming without danger, provided you can but have patience, and not grow hot when they come to make a Bravado, and desie you to the Battel : For it is not Generosity in them, as yesterday's Fight made appear ; but that they may deliver themselves of another fear. But though I now desire you to moderate your Courage, yet pray remember to act with the same warmth and vigour when I shall demand the effects of it. And I promise you, when it shall please God to give us a perfect Victory, to pay you punctually the Rewards we have promised ; in the mean time, for those brave things you did yesterday, I will this day give every Soldier a thousand Dracs, and the Officers proportionably.

These words were followed by the distribution of the Donative to each Legion ; to which some say, he added the Promise of giving them the Plunder of *Lacedæmon* and *Thessalonica*. On the other side, *Cæsar* and *Anthony* foreseeing well that *Brutus* had no design to fight, drew together their Army ; to whom *Anthony* spoke in this manner.

The Oration of Anthony.

THough when our Enemies talk of yesterday's Action, they may say, that in part they gained the Victory, because they put some of ours to flight, and took our Camp ; yet in reality they confess you to be absolutely victorious ; for I dare assure you that neither to morrow nor in a long time after it, they will not dare to engage you again unless they are forced to it ; which is an indubitable proof of your yesterday's victory, and their present fear. As Wrestlers in the Gymnick Games, when they decline the strife, acknowledge themselves the weaker. They have indeed assembled all this mighty Army only to come and encamp in the passages into Thrace, and there continue : for the same fear that made them fortifie themselves at our first coming ; hinders them from drawing out after the disgrace they yesterday received, which was such as obliged the most ancient and most experienced of their Generals to kill himself, a most ample Testimony of their disorder. These are the reasons why they come not down when we desie them, but trust more in their Rocks than their Arms. Now brave Romans make your gallantry appear, and force them to fight as yesterday you forced them, and certainly it would be dishonourable for you not to dare to assault Comards trembling with fear, or to suffer it to be said that men like you were of less strength than Walls. For we are not come hither to remain all our lifetime in the Field, where we cannot subsist, for all provisions will soon
D d d d fail

fail us, and if that were not, yet every wise Man will put an end to War with the soonest, and enjoy the sweets of peace the longest he can possibly: we will therefore give orders to lay hold on time and occasion. We I say whose courage and conduct you repent not to have yesterday followed, and you for your parts let your Generals see your bravery, now that they demand the effects of it, and trouble not your selves for the baggage you yesterday lost; for our riches consist not in that, but in the victory, which if we gain will not only restore what our Enemies took from us, but make all they have ours; if therefore you are in haste to recover them, make haste to fight. Not but that yesterday we recovered a great deal, it may be more than we lost; for they had in their Camp all the riches of which they had robbed Asia; and you, when you came from home, left behind you whatever was precious, and brought nothing but what was necessary. So that if there were anything valuable in our Camp, it was your Generals Equipage, a loss they are so far from considering they are ready to venture all that they have left to make you perfectly victorious: nor shall that hinder us from giving as a reward of your Victory five thousand Drums to every Soldier, five and twenty thousand to every Centurion, and to every Tribune fifty thousand.

XXI.

On the morrow he drew out his Army, but the Enemies not coming down, he was troubled, yet he continued every day to do the same; *Brutus* on his side always kept one part of his Army at their Arms, in case he should be forced to fight, and planted the other upon the way by which the Victuallers brought their Provisions to favour their passage: there was a little Hill near *Cassius* his Camp, of which the Enemies could not possess themselves but with difficulty, because from the Camp they might be galled with Darts and Arrows; yet *Cassius* had placed a Guard there for fear lest some might be so bold as to come and lodge there. *Brutus* having slighted it, *Caesar's* People one night seized upon it, bringing with them great quantities of Hides and Hurdles to defend them from the Darts. This Hill being taken, ten other Legions went and encamped five Furlongs off, near the Sea, and two Legions advancing four Furlongs further, posted themselves so, that they might reach to the very shore. Their design was to make an attempt either upon the Shore, or cross the Marish, or by some other invention to cut off the passage of Provisions to *Brutus*, but he took care to prevent them by building Forts directly opposite to the Enemies Camp, which gave them no small vexation; for they were manifestly afflicted with Famine, which daily more and more growing upon them, as much increased their fears. *Thessaly* was not able to supply them with Provisions enough, and by Sea they could not hope to have any, *Brutus* being Master, besides the news of the Sea Fight on the Ionian Sea was come to both Armies, which gave them fresh occasions of fear, and Winter approaching, it would be an unsufferable annoyance if they should be forced to endure it, encamped in the Marishes. To make the best provision in these straits they could, they sent a Legion into *Achaia* to get in what provision they could, and send it away speedily to the Army, but that could not all warrant them from the dangers wherewith they were threatned. Wherefore seeing all their endeavours could not oblige the Enemy to a Fight, and that in vain they every day drew out into the Plain, they advanced up to the very Trenches with shouts and revilings to incense *Brutus's* Men, who they resolved not to besiege, but to force to fight at what rate soever. But *Brutus* continued firm in his first resolution, the rather, because he knew they were ready to perish with hunger, and because his Fleet had got the better in the Sea

Sea Fight, so that perceiving the despair the Enemies want had brought them to, he chose rather to see himself besieged, or endure any thing than fight with hunger-starved and desperate Men, who expected no other relief than from their Arms. But to this the Soldiers could not consent, nor endure to be thus shut up like Women, without doing any thing. The Officers themselves complained not that they disapproved *Brutus's* design, but that ascertaining themselves upon the disposition they beheld in the Soldiers, they believed they should advance the Victory. The mildness and courteous temper of *Brutus* to all Men occasioned much of this; for *Cassius* was severe and imperious, the Officers of his Army executed his Orders without asking a reason of them; and though they did not approve them, durst not contradict them. But *Brutus* was willing to do all things with the approbation and consent of those commanded in the Army. At last the Soldiers began to gather in Companies, and to ask one another, *Why has our General so ill an opinion of us? what fault have we committed? have we not beaten and put to flight our Enemies, cut in pieces their best Companies, and forced their Camp?* Yet he still dissembled it, and would not speak to them for fear of doing any thing might reflect on his Honour, by suffering himself to be led by a blind multitude, especially the Strangers, who as unconstant as Slaves would every day be changing Masters, and on the first occasion would desert him. But when he saw himself importuned by the Tribunes and the Centurions, who advised him to take that opportunity, whilst the Soldiers burning with a desire to fight, would possibly do something great, (besides, if any misfortune happened, they could retreat within their Trenches, and defend themselves) he grew angry that his Officers should give him such counsel, and suffer themselves to be so easily carried away by the impatience of his Soldiers, who chose rather to hazard the loss of all, than to overcome without danger. However, he consented, though to theirs, and his own ruine; saying only this short sentence, *I see I am reduced to make War as Pompey did, and rather to be commanded than to command.* For my part I believe he said no more for fear of discovering what he most of all feared, lest the Army which had formerly served under *Cæsar* should upon discontent go over to the Enemy. For this was what both *Cassius* and he had from the beginning some suspicion of, and therefore took care not to give the Soldiers any cause of dissatisfaction.

Thus *Brutus* drew his Men out of the Camp much against his will, and drew them up in order, but still forbade them going too far from the Hill, that their retreat might be more easie, and that they might from above charge the Enemy more advantageously with their missile Arms. Both Parties were in a brave and fighting condition, and therefore came resolutely forth to the Battel, animated by reasonable considerations; on the one side the fear of Famine, and on the other by a just Shame, for having forced their General to fight before he had a mind to it. Wherefore they burn'd with desire to make him see in their deeds the same Bravery and Courage they had boasted in words, for fear lest he should reproach them of having been carried away rather by rashness than prudence. *Brutus* going on Horseback from Quarter to Quarter with a severe look, put them in mind of it, and the better to imprint it in their thoughts, as time gave leave, spoke these words, *You would needs fight, and have forced me to conquer in another manner than I desired. But have a care you do not deceive both your own hopes and mine: you have the advantage of the Hill, which fights for you, all behind you is on your side, whereas the Enemy are to defend themselves both*

XXII.

against you and Famine. To which discourse which he made as he went up and down the Army, they answered him with shouts of joy and promises of well doing. *Cesar* and *Anthony* in the mean time went each on their side through the Ranks, encouraging their Soldiers with hand and voice, without flattering them, or dissembling the condition wherein they were, being certain to die by Famine if they got not the Victory, which was a powerful motive to spur them on: *We have found our Enemy*, said they, *and have got him now, Fellow Soldiers, out of his Trenches. from whence we have taken so much pains to draw him; but after having provoked him by so many defiance, have a care of your Honour, and let your Actions make good the threats you have uttered. Chuse now either to fight against hunger an invincible Enemy which gives no Quarter, or against Men who cannot stand before you, if you employ but your Arms, your Courage, nay, your very Despair, as you ought to do. For our Affairs are in such a condition, they admit of no delay, this day must put an end to the War, either by an entire Victory, or a glorious death. If you come off victorious, you will in one sole day and one only Fight get Provision, Treasure, Fleets, Arms, and besides all the Donative we have promised you for the Victory, which will surely be ours, if in giving the onset we remember the necessity to which we are reduced; and after having put them in disorder, seize the Gates of their Camp, and drive them either among the Precipices, or into the Plain, so that they can no more rally, or shut themselves up in those Trenches, where, by a cowardise unheard of yet in any Enemy, they place their hopes not in fighting, but in not fighting at all.* By these words *Cesar* and *Anthony* so encouraged their soldiers, that they would have blushed not to have answered their Generals expectation, besides there being no other way to remedy their want of Provisions, which was augmented by what had happened on the Ionian Sea; they chose rather to undergo the worst that could befall them in Fight, than to perish by a misery inevitable. Upon these Motives the two Armies were inflamed with an incredible ardour. The Soldiers no more remembered they were Fellow Citizens, but threatened each other as if they had been two Nations that had been at a perpetual enmity. Such power now had anger got over them above either reason or nature. And in short, both Parties divined that this Battel would decide the destiny of the Roman Empire, as indeed it did. After having employed one part of the day in preparing themselves, about nine of the Clock two Eagles began to fight between the two Armies, who observed them with a profound silence, till such time as that on *Brutus's* side turning tail, gave occasion to the contrary Party with great shouts to run on upon their Enemies. The Charge was fierce and cruel, for they threw away, as useless, their Piles and all other Weapons ordinarily used in Fight, to come to the Swords point; they gave neither blow nor thrust in vain, and each side endeavoured to breakthrough, and disorder the opposite Ranks, the one Party fighting for safety more than for Victory; and the other for Victory only, remembering that by their importunity they had forced their General to engage. Nothing was to be seen but slaughter, nor heard but groans: as soon as any one fell, those of his Party drew him off, and another fresh Man stepped in out of the next Rank to supply his place. Mean while the Generals acted wonders, they run from place to place, and shewed themselves every where, encouraging those whom they saw had the advantage, and exhorting others whom they perceived overpressed, yet to hold out a little till they could send fresh Men to disengage them. Thus the Front of the Battel was always full: yet at last *Cesar's* People either pressed forward by their fear of Famine, or spurred

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red on by his good fortune (for *Brutus's* Men were no way faulty) made the first Line of the Enemies a little recoil, who gave ground without any trouble or disorder, as if it had been a great Machine removed at once; but at last the first Rank being broken, those who fought in it retreated more nimbly into the second, and those of the second into the third, that it begat some confusion, for they were both pressed upon by the Enemies and those of their own Party, so that they betook themselves to a disorderly flight. And now *Cæsar's* Men, according to the command they had received, seized upon the Gate, though with a great deal of danger; for they were sorely galled by Darts from the Rampart, and by those who yet stood their ground without, till such time as the Enemy, utterly defeated, and put to the Rout, not being able to gain entrance, fled some towards the Sea, others to the Mountains by the Valley of the River *Sygastus*. The Generals parted betwixt the Remainder of the Work; and *Cæsar* staying to oppose those who made offer to sally out of *Brutus's* Camp, and to guard their own; *Anthony* took upon him the whole Function of General: he pursued the Fugitives, cut in pieces those who yet made any resistance, and fearful lest the chief Commanders escaping from this Defeat should get on Foot another Army, he sent his Horse to all the Avenues, some to one side, and some to another: one Party under the Command of *Rascus* the Thracian, who knew the Country, fetched a turn about the Mountains, so that the Trenches and Precipices of the Camp were surrounded on all sides by Guards placed by *Anthony*, to hinder any person from retreating, and if any did come out, they hunted them like Beasts: others followed *Brutus* upon full speed, and were not far from him when *Lucilius Lucinus* seeing them come, stopped, and as if he had been *Brutus*, prayed them to carry him to *Anthony*, and not to *Cæsar*, which confirmed their opinion that it was *Brutus* indeed, because he would not fall into the hands of his mortal Enemy: *Anthony* having notice that they were bringing him, went forthwith to meet them, making reflection upon the Fortune, Dignity, and Virtue of the Man, and consulting with himself how he should receive him. When he was near, *Lucinus* advancing, fiercely told him, *Brutus is not taken, nor shall business ever make a Prisoner of Virtue: for my part, I only deceived those that would have taken him, and behold me now in your power.* Whereupon *Anthony* seeing the Horsemen that brought him ashamed at their mistake, comforted them with these words: *The Prize you have taken is not of less value than that you thought to have made; nay, 'tis rather of much greater, as a Friend is worth more than an Enemy.* And at the same instant delivering *Lucinus* into the hands of some of his Friends to have a care of him, he afterwards treated him like a person in whom he had confidence.

As for *Brutus* he escaped into the Mountains, where rallying some considerable Forces resolved to return by night into his Camp, or get down to the Sea side; but because the Enemy had seized of all the Passes, he stayed there all that night in Arms with the People he had: and it is said, that looking up to the Stars he pronounced this Verse:

XXIII.

Thou know'st, O Jupiter, who causes all these woes.

Meaning it by *Anthony*: and indeed as some relate, *Anthony* himself, when in his own misfortune he was touched with repentance, acknowledged, that whereas he might have made an accommodation with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, he made himself Serjeant to *Octavius*. That same night *Anthony* encamped

camped directly opposite to *Brutus*, without other intrenchment than heaps of Arms and dead Bodies, which served him instead of Ramparts; and *Cæsar* having watched till Midnight, being sick withdrew, and left the Guard of the Camp to *Norbanus*. On the morrow, *Brutus* seeing that the Enemy quitted not their Post, and that he had with him but four Legions, and those too not complete, he believed it not secure for him to speak to them himself, but sent the Tribunes, ashamed of the fault they had committed, to sound the minds of the Soldiers, and know of them whether they would undertake to open themselves a way through their Enemies to regain their Camp where their Companions still guarded their Equipage: but these People went so cheerfully to the Fight, and had so long and so generously sustained the Enemy, as if God had now forsaken them, returned answer to their General, that the counsel he gave them was worthy of him, but that for their parts they had so often tempted fortune, that they would not now quite lose all hopes of making conditions for themselves. Then said *Brutus* to his Friends; *I can do my Country no farther service, if they have taken such resolutions.* And at the same time he called *Strato* the Epirot his Friend, whom he intreated to kill him; *Strato* advising him to think more seriously upon it, he called to one of his Domesticks, upon which *Strato* said, *Brutus, since you are resolved, you have a Friend more ready to execute your last command than all your Slaves.* And saying so, thrust his Sword betwixt his Ribs, which he received without moving. Thus ended *Brutus* and *Cassius* the most generous and illustrious of the Romans, whose Virtue had never been equalled, had it not been sullied with *Cæsar's* Blood, who though they were of *Pompey's* Party, from Enemies had made them Friends, and afterwards loved them like his Children. The Senate had always a great inclination for them, and after their death did much compassionate their misfortune: for their sakes only they had passed the general Amnesty, and when they left the City gave them Government for fear they should pass for banished Men. Not that all that composed this noble Body hated *Cæsar*, or were satisfied with what was done; for living they had been admirers of his Virtue and Fortune; and dead, they had solemnized his Funeral at the publick Charge, confirmed all that he had done, and granted places and trusts in the City according to the Memorandums by him left, not thinking it possible for themselves to dispose of it more prudently: and yet the affection they bore these great Men, and the care they took of their safety, gave occasion to suspicions and scandals, so mightily they were favoured by the Senate. And the greater part of the Exiles preferred them before *Pompey* himself; for *Pompey* being near the City might incline to an Accommodation, whereas they were far off and implacable. Moreover, when they saw themselves forced to take up Arms, they had in less than two years got together more than twenty Legions, almost twenty thousand Horse, more than two hundred long Ships, and considerable Stores of all warlike Provisions. They had raised likewise vast Sums in *Asia*, either by good will, or by force: and in those Wars they waged with divers Cities who held on the adverse Party, they almost continually came off victorious, till they became Masters of all that Country extending from *Macedon* to the *Euphrates*: and all those with whom they had mad War ranged themselves on their Party, and continued faithful to them. They likewise made use of many Kings and Princes; nay, of the Parthians themselves, though Enemies to the Romans; but this was only in matters of small consequence, for in the great Affairs when all was disputed, they stayed not their coming for fear of teaching a Barbarous Nation, and always an Enemy,

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how to fight with the Romans. But what most of all ought to be admired at, is, that the greatest part of their Army was composed of Soldiers that had served under *Cæsar*, and that after his being slain, the affection of the Soldiery was unhappily transported to these his Murderers so firmly, that they afterwards were more stedfast in observing their faith to them against his Son, than to *Anthony* himself who had commanded them under *Cæsar*, for none of them deserted *Brutus* or *Cassius*, even in their utmost misfortune, whereas all of them revolted from *Anthony* at *Brundisium* in the very beginning of the War he had with *Octavius*. They made their pretence of taking Arms, both now and in *Pompey's* time not private advantage, but the name of the Common-wealth; specious indeed, but usually of little effect, and when they thought themselves no longer serviceable to their Country, they equally despised their lives. As for their particular conduct, *Cassius* like the Gladiators which mind only their Enemies, had fixed his thoughts upon War, and thought of nothing else. But *Brutus* who in all times and occasions was a Philosopher, was pleased to look into, and understand many things; yet when all is said that possibly can be to assure them great Men, the assault they made upon *Cæsar's* person was the only cause none of their designs prospered: and certainly it was no ordinary crime, nor of little consequence, for they had unhappily murdered their Friend, their Benefactor, one who by right of War might have disposed of their lives, and yet had saved them, their General in the Senate, in a sacred place, cloath'd in his holy Robes, the most powerful of all the Romans; and which is most of all, the Man of all the world most serviceable to the Empire and his Country. And Heaven accordingly sent tokens of its anger, and presages of their ruine: for when *Cassius* offered Sacrifices to purge his Army, one of the Lictors put a Crown reversed upon his Head; a Golden Image of Victory, which he then offered, fell down of it self, many Flocks of Birds of Prey came and set about his Camp without making any noise, and almost dayly they saw Swarms of Bees. They saw likewise that *Brutus* celebrating at *Samos*, in the midst of their jollity and Feasting, wherein he was not used to be out of temper, with a sudden passion uttered these Verses:

*But 'twas Latona's Son, and angry Fate
Advanc'd my death——*

And that when he was designing to pass out of *Asia* into *Europe* with his Army, as he watched by night, and his Candle almost spent, there appeared to him a Ghost with a strange kind of countenance, at which not moved, he asked what it was, God or Man, to which the Ghost answered; *Brutus, I am thy evil Genius, thou shalt see me again at Philippi*. And in truth, 'tis said, it appeared to him the day before the last Battel, and that when he drew his Army out of the Camp an Ethiopian met him, whom presently the enraged Soldiers cut in pieces. This was likewise a token of their misfortune, that *Cassius* after a Fight, wherein the loss had been almost equal, fell so easily into despair; and that *Brutus*, forced to violate the prudent resolution he had taken, to temporize, yet engaged with starved People, whilst he had abundance of Provisions, and the conveniency of the Sea. Though these two Men had often been in many perillous occasions, yet they were never wounded, but they murdered themselves as they had murdered *Cæsar*, and so received punishment for the crime they had committed. *Anthony* finding *Brutus's* Body, covered it with a Purple Robe, and after having
burned

burned it, sent the *Astres* to *Servilia* his Mother; his Army which yet consisted of fourteen thousand Men, as soon as they knew of his death sent Deputies to *Cæsar* and *Anthony*, who having pardoned them, divided them betwixt them. Soon after, those that were in the Forts yielded likewise, but on condition that the Plunder both of the Forts and the Camp should be the Prize of *Cæsar's* and *Anthony's* Soldiers. As for the persons of Note and Quality who had sided with *Brutus*, some fell in the Fight, others like their Generals slew themselves, and others forced their deaths from their Enemies hand, of which number were *L. Cassius* Nephew to the General, and the Son of the famous *Cato* of the same name, who several times threw himself into the midst of his Enemies, and at last took off his Head-piece, either that he might be the easier known, or the easier killed, or both: *Labeo* known for his wisdom, and for being Father to that *Labeo* to this day holding a prime degree among the famous Doctors of Law, caused a hole to be dug in his Tent, to the proportion of his Body, and after having given his Orders to his Servants, and writ to his Wife and Children Letters, which he gave to his Slaves to carry, took by the Right Hand one of the faithfulst of them, and having made him walk round about him, according to the Roman custom when they enfranchise a Slave, commanded him to take a Sword, and presented him his Throat, and so made his Tent his Grave. The Thracian *Rasus* brought back many People from the Mountains; and for all the service he had done *Anthony* and *Cæsar*, asked only the pardon of his Brother *Rasculis*, and obtained it; which was enough to signify, that at the beginning of the War these Thracians had no private difference, but seeing two great Armies coming into their Country to make War, not knowing which would have the better, one took one part, and the other the other, that happen what would he on the conquering side might make his Brother's composition. As for *Portia Brutus's* Wife and young *Cato's* Sister, when she heard they were both in this manner lost, in spite of all her Servants care to prevent her death, she swallowed burning Coals, and died. Many persons of Quality being escaped to *Thassa*, some of them embarked to retire elsewhere, others with the remainder of the Army chose *Messala Corvinus* and *Lucius Bibulus* for their Chiefs, to whom they promised to do what they pleased; and the rest treating with *Anthony's* Men, as soon as they came to *Thassa* delivered into their Hands all the Money, Provisions, and store of other warlike Preparations. Thus by a hazardous boldness *Cæsar* and *Anthony* in two Fights won the greatest Victory that ever till now was gained; for never did two such Roman Armies fight together. Nor were their Forces raised in haste out of the Citizens, but all chosen Men, not Apprentices, but old Soldiers, experienced both in Foreign and Civil Wars, all speaking the same Language, all exercised in the same Military Discipline, equal in experience and valour, which made it not easie for them to vanquish each other: besides never in any War did so many Citizens once Friends and Comrades fight with so much heat and courage, which is sufficiently proved in that, considering both Battels, the Vanquisher lost not less than the Vanquished. However, *Cæsar's* and *Anthony's* Men found the prediction of their Cenerals true; for in one day, and one Battel they were not only delivered from the danger of Famine, and the fear they were in of perishing, but this glorious Victory gave them likewise all things in abundance, and the conceptions of many Mens minds when they went to fight, that this day would decide the state of the Empire, were accomplished; for the Common-wealth was never more restored, nor was there any more need for the Citizens to come to these

these extremities, except in the quarrel between *Cæsar* and *Anthony*, which was the last of the Civil Wars; for as to what happened in the mean time, when after the death of *Brutus*, *Pompey* and all those who escaped from the Defeat, having yet considerable Forces renewed the War, there was nothing parallel to it, either for Gallantry, or affection of Cities, or Soldiers towards their Generals, besides no persons of Quality were concerned, neither did the Senate declare for them, nor had they ever such Reputation and Glory as *Cassius* and *Brutus*.

*The End of the Fourth Book of the Civil Wars
of Rome.*

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APPIAN

A P P I A N
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars
OF
R O M E.

P A R T II.

B O O K V.

The Argument of this Book.

I. **A**fter Cassius and Brutus's death Cæsar comes into Italy, and Anthony goes into Asia. II. The Actions of Anthony in Asia. III. Cleopatra comes to visit him in Asia, with whom he falls so deeply in love, he goes and spends the Winter with her in Alexandria. IV. Cæsar endeavours to settle

settle the Colonies, but finds it a matter of much difficulty. V. The Soldiers insolence, with the causes of it. VI. Lucius Anthony's Brother, Fulvia his Wife, and Manius fall at variance with Cæsar. VII. An Accommodation vainly endeavoured, they take up Arms. VIII. The beginning of the War with the Siege of Perugia by Cæsar. IX. Lucius loses all hopes of defending himself, and capitulates. X. Lucius's Speech to Cæsar, yielding himself at discretion. XI. The taking and burning of Perugia. XII. The end of this War. XIII. Anthony and Cæsar distrusting each other, make preparations. XIV. Brundisium besieged by Anthony. XV. Agreement between them by Cocceius's intermission. XVI. Mutiny of the People against Cæsar, suppressed by Anthony. XVII. Accommodation between Cæsar and Pompey. XVIII. Anthony's Preparations against the Parthians. XIX. The Accommodation between Cæsar and Pompey broken, and Cæsar prepares for War. XX. Sea Fight between Cæsar's and Pompey's Lieutenants. XXI. Another Sea Fight between Cæsar and Pompey, wherein Cæsar has the worst. XXII. Cæsar loses most of his Ships by storm. XXIII. Difference happens between Cæsar and Anthony, which is accommodated by Octavia's intermission. XXIV. Cæsar invades Sicily with three Armies. His Fleet again scattered by Tempests, so that he is forced to put off the War till the next year. XXV. Pompey thinking himself freed from the War by Cæsar's misfortunes at Sea, calls himself the Son of Neptune: and Menodorus his Admiral goes the second time and submits to Cæsar. XXVI. Cæsar again invades Sicily, and Agrippa his Admiral engaging Pompey's near Myles, gains the Victory. XXVII. Cæsar going in person into Sicily to besiege Tauromenia is assaulted by Pompey by Sea and Land, leaves Cornificius encamped, and about to repass with his Ships, is defeated by Pompey, himself hardly escaping. XXVIII. Cornificius with much loss rejoins with Agrippa. XXIX. Cæsar lands all his Forces in Sicily, and cuts off Pompey from Provisions. XXX. The last Sea Battel between Cæsar and Pompey where Pompey is defeated. XXXI. Pompey flies towards Anthony: and Lepidus endeavouring to seize Sicily, is by Cæsar reduced to the condition of a private Man, and sent to Rome. XXXII. Cæsar's Soldiers mutiny, who disbands one Party, and contents the other. XXXIII. He settles Sicily, returns to Rome, where he is received with general applause. XXXIV. Pompey would deceive Anthony, but is discovered. XXXV. He makes War upon Anthony's Lieutenants in Asia. XXXVI. He is at length taken and slain.

After the death of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Cæsar* went into *Italy*, and *Anthony* into *Asia*, where meeting with *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, he no sooner beheld her but he became inflamed with a love proved ruinous to them both, and occasioned multitudes of miseries to all *Egypt*, wherefore the Egyptian Affairs will make a part of this Story, yet without bearing that Title; for I have yet much to treat of the Civil Wars, which continued long after the death of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, though without any Head or General obeyed like them, till *Sextus* the youngest Son of *Pompey* the Great, who had got together the Remains of *Brutus* and *Cassius's* Party, being dead, and *Lepidus* despoiled of that part of the Empire he pretended to, all the Sovereign Power remained divided between *Cæsar* and *Anthony*: which things passed in this manner; *Cassius* surnamed the *Parmesan* was left in *Asia* by *Cassius* and *Bru-*

ens, with a Fleet and an Army to officiate there as Superintendent of the Revenues. After *Cassius's* death, in hopes that the like would not happen to *Brutus*, he made choice of thirty of the Rhodian Ships, which he thought himself able to manage with Seamen and Soldiers, and burning all the rest except the Sacred Galley, that he might deprive the Rhodians of attempting any thing, took the Sea with this Fleet. *Clodius* whom *Brutus* had sent into that Island with thirteen Ships, finding it revolted (for *Brutus* was slain at the time of his arrival) drew off three thousand Men that were there in Garrison, and went to joyn with the Parmesian. *Torillus* came likewise to them with many other Ships, and all the Tribute Money he could gather at *Rhodes*. To this Fleet, grown already in some measure powerful, flocked all those dispersed throughout *Asia* to exercise any Office, bringing with them all the Soldiers they could, and to that end making Levies of Slaves, Captives, and the Inhabitants of the Islands where they touched, *Cicero* the Orator came thither likewise, and with him all the Persons of Quality escaped from *Thassa*; so that in a short time great multitudes were assembled of considerable Forces, both by Sea and Land, with Officers to command them. At length taking with them one *Lepidus*, whom *Brutus* had left in *Crete* with some Forces for Guard of that Island, they steered their course towards *Mureus* and *Ænobarbus*, who had a powerful Fleet on the Ionian Seas: there dividing themselves, one part joyned with *Mureus*, and went towards *Sicily*, which was a considerable recruit to *Pompey*; and the other stayed with *Ænobarbus*, who designed to form a party by himself: thus out of the ruins of *Brutus* and *Cassius* sprung up two new Armies. Mean while *Cæsar* and *Anthony* made magnificent Sacrifices to the Gods for the Victory at *Philippi*, testifying their acknowledgments to the Soldiers by praises, till they could be able to give them the promised Rewards. To this end *Cæsar* took his way forthwith into *Italy*, undertaking the charge of distributing Land to them, and giving them Houses, a charge which he thought the least toilsome, and fittest for him, not being well in health, whilst *Anthony* went into the beyond Sea Provinces, to get together mony to discharge their promises. After this they made a new division of the Empire, and besides those Provinces they already had, parted between them those which were *Lepidus's* share: for *Cæsar* designed to make the Transalpine Gauls free, according to the intention of his Father, and *Lepidus* was accused of holding intelligence with *Pompey*. However *Cæsar* had resolved to give him other Provinces, if the information made against him proved not true. They dismissed likewise all the Veterans, save only eight thousand Men, who desiring to continue in the service, were shared betwixt them, and added to the Pretorian Cohorts. Their Forces comprising likewise those which had quitted *Brutus's* Party, still consisted of eleven Legions, and fourteen thousand Horse, of which *Anthony*, because of his Expedition, took six Legions and ten thousand Horse; so that *Cæsar* had left him only five Legions, and four thousand Horse, with some Troops *Anthony* had left in *Italy* under the Command of *Calpurnius*, to whom he gave order to deliver them to *Cæsar*, instead of those taken from him, and this done, *Cæsar* began his March towards the Ionian Sea.

II

Anthony arriving at *Ephesus*, offered most magnificent Sacrifices to the Goddesses, and pardoned all those of *Cassius* and *Brutus's* Party that had taken Sanctuary in the Temple, save only *Petronius*, one of the Conspirators against *Cæsar*, and *Quintus* who had delivered *Dolabella* to *Cassius*

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at *Laodicea*. After which the Greeks and all the other Nations inhabiting *Asia* on the Confines of *Pergamus*, having sent Deputies to him to treat their composition, he assembled them together, and spoke to them in this manner:

The Oration of *Anthony*.

YOU know, Gentlemen, that *Attalus* your King having by testament given you to the People of Rome, you soon found our Government more easie and more advantageous than his: for we remitted you all those Tributes you were used to pay him, till there rising up among us some disturbers of the publick Peace, we were forced to lay some Contributions upon you: we imposed them upon you, not according to your Estates, or to continue the payment of them after the danger was past; but we taxed you only in some part of your Revenues, to the end we might participate together in the publick charge. After which, when the Commissioners sent by the Senate to collect them oppressed you, making you pay more than demanded by us, C. Cæsar discharged you of a third of all the impositions, and settled orders, that no more injustice should be done you by committing to your selves the collecting of the Moneys from the Country. Notwithstanding which, that great Man to whom you were obliged being slain as a Tyrant by our * good Citizens, you have supplied with vast Sums the Murderers of your Benefactor against us who did all we could to revenge him. Wherefore Fortune favouring the juster cause, and having decided it, not as you would have had it, but according to reason, we should have punished you more rigorously if you had assisted them with your Arms; but because we are willing to believe that you have done nothing but what you were forced to, we shall deal the more gently with you. We stand now in need of Money, of Lands, and of Cities, to discharge our selves of the promises made to our Soldiers to reward them after the Victory. Our Army is composed of twenty eight Legions, which, accounting the light armed Foot, amount to one hundred and seventy thousand Men, besides the Horse and some other Companies: you may therefore judge what Money we are obliged to raise for so great a number of Men. As for the Lands and Cities, Cæsar is gone into Italy, to distribute them, and to speak it in a word to change all the habitations of that people; so that to the end you be not forced to quit your Lands, your Cities, your Houses, your Temples, and your Sepulchres: you must furnish us with Money, but yet not all (for you cannot do that) but a part, and the least part too: and I believe when you know our Demands, you will go away satisfied. You have in two years payed our Enemies ten years Tribute, we ask no more of you; but it must be payed in a year, for necessity presses us, besides we favour you, and you cannot but confess the penalty is less than the crime.

Thus spake *Anthony* with design to raise Money to pay eight and twenty Legions, though at the time of their Accommodation at *Modena* they had promised rewards to three and forty complete Legions, but the War had reduced them to that number. Scarcely had he pronounced his last words, but the Greeks prostrating themselves upon the ground, humbly represented to him, that after the violences they had suffered from *Brutus* and *Cassius*, they were not worthy of punishment but pity, that they would

would willingly have given to their Benefactors all their Goods, if they had not been robbed of them by their Enemies, whom they had not only been forced to furnish with all their stamped Money, but likewise to deliver up all their Plate and Goldsmiths Work to be by them coined. At length they prevailed with him that they should only pay nine years Tribute in two years; and besides this Taxes were layed upon the Kings, Potentates and free Cities according to their Estates. As he went from Province to Province, *Lucius* Brother to *Cassius*, and all who were afraid of him hearing of his clemency at *Ephesus*, came to ask pardon. He forgave all save only those who had a hand in the Conspiracy against *Cæsar*, for to them he remained implacable. He comforted those Cities had sustained the greatest losses, exempted the Lycians from Tribute, exhorted the Xanthians to rebuild their City, gave the Rhodians *Andros*, *Tino*, *Naxos* and *Mynda*, which soon after he again took from them because they used them hardly, he declared those of *Laodicea* and *Tharsus* free and exempt from all Impositions, and by Ordinance which he caused to be proclaimed, discharged from servitude all the Thracians had been sold. The Athenians coming to wait upon him, he gave them first *Tino*, then *Egina*, *Icono*, *Zea*, *Sciatha* and *Pararetha*. After which passing through *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, the Lower *Syria* and *Palæstine*, he charged them with great Impositions. To whatever place he came he took cognizance of all differences between the Cities and the Kings. As in *Cappadocia* between *Sysinnus* and *Ariarathes*, where he adjudged the Kingdom to *Sysinnus* for his Mother *Glaphyra's* sake, who was very beautiful. And in *Syria*, whence he expelled all the Tyrants who had set themselves up in every City.

- III. Being in *Cilicia*, *Cleopatra* came to him, to whom having complained, that she had not assisted *Cæsar*, she made no other excuse, but that at the beginning of the War she had sent four Legions to *Dolobella*, that afterwards having fitted out a Fleet, she was prevented by Tempests, and the sudden death of that young Consul. That though *Cassius* had twice with threats demanded her assistance, she had refused it. That when they were upon the Ionian Sea, she was her self embarked upon a magnificent Fleet, to come and joyn with them, without any consideration either of *Cassius* or *Marcus's* Naval Power, but that bad weather and other losses with her own sickness had made her return into *Egypt*, where she received news of the Victory. Here *Anthony*, wounded in the very soul by the charms of this Queen, became as foolishly in love as if he had been a young Man, though he were now above forty years of age. True it is, he is reported to have always had a natural inclination for this passion, and that formerly when she was but a child he conceived a love for her, having seen her at *Alexandria*, when he served under *Gabinus* as General of the Horse. *Anthony* therefore all upon a sudden neglecting the care of his Affairs, *Cleopatra* disposed of all things at her pleasure, without considering either reason or justice, insomuch that *Arsinoe* her Sister having taken Sanctuary at *Miletum* in the Temple of *Diana Leucophryna*, *Anthony* sent some thither who slew her, and commanded the Tyrians to deliver up to *Cleopatra*, *Serapion* Governour of *Cyprus*, who was fled into the Sanctuary at *Tyre*, because he had taken part with *Cassius*; and gave the same order to the Aradians, touching another who had fled for refuge into their City, because the Brother of *Cleopatra*, overcome by *Cæsar* in a Naval Engagement on the *Nile*, being
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seen no more, this unhappy Man had told the Aradians, that he was *Ptolemy*; and at last ordered the Ephesians to bring before him *Megabyzes* the High Priest of *Diana*, because he had received *Arfinoe* as a Queen; but the Ephesians having besought *Cleopatra* in his behalf, she pardoned him. Thus in a short time might a strange change be perceived in *Anthony's* spirit; caused by that passion which was the beginning and end of all those miseries afterwards beset him: for after *Cleopatra's* return to *Egypt* he sent his Horse to *Palmyra* a City near the *Euphrates*, to sack it; his pretence for doing it being very slight, for he could accuse the Inhabitants of nothing, but that being situated between the Dominion of the Romans and that of the Parthians, they strove to accommodate themselves the best they could with one and t'other; and indeed it was a City of Trade, through which were transported from *Persia* to *Rome* all the commodities of *India* and *Arabia*, but his main design was to enrich his Cavalry. The Palmyrians foreseeing it, had caused all they had of value to be carried to the other side of the River, on the Banks of which they planted good Archers to defend the approach, (for there are the best Archers of the world) so the Cavalry finding not a person in the City, returned without drawing their Swords, or making any purchase. The Parthian War which happened soon after, seems from hence to have taken its birth, many of the Tyrants of *Syria* being retired with them: for *Syria* till the time of *Antiochus* the Pious, and his Son of the same name, had been governed by Kings of the race of *Seleucus Nicator* (as we have already said, writing the Affairs of *Syria*) but this Province being reduced by *Pompey's* Arms, he placed therein *Scaurus* for Governor, to whom the Senate sent others for Successors, among whom was *Gabinus*, who went to make War against the People of *Alexandria*: to *Gabinus* succeeded *Crassus*, who was slain by the Parthians, and after him *Bibulus*. At length after the death of *C. Caesar*, during these troubles which were almost universal, there rose up in every City Tyrants, supported by the Parthians; for after *Crassus's* misfortune they had spread themselves into *Syria*, and had intelligence with the Tyrants, which *Anthony* now forced to retire to them, whom after he had expelled, charged the People with Imposts, and made this impertinent attempt upon the Palmyrians, he took no farther care how to appease the troubles wherein he beheld the Province, and put his Army in Garrison, and went to find out *Cleopatra* in *Egypt*, where being magnificently received, he spent the Winter, without any mark of Command, both habited and living like a private Man, whether because he was in a Country dependant on another, and in the Royal City, or that he might the more pleasantly pass away the time whilst Winter lasted: for he banished all manner of care, and dispensed with the Officers, put off his usual habit to wear a square Robe after the Greek Fashion, with white Attick Hose, such as are worn by the Priest's of *Athens* and of *Alexandria*, which they call *Phacasion*, and only visited the Temples, Schools, and Philosophy Assemblies, holding conversation with none but the Greeks in service of *Cleopatra*, for whose sake alone he had undertook this Journey.

Mean while, *Caesar* going to *Rome* was very much distempered in Body, especially at *Brundisium*, where the danger was so great, that a report was raised of his being dead: but at length by degrees the Distemper diminishing, he entered the City, where shewing *Anthony's* orders to those who had charge of his Affairs, they presently signified to *Calenus*, that he should deliver to him the two Legions, and wrote to *Sextus* in *Africa* to surrender up the

the Province, which was performed. After which *Cæsar* finding that *Lepidus* was not guilty of what he had been charged with, quitted to him *Africa*, instead of those Provinces that had been taken from him, and exposed to sale what were left of the Goods of the Proscribed. But when it came to the point of sending Soldiers to Colonies, and giving them Lands, many difficulties presented themselves. The Soldiers pretended they ought to give them the best Cities of all *Italy*, according to the promise made them before the War. And the Cities demanded that all *Italy* should contribute to this charge, or that others should draw lots with them, and that for the Lands the Generals should pay the purchase; but there was no Money in the Treasure. There were dayly to be seen coming to *Rome* young and old, Women and Children, who assembling in the great place, or in the Temples, with tears in their eyes cried out: That being Italians, without having committed any fault, they were driven from their Lands, and their Houses, as if it had been a conquered Country. The Romans had compassion on them, and their deplorable condition drew tears from a multitude of People, especially when they considered that this War had not been undertaken for the publick good, but to satisfy the ambition of the Chiefs, who had no other aim than the seizing of the Empire. Besides, they were sensible, that they gave not the Soldiers the recompense promised after the Victory, nor sent them into Colonies with any other intent, but that the Common-wealth should never more get Head again, the Usurpers of the Government having so many People, obliged by their good turns, ready to take up Arms at their first command. *Cæsar* made excuse to the Cities from the necessity constraining these things, telling them withal he was much afraid the Soldiers would not be so content neither. And indeed they were not content; for they oppressed their Neighbours, and took not only more than the Lands set out to them, but likewise the best they could pick out. And in vain did *Cæsar* reprove them, or gave them other things to hinder them from these violences; for their Generals standing in need of them to secure their Dominions, they stood but in little awe. Moreover, the five years of the Triumvirate drawing to an end, they stood in each others assistance for their common security, the Generals, that by the Soldiers means they might keep their Command, and the Soldiers, that by their means they might keep possession of what had been given them; for all their hopes being that the grant would stand good so long as the Donors were Masters of the Empire, they were concerned to attempt any thing for the maintenance of their power: wherefore *Cæsar* gave many other gifts to the maimed Soldiers, borrowing for this purpose Money from the Temples, which increased the affection of the Soldiery to him, who found themselves obliged by his having gratified them with Cities, Land, Money and Houses. Those who were despoiled of all these things made great clamours, and continuall railed against him, but however they affronted him, he bore all to content the Soldiery.

V. *Lucius* Brother to *Anthony* now Consul, *Fulvia* his Wife, and *Manius*, who had the charge of his Affairs in his absence, observing *Cæsar's* Conduct, and to the end that all might not seem to be his doings, or the whole obligation be owned to him alone, and consequently he have all the thanks, to *Anthony's* prejudice, used all the artifices possible, to delay the sending the Soldiers to the Colonies, till his return out of *Asia*: but when they could not succeed in that design, because of the earnestness of the Army, they required of *Cæsar* liberty to be themselves the Conductors of *Anthony's*

Anthony's Forces. By the agreement made with *Cæsar* he had quitted to him the employment, but they denied it, and *Fulvia* going her self to the Head of the Legions with *Anthony's* Children, besought them not to suffer their General to be deprived of the Glory and satisfaction to testify his good will to them: besides, *Anthony's* reputation was very great among the Soldiery, and high in esteem with all the world; for *Cæsar* being sick at the time of the Battel at *Philippi*, all the honour of that Victory seemed due only to *Anthony*. Though *Cæsar* saw well this was a violation of their agreement, yet in favour to his Associate in the Empire, he consented, and so they conducted the Legions to their Colonies, where they committed strange disorders; for that *Cæsar* might not seem more indulgent than those who conducted them, they gave them all manner of License. Many Cities neighbouring on those where they had Lands set out, having received much injury, came to complain to *Cæsar*, telling him, that the Colonies were much more unjust than the Proscriptions; for they proscribed only their Enemies, whereas by means of the Colonies multitudes of innocent persons were ruined, *Cæsar* was not ignorant of the injuries done, but he could not remedy them, for he had no Money to pay the old Proprietors the purchase of their Lands, and he would not delay the recompence promised to their Forces, because of the Wars they were still engaged in: *Pompey* was powerful at Sea, and able to starve the City by cutting off Provisions: *Ænobarbus* and *Murcus* were fitting out another Fleet, and another Army; so that if *Cæsar* and *Anthony* performed not their promise, they had reason to fear they should be but ill served by their Soldiers. Add to which that the five years of the Triumvirate was near expired, and they had therefore still more reason to gain the good will of the Army; wherefore they passed by many things patiently, and seemed as if they did not see their insolencies; till such time that one day as *Cæsar* was at the Theatre, a Soldier who could get no room in the place appointed for them, had the impudence to go seat himself with the Roman Knights. The People having observed it, *Cæsar* caused him to be taken away, whereat the rest were so enraged, that when the Plays were done, gathering about *Cæsar* they demanded their companion, because not having seen him afterwards they thought him dead. The Soldier coming in at the same time they imagined him brought out of Prison, and though he denied it, and told them the matter as it passed, they told him he lyed, had been suborned, and was a Traytor to betray his Comrades. Such was their insolence in the Theatre, as a consequence to which, he having appointed them a day for their meeting in the Field of *Mars*, for the division of Lands, they were so hasty that they came thither long before day-light. And fretting at *Cæsar* that he came not so soon as they thought fit, *Nonius* a Centurion freely reproving them, and representing to them the respect they ought to their General, who made them not wait out of any pride or scorn, but because he was sick, they began to rail at him, and call him flatterer, and by degrees their fury increasing, proceeded to affront and throw stones at him. He thereupon fled, they pursued him, he threw himself into the River to make his escape, but there they killed him, and drawing his Body out of the Water, brought it and layd it in the way by which *Cæsar* was to pass. His Friends hereupon counselled him not to go and expose himself to these Bedlams, but lest absence might more increase their fury, he went, and seeing *Nonius's* Body, turned off by another way. There as if this had been the crime only of some particular Men, he exhorted them for the future to spare one another, made division of their Lands, permitted those had done good ser-

vice to demand the usual rewards, and gave them likewise even against his own judgment, to many that were unworthy, insomuch that the multitude admiring his gravity, began to repent and be ashamed, and withal to demand that those guilty of *Nomius's* death might be punished, upon which he told them he knew them well, but that he was content with their confession and repentance, and would remit the punishment. Thus having obtained not only pardon for their fault, but likewise gifts and rewards, they all upon a sudden changed their anger into applause and acclamations. These two examples chosen among many others make it evidently appear how difficult it is, to govern in such times as those the spirits of the Soldiery, which is occasioned when Generals are not commissioned to the Command of their Armies by lawful Authority and Nomination as ordinarily happens in Civil Wars, and when Armies are not raised according to ancient custom, for the service of their Country. And in reality all those People bore not Arms for the Roman People, but for those that had set them on foot, not by order of War, but by private promises, not against the Enemies of the State, but to satisfy particular animosities, not against Strangers, but against Citizens their Equals in Birth and Dignity: all these things ruined Military Discipline. The Soldiers conceited not they made War, but did service to particular persons that would oblige them, and from whom they hoped for acknowledgments, and the Commanders made use of them as they had occasion for their own advantage. And whereas the ancient Romans never pardoned any Runaways, they now gave them rewards; for the Pleas were equally specious, each party deeming the other Enemy to the State, the Leaders themselves making the same pretence, and all saying they had no other end than the service of their Country. Thus the Soldiers were his, gave most; as well as whole Armies and many illustrious persons, thought they did not deserve the name of Runaways, which things caused often shifting of sides; for on what ever party they ranged themselves, they still served their Country: wherefore the Generals that were sensible of this, were fain to wink at many things, and confided not so much in the fidelity of their Soldiers, or the authority of the Laws, as in the power of their Largesses, so ordinary were tumults and mutinies now in Armies.

VI.

Mean while *Rome* was distressed for want of Provisions; for *Pompey* hindered the bringing any by Sea, and in *Italy* they had almost given over Husbandry, because of the continual Wars, and that little Corn there was the Armies consumed. There were likewise committed in the Cities many Robberies and Violences by night, after which no inquest was made, because they layd all upon the Soldiers; wherefore the People shut up their Shops, and drove away the Magistrates, as standing no more in need of Officers or Artificers in a miserable City, where all things were exposed to Robbery and Plunder: *Lucius* a Lover of the publick welfare, and Enemy to the power of the Triumvirate, which seemed to last beyond the time prescribed by its establishment, had often sharp words with *Cæsar*; and when the old Proprietors of Lands came to complain to the Magistrates of the oppression of the Soldiery, he alone would hear their complaints, and promise them his protection, and they on the other side engaged themselves to serve him in what ever he would employ them. This gave occasion to *Anthony's* Soldiers, and to *Cæsar* himself, to reproach him that he busied himself against his Brother, and to give advice to *Fulvia* to have a care of kindling an unseasonable War. Notwithstanding which *Manius* maliciously

liciously cunning, having buzzed in her ears, that as long as *Italy* was in peace her Husband would stay with *Cleopatra*, but if once there were War would presently come away, she suffered her self to be perswaded, and out of her womanly passion obliged *Lucius* to seek some occasion of a Rupture. To which effect *Cæsar* being gone to settle the rest of the Colonies, she sent along *Anthony's* Children together with *Lucius*, that it might not be thought he alone had the authority. And he happening to command some part of his Cavalry to march speedily to the Sea Coast of the Brutians, lest *Pompey* should plunder them, *Lucius* either fearing or dissembling that he was afraid these Horse were drawn off against him and his Nephews, fled forthwith to *Anthony's* Colonies, desiring of them Guards for his security, accusing *Cæsar* of infidelity towards their General: *Cæsar* on the contrary sent to tell them that there was no shadow of change in the Friendship betwixt them and *Anthony*, but that *Lucius* sought a pretence to make them arm against each other, because he was an Enemy to the Triumvirate in the maintenance of whose power the Soldiery were to be concerned, if they would not be driven from their Colonies, and that for his Horse they were still in the Country of the Brutians executing his orders. The principal Officers of *Anthony's* Army understanding well all these things met together at *Theana* with *Cæsar*, where a Treaty was made on these conditions: That the Triumvirs should not disturb the Consuls in the Government of the Common-wealth; that they should give Lands only to those had served at *Philippi*: that *Anthony's* Forces in *Italy* should as well as *Cæsar's* have a share of the Proscripts Money, and in the produce of the sale lately made of their Goods: that for the future no one should constrain them to serve out of *Italy*, except two Legions which *Cæsar* might employ in the Expedition against *Pompey*: that those *Cæsar* should send to *Spain* might pass the *Alpes* without being impeded by *Asinius Pollio*, and that *Lucius* satisfied with these conditions should dismiss his Guards, and follow the functions of his authority with all security. These Articles being agreed upon by the Officers of *Anthony's* Army, there were but two of them executed, and *Salvidienus* passed the *Alpes* in spite of those would have hindered him: insomuch that the performance of the rest being delayed, *Lucius* retired to *Praneste*, saying, that having no Guards, he was afraid of *Cæsar*, who was always accompanied with Soldiers, because of his quality of Triumvir. *Fulvia* likewise fled for refuge to *Lepidus*, out of fear, as she said, for her Children, and she had a better opinion of him than of *Cæsar*. However it were, both one and the other wrote to *Anthony*, and some of their Friends who could lay open all the Affair carried the Letters, of which I could not find the Copies, though I have made a curious search. Things standing in this posture, the principal Officers of both Armies met together to terminate the differences yet between their Generals by an equitable judgment, resolved to force to a compliance those that would not submit, and they invited *Lucius* his Friends to joyn with them; upon their refusal, *Cæsar* to render them odious, began to vent his complaints in all places as well to the Officers of the Armies, as the principal Citizens, which occasioned a great many persons to go from the City to *Lucius*, to beseech him to have compassion of *Italy*, almost ruined by Civil Wars, and to make choice of some, who, with them, or with the Officers might endeavour an accommodation. *Lucius* had both a respect for them and the matter whereof they spoke. But *Manius* answered fiercely, that whilst *Anthony* amused himself to raise Money among Strangers, *Cæsar* by his cringing and flexibility secured to himself all the Militia, and all

the strong places of *Italy*. That to this purpose, to the damage of *Anthony*, to whom *Gaul* appertained, he had enfranchised it, and that instead of eighteen Cities designed to reward the Veterans, he had granted them almost all *Italy*, and that whereas Lands were due only to twenty eight Legions that had served, he had given to four and thirty; that he had taken Money out of the Temples, which had never before been done whatever Famine were in the City, and that on pretence of a War against *Pompey*, but indeed to gain himself Soldiers to employ against *Anthony*: besides he had appraised the Proscripts Goods at such low rates, that it was rather giving than selling them: wherefore if he really desired peace, he ought first to give an account of what he had done, and do nothing for the future but what should be resolved upon common deliberation. Thus *Manius* by this arrogant answer would have had *Cæsar* no more to have the arbitrement of any thing, but that the agreement made between him and *Anthony* (by which each had an absolute power in things whereof he took charge, and what one did the other was to approve) should be utterly void. Wherefore *Cæsar* seeing they were absolutely determined for War, began to prepare likewise. Two Legions that were in the City of *Ancona* having advice hereof, they having formerly belonged to *Cæsar*, and since to *Anthony*, and having still respect for both, sent Deputies to *Rome* to entreat them to consent to an Accommodation: whereupon *Cæsar* answering that he had no design against *Anthony*, but that *Lucius* would make War upon him, the Deputies and Officers of *Anthony's* Forces joyned together, deputed some to *Lucius*, to perswade him to admit of a determination of the Differences between *Cæsar* and him, by the way of Justice, letting him know, that if he would not submit, they would take the matter into their own hands. After having obtained of *Lucius* what they desired, the City of *Gates* was made choice of for the meeting, being the half way betwixt *Rome* and *Præneste*, where Benches were set up for the Judges, and two Tribunals, from whence to plead Causes: *Cæsar* who came first had sent some Horse on the way which *Lucius* was to come, to discover if there were no Ambush; these met with some of *Anthony's* Horse which *Lucius* had likewise sent to scout before, and slew some of them: *Lucius* retreated thereupon for fear (as he said) of Ambushes, and never afterwards notwithstanding all the prayers of *Anthony's* Officers, and all their assurance to be his safe conduct, would return, so that those who laboured for Peace, not succeeding, it came to an open War, and they began already to tear one another in pieces by bloody Declarations. *Lucius's* Forces were composed of four Legions he had raised when he entred into the Consulate, besides the eleven Legions of *Anthony's* commanded by *Calenus*, and all those were in *Italy*: and *Cæsar* had four Legions at *Capua* and his Pretorian Cohorts with six Legions *Salvidienus* brought him from *Spain*. For Money, *Anthony's* Provinces where there was no War, furnished *Lucius*; and *Cæsar* drew from all his except *Sardinia*, at present engaged in War, and borrowed from all the Temples with promise to pay the interest, till he restored it to the Temple of the Capitol in *Rome*, at *Antium*, at *Lavinia*, at the * Forest, and at *Tibur*, in all which Temples there are to this day store of consecrated Treasure.

* Of *Arycia*, where was the Nymph *Egeria*.

VII

Not were all things quiet out of *Italy*, for *Pompey's* Force and Reputation was much increased by the Procripts, the old Inhabitants of the Colonies, and even by this breach with *Lucius*; for all those who either feared their own safety, or were despoiled of their goods, or had any dislike to the

the present state of Affairs, flocked in to him ; besides a great number of Youth, who sought their Fortune by War, and thought it indifferent to engage under one or another General, since they were all Romans came in to him, as judging his cause the more just : Besides he was grown rich with Prizes taken at Sea, and had store of Shipping with all things necessary ; *Murcus* likewise had brought him two Legions with fourscore Ships; and there was coming to him another Army from *Cephalonia*, which makes some think that if he had now invaded *Italy*, he might easily have become Master of it, oppressed, as it was, with Famine, and rent in pieces with Intestine Divisions : but *Pompey* by an inexcusable imprudence chose rather to defend himself, than assail others, which proved in the end his own loss. As for what happened in *Africa*, *Sextus*, Lieutenant to *Anthony*, according to *Lucius* Command, had delivered up his Army to *Fagio*, *Cesar's* Lieutenant, afterwards having received Orders again to withdraw it ; upon *Fagio's* refusal to return it, he declared War against him, and having raised considerable Forces of disbanded Soldiers and Africans, with such assistance as he had from the Kings of that Country, goes to charge the Enemy, cuts in pieces the two Wings of his Army, and makes himself Master of his Camp ; so that *Fagio* despairing, and thinking he was betrayed, slew himself. Thus *Sextus* repossessed himself of both the Provinces of *Africa*, and *Bocchus*, King of the Moors, by *Lucius* perswasion went to make War against *Carinas*, who commanded in *Spain* for *Cesar*. On the other side *Ænobarbus*, with seventy Ships, two Legions, a great number of Archers and Slingers, some light armed Infantry, and Gladiators, cruising on the Ionian Sea, wasted all those Coasts that acknowledged the Triumvirate ; and coming nigh to *Brundisium*, took part of *Cesar's* Galley's, burnt others, and having forced the Inhabitants to shut themselves up within their Wall, spoiled their Country. *Cesar* sent thither one Legion, and commanded *Salvidienus* to hasten out of *Spain*, whilst both persons laboured to raise men in *Italy*, where there happened some fights, some skirmishes, and many surprises. The people had a far greater inclination for *Lucius's*, then for the adverse party, because they made War against the new Colonies, and not only the Cities, whose Lands they had divided to the Soldiers, declared for him ; but likewise all *Italy*, who feared the like oppression ; so those that *Cesar* had sent to borrow the consecrated Mony, being driven out of the Cities, and some of them slain, the Inhabitants became Masters of their Walls, and declared for *Lucius*. But if these took his part, the new Possessors of Lands sided with *Cesar*, as if both one and the other had only regarded their proper interests. Affairs standing thus, *Cesar* assembled in the Palace the Senate and Roman Knights, and thus spoke to them.

The Oration of *Cesar*.

I Know I am contemn'd by *Lucius* party, as weak and infirm ; and I know that contempt will increase upon this my conventing you ; but I am yet assured I have a strong and powerful Army, as well that which *Lucius* wrongs by detaining from them their due rewards, as the other which fights under my Command ; nor is there any thing wanting to me, but good will, for I cannot easily resolve on a Civil War, unless constrained, or desire to engage those Citizens,

tizens, remaining to destroy each other ; but especially, I delight not in a War like this, which is not to be in Thrace or Macedon, but in the very heart of Italy, and which must occasion infinite miseries, though no man were to be slain, wherefore I have hitherto temporized, and do now protest, that I neither complain of Anthony, nor have given him cause to complain of me : 'Tis your interest, and you ought to let Lucius and his Counsellors know they are in the wrong, and let me intreat you to reconcile us together. If they will not believe you, but continue obstinate, they shall soon find my delay was an effect of my prudence, and not of my fear, and you may bear witness for me to Anthony, that I am forced to what I do, by the insolence of Lucius.

Cæsar having said these words, they sent forthwith to *Lucius* to *Preseste*, who made them no answer, but that blows had already been struck on both sides, and that Cæsar deceived them, having already sent a Legion to *Brundisium*, to hinder *Anthony's* landing, besides *Manius* showed them a Letter from *Anthony*, whether true or forged is uncertain, commanding them to defend his Authority by Arms, whereupon the Deputies of the Senate demanding, if any had invaded *Anthony's* ; for if so they would make them do reason by ways of Justice. *Manius* thereupon proposed many other things, so they went away without doing any thing ; yet they went not together to return Cæsar any answer of their Legation, whether they had given him an account of it privately, or that they were ashamed, or for some other reason.

VIII. Thus War being declared, Cæsar took the Field, leaving *Lepidus* with two Legions for guard of the City, at which time many persons of quality declared their dislike of the Triumvirs, by going over to *Lucius*. Now what passed most considerable in this War was thus : Two of *Lucius's* Legions quartered at *Alba* mutined, and having turned away their Officers, were upon the very point of revolting, when both *Lucius* and Cæsar were upon their way thither ; *Lucius* got there first, and by the force of Money and Promises, kept them in their Duty. After which, as *Firminus* brought him another Army, Cæsar fell upon his Rear-guard, and forced *Firminus* to an Eminence ; from whence escaping the next night into a City of his faction, called *Sentia* ; Cæsar would not pursue him, for fear of an Ambush, but on the morrow besieged the place and the Army. On the other side *Lucius* having a design upon *Rome*, sent before three Regiments, who with wonderful diligence entred the City privately by night, himself followed with the flower of his Horse and the Gladiators, and was received by *Nonius*, who having that day the guard of the Gate, with all his Soldiers submitted to him, and *Lepidus* went out to meet with Cæsar ; *Lucius* thus entred the City, assembled the people, and told them that *Anthony* and *Lepidus* should in few days give an account of the violences committed in their Magistracy, and that *Anthony* was disposed to quit that unlawful power, to accept of the Consulate, that is to say, a Dignity established by their Ancestors, instead of a tyrannical Dominion. These words were received with the universal joy of the people, who already imagining the Triumvirate abolished, made acclamations to *Lucius*, giving him the Title of Emperour. Soon after he left the City to march against Cæsar, passing by his Brother's Colonies, where he raised another Body of an Army, and fortified all the Cities he found affectionate to his Party : but *Barbarus* Questor to *Anthony* being returned upon some difference

difference he had with his General, told all Men, that he was mightily incensed against those made War upon *Cesar*, to the ruine of their common power, which made many that discovered not *Barbarius's* deceit, desert *Lucius*, and joyn with *Cesar*. *Lucius* then marched to meet with *Salvidienus*, who was coming with an Army of Gauls to *Cesar*, followed in the rear by *Asinius* and *Ventidius*, two of *Anthony's* Lieutenants; so that he could not well pass farther, when *Agrippa*, one of *Cesar's* best Friends, fearing lest *Salvidienus* should be inclosed, went and seized upon ^{* Ducey of} *Insubria*, from ^{Milan.} whence *Lucius* drew great Succors, thinking thereby to oblige *Lucius* to turn his Arms upon him, and quit his design upon *Salvidienus*, who would not fail to follow him in the rear, nor was he deceived in his imagination: *Lucius* therefore frustrated in his hopes, would willingly have joyned with *Asinius* and *Ventidius*, but *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus* lying on each side him, sorely annoyed him, and had given good order for guarding the Straits; when he saw himself engaged in this manner, not daring to venture a Battel, he retired nigh to *Perugia* a strong City, where he encamped, staying for *Ventidius*. *Agrippa*, *Salvidienus* and *Cesar* himself coming in at the same time, with the three Armies there besieged him, *Cesar* having speedily drawn together all his Forces, that *Lucius* who was the Head of the War might not escape him. He sent likewise some Forces towards *Asinius* and *Ventidius* to retard their march, though they made no great haste, for they approved not of this War, and did not well know *Anthony's* mind; besides there was jealousy between them, and being of equal Dignity each was ambitious of the sole Command of the Army. Mean while, *Lucius* thus besieged durst not hazard a Battel, being the weaker both in number and quality of Soldiers, his Army consisting for the most part of new raised Forces, nor durst he take the Field, or adventure a Retreat, being on all sides so belayd; wherefore he sent *Manius* to *Ventidius* and *Asinius* to hasten them to come to his relief, and gave order to *Titinnius* to go with four thousand Horse to waste the Country under *Cesar's* protection, that he might oblige him to raise his Siege, whilst he shut himself up in *Perugia*, resolved if he were forced to it to spend the Winter there, or at least so much time till *Ventidius* came up to him with the other Army, but *Cesar* presently set his Men to work on the Circumvallation, which he was forced to make six and fifty Furlongs in circuit, because of the Hills, among which the City is seated, from whence he drew two Lines down to the *Tiber* to hinder any thing from being brought to the City. *Lucius* on his part caused the foot of the Hills to be fortified with Trench and Palisado like to the Circumvallation, whilst *Fulvia* sent fresh dispatches to *Ventidius*, *Asinius*, *Ateius* and *Calpurnius* to hasten them with all speed to his relief, and withal raised a new Army, which she sent to him under the Command of *Plancus*, who meeting with one of *Cesar's* Legions on their March to the City, cut them in pieces. As for *Ventidius* and *Asinius* doubtful of *Anthony's* mind they temporized, and yet pressed to it by *Fulvia*, they began to march on and to come to disengage *Lucius*, *Cesar* together with *Agrippa* presently set forward to meet them, after having placed a very good Guard before *Perugia*, but they not being able to joyn *Plancus*, or put themselves into a condition to fight, retired one to *Ravenna*, the other to *Rimini*, and *Plancus* to *Spoletum*; and *Cesar* having left a part of his Forces to hinder their conjunction, returned to the Siege at *Perugia*. There he with all possible diligence caused to be made a double Ditch of thirty Foot wide, and as many deep, on which he raised a Rampire, with fifteen hundred Towers of Wood, sixty Feet distant one from the other, with store of Redoubts, and

all things necessary for defence as well against the Besieged, as those that would force his Lines; this was not done without frequent Sallies, and many Engagements, wherein *Cæsar's* Light-armed Foot did wonders in lancing their Javelings; but when *Lucius's* Gladiators could come to a close Fight with them, they made a great slaughter. The work being brought to perfection, the Besieged began to be afflicted with Famine, which augmented from day to day, for neither *Lucius* nor the Inhabitants had made any Provision of Victuals, which coming to *Cæsar's* knowledge, he caused the Lines to be guarded with double care and diligence. Now on the Eve of New-years-day, being a solemn Festival, *Lucius*, imagining they would not have so much care of the Watch as ordinarily, went and stormed the Gate of their Trenches, believing, that by opening this passage, he might gain an entrance into the City for those other Forces he had in divers Quarters. But the Legion then upon the Guard presently running in, and *Cæsar* himself with the Pretorian Cohorts, *Lucius* after a long Fight resolutely maintained, was forced to a Retreat: and this happened at the same time that at *Rome*, where they had layed in stores of Corn for Provision for the Soldiers, the People detesting both the Wars and the Victories, ran to all the Magazines, and pillaged them of all the Corn. After this *Ventidius* and those with him judging it shameful for them not to relieve *Lucius*, perishing with Famine, set forward to their assistance, and at first over-run those Forces which *Cæsar* had left to oppose their Designs, but *Atrippa* and *Salvidienus* coming in with a greater power, they were fearful of being surrounded, and returned off to *Fulminia*, a little City about one hundred and sixty Furlongs from *Perugia*, where *Atrippa* having besieged them, they gave *Lucius* notice of there being there, by great Fires which they kindled in the Night time, *Ventidius* and *Asinius* were of the mind to sally out and fight: *Plancus* on the contrary said they had better stay a while, for fear of engaging themselves between *Atrippa* and *Cæsar*; so the Besieged in *Perugia*, who had rejoiced at the first sight of the Fires, seeing their Companions came not, imagined they had met with some obstacle, but when the Fires were quite extinct, then they believed them absolutely defeated; whereupon *Lucius* oppressed with Famine, would once more attempt an Assault by night, and from the first Watch till it was light did all he could to force the Lines, but being every where repulled, he retreated into *Perugia*, where having taken an exact account of the Provision remaining, he forbade giving any to the Slaves, whom yet he set Guards over, lest flying to the Enemy they should betray the extremities of the Garrison; so that whole Troops of those poor wretches might be seen walk staggering through the City, and as far as the Rampire, eating Grass, or green Leaves, or whatsoever they could find; and when they were dead, *Lucius* caused them to be interred very deep, lest if he should have burnt them, the Enemy should have knowledge of it, or letting them lie, they should putrefie, and by their corrupt stench engender the Plague. But when there appeared no end either of Famine or Funerals, the Soldiers quite wearied out, desired *Lucius* they might once more attempt the Enemies Trenches, promising themselves this time to carry them, he approved their resolution, and told them: *In our last Assault we fought not so stoutly as the present occasion and our necessity did require: now we have no other way but either to yield, or if that seem worse than dying, to fight it out to the death.* All of them courageously accepting of these conditions, they besought him to lead them on in open day, that if there were any Cowards among them the night might not keep them from being known. *Lucius* made his Sally about break of day,

day with a great quantity of Iron Instruments, many kind of Ladders, Tools of all sorts to fill up the Trenches, with portable Towers to lay Bridges over to the Walls, all kind of missile Arms, with Stones and Bundles of Officers or Wattles to throw upon the Stakes. They then began the Assault with such fury, that they presently filled up the Ditch, passed the Palisade, and gained the Foot of the Wall, which some laboured to undermine, and others brought Ladders to scale, others drew close up their Towers with a wonderful contempt of their lives, though there fell upon them Showers of Stones, of Darts, and of Leaden Bullets. They assaulted the Lines in several places at once, so that the Enemy distracted, could not so vigorously apply themselves to the defence of all : whereby it happened in one place *Lucius's* Men having brought up a Tower, had cast their Planks upon the Wall, where, though fighting in extreme danger, as being galled both in Front and Flank by the Enemies missile Arms, they at length forced their way, and some of them gained the Wall, followed pell mell by others ; and possibly their despair had met with a happy success, if the Enemy, knowing there were not many of these Machines, had not opposed the most valiant of *Cesar's* Soldiers, to these weak and tired Men, who soon tumbled them down the Walls, and having broken in pieces their Machine with contempt, wounded them from above : yet with broken Arms and wounded Bodies, their very voices almost failing them, they still resolutely stood to it ; but when they saw the Bodies of those who had been slain upon the Wall stripped and thrown after them, the contumely seemed unsufferable, and they stood like Men struck dumb, or like Wrestlers at the Gymnick Games that would breath themselves a while : so that *Lucius* seeing them in this condition, took compassion on them, and sounded a Retreat. However, when *Cesar's* Soldiers, joyful for their success, made a great noise with their Arms as a mark of Victory, they recntred with fury, and bringing out Ladders (for they had no more Towers) in a desperate mood attempted to scale the Wall, but all in vain, and indeed it was impossible ; wherefore *Lucius* running about to all places, besought them not to cast themselves away, and brought them off weeping, and much against their wills. After this fierce Assault, *Cesar*, to prevent the Enemies from making the like upon his Trenches, lined his Walls with Courts of Guard, giving order that at the first signal they should mount the Rampire, some in one place, and some in others : and this they did continually, though none assailed them, with design to exercise the Soldiers, and strike terrour into the Enemy.

Mean while *Lucius's* Soldiers began to be quite out of heart, and to neglect their Guards, as it often happens after such unfortunate repulses ; and many, not only of the Soldiers, but Officers went and submitted themselves to *Cesar*. *Lucius* himself, touched with pity to see so many Men so miserably ending their lives, would willingly have consented to an Accommodation, if he had not had with him some particular Enemies of *Cesar's*, who were fearful to fall into his hands ; but when it was known that he kindly received the very Runaways, all Mens minds grew more inclinable to peace, so that *Lucius* fearing, lest if he alone resisted, they would deliver him to *Cesar* ; wherefore seeing some appearance of hopes, he thus spoke to his Army :

IX.

The Oration of *Lucius* to his Army.

I Had a design, Fellow Soldiers, to restore my Country to liberty, seeing the *Triumvirate* changed into a *Tyranny*, and that this Authority thought to be only established against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, continued yet after their deaths; for *Lepidus* being deprived of his part of the Empire, whilst *Anthony* is gathering up Money in the remote Provinces, this Man who besieges us disposes all things at pleasure, and the Roman Laws, which he makes a mock of, serve him but for a pretence: but when to remedy this disorder, and redeem the Commonwealth from Slavery, I requested that after having given the promised *Recompenses* to the *Soldiery* he should lay down the *Sovereign Authority*, not obtaining it by request, I sought to constrain it according to the power invested in me by the quality of *Consul*, but he raised a report among the *Soldiers* that I opposed the *Colonies* in favour of the ancient possessors: it was a long time ere I knew he slandered me in this manner; and when it was told me, I could not believe it, since I had my self appointed *Commissioners* to divide the *Lands* among you: nevertheless the greater part giving ear to this Calumny, joyned themselves with *Cæsar's Faction* to make War upon us; but have made War against themselves, as time will make it appear. For your part I am your witness, that having adhered to the juster cause you have suffered infinitely, and at last we are not overcome by our Enemies, but by Famine, which has forced our Officers to desert us. True it is, it would be much for my Glory to fight for my Country, even to the last extremities, and my good will would be recompensed with immortal praises, but I cannot resolve it, out of my affection to you whose safety I prefer before my own Glory. I will therefore send Deputies to the Conquerour to desire him to deal as he please with me, so he will but pardon you who are his Fellow Citizens, and have been his Soldiers, who have committed no fault in fighting for a cause so apparently just, and who have not been overcome by Arms, but by want of Provisions.

After these words, he chose three out of the principal Men of his Army, and sent them to *Cæsar*, which drew tears from the eyes of all the rest, deploring either their own, or their Generals condition, who having such noble and generous thoughts for his Country was yet reduced to that shameful necessity. The three Deputies represented to *Cæsar*, that they were all of the same Country, had formerly fought under the same Colours, that the Chief of both Parties had been good Friends, and that he ought to imitate the Generosity of the Ancients, who were haters of deadly dissensions, with many other things tending to the same purpose. *Cæsar* who well knew the Army was composed of Veterans and new raised Soldiers, cunningly answered, that he would pardon *Anthony's* Men for their General's sake, but for the rest they should yield upon discretion. This he spoke publicly, but drawing apart *Furnius* one of the three Deputies, he gave him hopes of a general pardon, excepting only his particular Enemies, but those who thought themselves of that number, suspecting this private conference between *Furnius* and *Cæsar* was to their prejudice, reviled him at his return, and besought *Lucius* either to obtain a general Peace, or to continue the War

War without Quarter, since it had not been undertaken for any particular animosities, but for the Common-wealth. *Lucius* moved to compassion for persons of equal quality with himself, praised their resolution, and promised to send other Deputies; but after saying he could find no Man fitter for that Negotiation than himself, he went without a Herald, only some running before to give *Cæsar* notice *Lucius* was coming. *Cæsar* presently came forth to meet him, and when they were in sight of each other, attended by their Friends, and in the habit of Generals: *Lucius* stopped his Train, and taking with him only two Lictors came forward, thereby making known his intencion: *Cæsar* having observed it, imitated his Modesty, the better to give him assurance of his future good will; and when he saw *Lucius* advanced to the Trenches in token he yielded to discretion, he came out himself, that *Lucius* might still be at freedom to dispose of his Affairs: these signs of their good inclinations they by turns gave each other at their approach: but when they were met near the Trench, after mutual salutations, *Lucius* thus began:

The Speech of *Lucius* to *Cæsar*.

CÆsar, had I made this War with Strangers, I should have thought it base to have been overcome, but much baser to have thus yielded my self, and should soon have found a way to have freed me from that infamy; but having to deal with a Citizen of my own quality, and for my Country, I think it no shame to be vanquished in such a cause, and by such a Man: I say not this that I would refuse to suffer what ever you please (for I come to you without a Herald) but to obtain pardon for others, which as it is just, will be no less profitable to your Affairs, which to make you the more clearly understand, I will separate my interest from this, that being fully persuaded I alone am the cause of what has passed, you may discharge all your anger upon me; yet think not whatever I say I would have offended you (that would have been unreasonable) only let me speak, truths cannot be dissembled, I undertook this War against you, not to seize the Sovereign Power after your defeat, but to restore to the Senate the Government of the Common-wealth, of which the Triumvirate deprived them, since when you established it, you confessed your Government not lawful, but necessary for a time, so long as Brutus and Cassius, with whom you could make no peace, subsisted. After the Heads of that Dissention were dead, the Remains of their Party (if yet there be any Remains) being still in Arms, not against the Common-wealth, but because they feared you, and the five years of the Triumvirate being expired, I demanded the restoration of the Magistrates power, according to the ancient order, preferring the good of my Country before mine own Brother, because I hoped for his consent at his return, and in the meantime to finish the work which I was in authority; which had it proceeded from you, you alone had had the Glory of it; but not being able to persuade you, I went to the City where I thought I might by force effect it, being a Citizen of considerable Birth, and withal Consul. This is the sole cause of this War, which ought neither to be attributed to my Brother, nor to Manius, nor to Fulvia, nor to the distribution made of Lands to those Soldiers had served at Philippi, nor to the compassion I might have conceived for those turned out of their Beings, since I my self sent Commissioners to the places to settle my Brother's Legions in their Colonies, and to drive out the old Proprietors: but it

X.

was your intention to throw upon me and the Colonies the cause of the War, and an artifice by which gaining the hearts of the Veterans you have got the Victory; for being persuaded I was their Enemy, they have done all they could against me, and you had reason to make use of this policy, being in open War with me. Now you have got the Victory, if you are an Enemy to your Country treat me likewise as an Enemy; for I had a design to serve it, if I had not been hindered by want of Provision. These things I speak yielding my self (as I have said) freely up, to use at your discretion, and coming alone to you, that you may perceive what thoughts I have heretofore had of you, and what I still preserve. Thus far touching my self: for what concerns my Friends, and all the rest of the Army (if my advice may not be suspected by you) I will give you what shall be for your advantage. Let me counsel you not to use them hardly for any difference between us, lest, being still a Man exposed to the reach of Fortune, you make those serve under you backward in hazarding themselves to danger, when by your example they shall have learn'd there is no hopes of safety but in Victory. But if the counsels of an Enemy are not to be listened to, I beseech you not to punish my Friends for my fault, or misfortune; but rather lay all the Load on me, who am the only cause of all that has happened. I have on purpose left them behind me, for fear lest if I had spoke in their presence it might have looked like an Artifice to gain favour for my self.

To which Cæsar answered:

The Answer of Cæsar to Lucius.

WHEN I saw you, Lucius, coming to me without a Herald, I presently came out of my Trenches to meet you; that you being still Master of your self might still be at liberty to resolve, say and do what you judged most advantageous for you; but since acknowledging your fault you yield to discretion, there is no need of a reply to what you impute to me with a great deal of cunning, and little truth. From the beginning you have had a desire to vanquish me, and you now have done it: for had you desired to capitulate, you had deservedly met with a severe Conquerour, but now without any conditions you come to yield up your self, your Friends and Army, you have taken away all anger, taken away all advantage I had over you; for I am now to consider not so much what you deserve as what becomes me, which I am glad to have the opportunity of doing, out of respect to the Gods, for my own interest, and for your sake, Lucius, who shall not be deceived in that opinion of me which brought you hither.

These are near upon the very same words as I found them in the Commentaries of those times.

- XI. In these passages Cæsar admired the generous and unshaken mind of Lucius so well biassed with prudence; and Lucius the great clemency and expeditious brevity of Cæsar, and others read in both their Faces the tenure of what they had spoke: Lucius presently sent his Tribunes to receive orders from Cæsar, who brought him the Muster-Rolls of the whole Army, according to the custom to this day when a Tribune comes for Orders, he presents

presents the General with a Counter-roll of those serve under him. After having received Orders, they set the Watch as before, it being *Cæsar's* pleasure that for that night each Army should lodge in their own Camp: on the morrow he offered Sacrifices, and *Lucius* sent him all his Forces in Arms, and ready to march upon service. As soon as they came in sight of *Cæsar* they saluted him, calling him Emperour, and that done, drew up by Legions the Veterans apart from the new raised Men in a place by him appointed. After having performed the Ceremonies of the Sacrifices, *Cæsar* seated himself upon a Tribunal with a Wreath of Laurel on his Head, which is the Badge of Victory, and commanded them all to lay down their Arms, then he gave order for the Veterans to draw near, that he might terrifie them with reproaches of ingratitude; but his mind being known, all *Cæsar's* Soldiers, whether suborned, or moved with affection towards their Fellow Citizens in distress, stepped out of their Ranks, and advancing towards *Lucius's* Men, who had formerly been their Comrades, began to embrace them, weeping and imploring, *Cæsar* for them, continuing their cries and their embraces, till such time as the new raised Men being touched with a like compassion, the whole place became the object of universal sorrow; wherefore *Cæsar* changing his design, having with much difficulty silenced their cries, thus spoke to his own Men:

The Oration of *Cæsar*.

YOU have always, Fellow Soldiers, so behaved your selves to me, that you can ask nothing I can deny: I believe the new Soldiers may have been forced to serve *Lucius*; but for those there who have so often born Arms with you, and with whom you now petition me, I would fain ask them what injury I have done them, or what they ever requested of me that I refused them, or what advantage they could hope from others might oblige them to take up Arms against me, against you, and against themselves; for there is no labour to which I have not exposed my self for settling of the Colonies, in which they are to be sharers; but take it not amiss if their insolency make me be no further concerned for them.

But they instantly intreating him not to give over his care of them, and renewing their intreaties for their pardon.

I grant you, said he, whatever you desire, let them be pardoned, provided for the future they be of one mind with you.

Which after they had all promised, they with acclamations gave thanks to *Cæsar*, who permitted some of his to entertain the others as their Guests, and ordered the multitude to encamp apart in the same place where they had first drawn up, till such time as he appointed Cities for their Winter Quarters, with Commissioners to conduct them. After which, before he rose from the Tribunal, he caused to come to him *Lucius*, and all the persons of Quality with him, among whom there were many Senators and Roman Knights, all cast down, and sorrowful for this sudden and extraordinary change, who were no sooner come out of *Perugia*, but a Gar-
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riſon entered the City: when they were come before *Cæſar*, he cauſed *Lucius* to be ſet down by him, and his Friends and Centurions took charge of the reſt, after being advertiſed to treat them honourably, but yet to have a care to ſecure their perſons. He ſent likewiſe to the People of *Perugia*, who begged pardon from their Walls, to come to him without their Senators and he pardoned them, but their Senators were all imprifoned, and not long after ſlain, except only *Lucius Emilius*, who being at *Rome* one of the Judges of *Cæſar's* Murderers, openly gave ſentence againſt them, and perſuaded others to do the like, to purge the City from that abominable villainy. *Cæſar* had reſolved to give the plunder of *Perugia* to his Soldiers. But *Cæſtius* one of the Inhabitants, a crack-brained Fellow, who becauſe he had bore Arms in *Macedon* ſtilled himſelf *Macedonian*, ſet fire to his Houſe, and threw himſelf into the Flames, which the wind driving throughout the whole City, it was in a moment reduced to aſhes, all but the Temple of *Vulcan*, ſuch was the end of *Perugia*, a City famous for its antiquity: for it is ſaid to be one of thoſe twelve Cities built by the ancient Etrurians, at their firſt coming into *Italy*, wherefore they formerly adored *Juno* after the manner of the Etrurians; but now thoſe who divided among themſelves the ruins of the City, took *Vulcan* inſtead of *Juno* for their Tutelar Deity. The day following, *Cæſar* paſſed a general pardon; but the Army ſtill grumbling and growing tumultuous againſt ſome, forbore not till they were ſlain, who were all mighty Enemies to *Cæſar*, ſuch were *Caninius*, *C. Plautius*, *Clodius Brabatus* and others.

XII.

This concluſion had the Siege of *Perugia*, together with the War againſt *Lucius*, moſt certainly a very perilous one, and which in all likelyhood might a long time have tormented *Italy*. For *Asinius*, *Plautius*, *Centidius*, *Cæſtius*, *Antius*, and others of this Party, who had in all conſiderable Forces, amounting to thirteen Legions, and fix thouſand five hundred Horſe, repulſing *Lucius* the Head of this War, retired every one a ſeveral way towards the Sea, part to *Brundifium*, part to *Ravenna*, part to *Tarentum*, ſome of which went to ſeck out *Vincius* and *Ænobarbus*, others *Antius*, ſtill followed in the rear by *Cæſar's* Men, who offered them peace, which they reſuſing, were by them much infeſted in their March; but two of theſe Legions left by *Plautius* at *Comitia*, *Agrippa* gained by fair promiſes. *Antia* likewiſe with her Children fled to *Prezola*, and from thence to *Brundifium*, convoyed by three thouſand Horſe, ſent her by her Huſband's Lieutenants. At *Brundifium* ſhe embarked on five long Ships, ſent for out of *Macedon*, and departed with *Plautius* the future companion of her Voyage, who through cowardice deſerted the reſt of the Army, of which *Centidius* after took the Conduct. *Asinius* drew *Ænobarbus* to *Antioch's* Party, which they both gave him aſſurance of by Letters, and becauſe he was to come into *Italy*, they ſecured convenient places for his landing, and laid in ſtores of Proviſion. On the other ſide, *Anthony* having ſtill other Forces near the *Alpes* commanded by *Calpurnius*, *Cæſar* deſigned to make himſelf Maſter of them, out of a jealouſie he had of *Anthony*, to keep them for him if he proved his Friend, or to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt him if it were true that he was not; but whilſt he was ſeeking a plauſible occaſion to do it, *Calpurnius* died: ſo that *Cæſar* laying hold of the opportunity, goes with all celerity and ſeizes upon the Army, and with it of *Gaul* and *Spain* two of *Antioch's* Provinces, *Antioch's* Son to *Calpurnius* out of fear yielding up all without oppoſition. Thus *Cæſar* being at one puſh ſtrengthened with eleven Legions, and theſe great Provinces, after having re-

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moved the Commanders, and put his own Creatures in their places, returned to *Rome*.

But *Anthony* detained the Deputies of the Colonies sent to him, either because of the Winter Season, or that they might not discover his Designs. At the beginning of Spring parting from *Alexandria* he came to *Tyre*, from thence passing to *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, and the Province of *Asia*, he heard of the success of the Siege of *Perugia*, for which he blamed his Brother, his Wife, but especially *Manius*. At *Athens* he met with *Fulvia*, flying from *Brundisium*, and *Fulia* his Mother, whom *Pompey* (to whom she was fled for refuge) sent upon long Ships, accompanied with the chief Men of Quality in his Party, *L. Libo* his Father-in-law, *Saturninus* and others, who beholding *Anthony's* Magnificence, would have persuaded him to an alliance with *Pompey* against *Cæsar*: to which he answered; *That indeed he was obliged to Pompey for sending to him his Mother, which he would acknowledge in due season; and if he must make War with Cæsar, would embrace his alliance; but if the friendship betwixt them stood firm, he would do his endeavours to reconcile Pompey to Cæsar.* Thus *Anthony* then answered: but when *Cæsar* returned to the City out of *Gaul*, understanding that some had sailed from *Pompey* to *Athens*, but not hearing what answer they brought back, he began to make the old Soldiers and new Inhabitants of the Colonies jealous of *Anthony*, as if *Pompey* were ready by his allowance to come and drive them out, and place in their ancient possessions the old Proprietors, of whom many indeed had fled to him for refuge, which though easily believed, yet could not the affection of the Veterans to *Anthony* be so easily withdrawn, so much credit had the Battel of *Philippi* got him in the hearts of the Soldiers. *Cæsar*, though he thought that he should be stronger than *Anthony*, *Pompey* and *Ænobarbus* all together in the number of Legions, for he had already above forty; yet neither having Shipping nor time to build any, he was much afraid that if they with five hundred Sail should come and cruise about all the Coasts of *Italy*, they would in a short time starve him; wherefore though many Virgins were offered him in Marriage he wrote to *Mecenas* that he should treat for him with *Scribonia* Sister to *Libo* Father-in-law of *Pompey*, that by this means if it were necessary he might make peace with *Pompey*: this was no sooner known to *Libo*, but by Letters he gave order that the Marriage should forthwith be concluded. Henceforwards *Cæsar* when at any time he conceived a jealousy of any of *Anthony's* Friends or Forces under his Command, he sent them to several places out of the way, and *Lepidus* he dispatched with six of *Anthony's* Legions he had in some suspicion, into *Africa* the Province designed for him. He sent likewise for *Lucius*, whom after he praised for his piety to his Brother, that what by his orders he had done, he would take the fault off upon himself; he yet accused him of ingratitude, that after so great an obligation he would not confess to him what every one talked publicly; that *Anthony* had entred into League with *Pompey* against him.

The Speech of *Cæsar* to *Lucius*.

CERTAINLY, said he, *trusting to your words, after Calenus's death I preferred for Anthony by the means of my Friends those Legions and Provinces that he might not be left without command; but now perceiving his designs against me, I take them all as my own; but you, if you please, may securely go to your Brother.*

Cæsar spoke thus either to try *Lucius*, or that what he said might be told to *Anthony*: but *Lucius* answered him as he had done before.

The Answer of *Lucius* to *Cæsar*.

I KNEW, said he, *I must confess, the mind of Fulvia aspiring to Dominion, and I made use of my Brother's Forces with hopes to suppress the power of you all; and if now my Brother comes to subvert Monarchy openly or privately, I will go to him, once more to make War for my Country against you, though so highly obliged to you; but if he seeks Associates to maintain his tyranny, I will serve you against him so long as I shall believe you affect not the Monarchy; for I shall always prefer my affection to my Country before either Friend or Relation.*

Cæsar now again admiring *Lucius*, told him, that whatever offers he made, he should not accept of his service against his Brother; but that he thought such a Man as he fit to be entrusted with the whole Province and Army of *Spain*, in which he should have *Peducius* and *Lucius* for his Lieutenants. Thus he sent *Lucius* out of the way with Honour, having given private orders to his Lieutenants to watch him narrowly.

- XIV. *Anthony* having left *Fulvia* sick at *Syrione*, set sail from *Corcyra* to pass the Ionian Sea with two hundred Ships he had built in *Asia*, wherein he had but very slender Forces. Upon advice that *Ænobarbus* came to meet him with a great Fleet and a mighty Army, some were jealous that he would not prove faithful to the new made peace, because he had been condemned as an Abettor of *Cæsar's* death, and therefore put in the number of the Proscribed, and had taken part against *Cæsar* and *Anthony* in the Battel of *Philippi*. But *Anthony*, that he might not seem to distrust any thing, held on his course with five of his best Ships, commanding the rest to follow at a distance; when *Ænobarbus* with all his Fleet and Army were come in sight, *Plancus*, who was on board of *Anthony*, began to be afraid, and advised him to stop and send some before to make tryal of the Faith of this doubted Man. But *Anthony* made answer; *That he had rather perish by the violation of a peace, than save himself by betraying the least fear.* They were now come so nigh, that they lay a while each other, and the Admiral's

ral's Ships stood Stem to Stem with their Flags aloft, when *Anthony's* chief Licitor standing on the Prow, according to custom, whether he had forgot that they were making towards a Man, whose Faith was in some question, and who had under his Command an Army of his own, or moved by the customary duty of Subjects and inferiours to their Superiours, he commanded them aloud to strike their Flag, which they obeyed, and brought up their Ship along *Anthony's* side; then the Commanders having saluted each other, *Ænobarbus's* Soldiers called *Anthony* Emperour, and *Plancus* with much ado recovered out of his fright. *Anthony* having received *Ænobarbus* into his Ship, they sailed to *Paleonta* where *Ænobarbus's* Land Forces lay, where he resigned up his Tent to *Anthony* as his General. From thence imbarquing they sailed to *Brundisium*, kept with five Cohorts for *Cæsar*, where the Inhabitants shut their Gates against them, against *Ænobarbus* as their ancient Enemy, and against *Anthony* for being in their Enemies company: *Anthony* enraged at this refusal, and thinking it only a pretence, and that indeed *Cæsar's* Men by his orders hindred his entrance, went and seized upon the Neck of the *Peninsula*, drew a line cross, and fortified it; for the City stands in a *Peninsula* in form of a Crescent; so that now there was no coming to the City by Land, the Line being drawn from one Sea to the other: he likewise raised Forts round the Port, which is very spacious, and in the Islands wherewith it is encompassed, and sent along the Coasts of *Italy* to seize of all commodious places, and dispatched withal at the same time to *Pompey* to oblige him as much as possibly he could with his Fleet to infest *Italy*. He very gladly sent *Menodorus* with a strong Fleet and four Legions into *Sardinia*, which then held for *Cæsar*, where he drew two Legions to his Party, scared with the agreement between *Anthony* and *Pompey*. In the mean time *Anthony's* Men took *Saguntum* in *Ausonia*, and *Pompey* besieged *Thuria* and *Consentia*, and sent his Horsemen into their Territories. *Cæsar* assailed in so many places at once, sent *Agrippa* to relieve those in *Ausonia*, who, passing by the Colonies, commanded the Veterans to follow him, as if he were to lead them against *Pompey*; but when they were told he acted by *Anthony's* orders, they stole away every Man to their Houses, which most of all terrified *Cæsar*. However, he went in person to *Brundisium* with another Army, and by seasonable Caresses drew the Veterans to their duty; they now following him out of a real respect and reverence to his person, and yet holding among themselves secret conferences of reconciling him with *Anthony*, whom if they found obstinate, to make War, they would then defend their General's honour, who was now some days detained at *Canusium*: in Men he much outnumbered *Anthony*; but when he saw *Brundisium* so beleaguered, that he could no way force the Lines, he contented himself to encamp near it, to view the Enemy, and wait a favourable occasion. Though *Anthony* was so well fortified in his Trenches, that he could well have defended himself against much greater Forces than *Cæsar's*, yet he sent with all speed for his Army out of *Macedon*: and in the mean time by this stratagem amused *Cæsar*, he sent by night on board the long Ships and Vessels of Burthen great numbers of Countrymen and Servants, and in the day time landed them again one after another all armed in the sight of *Cæsar*, as if they had been armed out of *Macedon*. And now his Machines being in a readiness, he began his Batteries upon *Brundisium*, to *Cæsar's* great grief, who could no way relieve the place, when towards the Evening news was brought to both Parties that *Agrippa* had retaken *Tiguntum*, and that *Pompey* repulsed from *Thuria*, continued the Siege of *Consentia*, which much troubled *Anthony*;

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but when he heard that *Servilius* with twelve hundred Horse was gone over to *Cæsar*, he could not contain himself, but rising from Supper he mounted with such of his Friends as were in a readiness, and accompanied only by four hundred Horse with a singular boldness beat up the Quarters of fifteen hundred near *Uria*, and so surpris'd them, that they yielding, he brought them the same day before *Brundisium*, such an opinion of his being invincible had the Battel of *Philippi* got him. The Pretorian Soldiers heightened by this success, went afterwards one after another up to *Cæsar's* Trenches, upbraiding their ancient Comrades for bearing Arms against *Anthony*, who had saved their lives at *Philippi*. Whereupon the others answering, that on the contrary they made War upon them, they came at length to Conferences, wherein they began their reciprocal complaints; on one side that they had refused them entrance into *Brundisium*, and corrupted *Calpurnius's* Army; and the other, that they had besieged *Brundisium*, made inroads into *Asonia*, treated with *Ænobarbus* one of *Cæsar's* Murderers, and with *Pompey* their common Enemy. At length *Cæsar's* Men discovered their inclinations to the other, that they followed *Cæsar* without having forgot the Virtues of *Anthony*, and that their design was to procure a reconciliation between their Generals, to which, if *Anthony* would by no other means be inclined, then they must repel force with force; all which they went and published even before *Anthony's* Trenches.

- XV. Whilst these things passed, the opportune news was brought of the death of *Fulvia*, who not able to bear her Husband's reproofs, was fallen sick with discontent that he was angry with her, for he had left her sick, and at his departure not vouchsafed to visit her, which hastened her end. All Men believed her death commodious for both Parties; for she was a Woman of a turbulent spirit, and who only out of her jealousy of *Cleopatra* had kindled this War. However, *Anthony* seemed much grieved at the accident, as believing himself the cause. There was one *Lucius Cocceius* intimately a Friend to both Generals, whom the Summer before *Cæsar* had sent with *Cecinna* as his Envoy to *Anthony* then in *Phœnicia*, *Cecinna* forthwith returning, he had till now stay'd with *Anthony*. Thus *Cocceius* laying hold on the occasion, feigned that he was recalled by *Cæsar*, and desired audience to take his leave, and *Anthony* permitting him to depart, he trying him farther, asked whether he would not write to *Cæsar*, having received Letters from him by the same *Cocceius*, to which *Anthony* replied: *What can we now write to one another being Enemies, unless it be mutual reproaches; besides I then returned him answer by Cecinna, the Copies of which you may take if you please.* To this cavil *Cocceius* made retort that *Cæsar* was not to be called an Enemy, who had so favourably treated *Lucius* and other Friends of his. But me, said *Anthony*, he has shut out of *Brundisium*, seized upon my Provinces, and *Calpurnius's* Army. As for his favour shewed only to my Friends, that has not so much preserved their Friendship to me, as made them my Enemies by his kindness. *Cocceius* hearing him enter upon complaints, would no farther move an angry Man, but went to *Cæsar*, who seeing him, and wondering he was returned no sooner, Is it (said he to him) because I saved your Brother's life that you are become my Enemy? *Cocceius* answered: Is it so you call your Friends Enemies, and take away their Provinces and Armies? *Cæsar* hereto replied; After *Calpurnius's* death should I have left in the hand of such a young Man Forces of such consequence, *Anthony* being absent, *Lucius* discontent, *Asinius* and *Ænobarbus* hard by, and ready to employ them against us? 'Twas the same reason made me hasten

to get Plancus's Legions into my hands, lest they should have joyned with Pompey, as the Horse did who went over into Sicily. To which Cocceius made answer, that things had been otherwise represented to Anthony, yet he did not believe them, till as an Enemy he was shut out of Brundisium. That was not done by any command of mine, replied Caesar, nor could I divine that he was coming to land there, or dream that he should come along with Enemies. The Inhabitants of Brundisium, and the Officers left there in Garrison to oppose the attempts of Ænobarbus, did without orders from me shut their Gates against Anthony, newly confederated with Pompey our common Enemy, and bringing along with him Ænobarbus a Parricide, condemned by publick sentence, proscribed, and who after the Battel of Philippi besieged Brundisium, and to this day wastes all the Coasts of the Ionian Sea, who burnt my Ships, and plunders all Italy. To which Cocceius made reply: You reserved to one another the liberty to treat with whom you pleased; Anthony has no more made peace with any Murderer of your Father than your self, he has too great an honour for his memory, Ænobarbus was none of the Parricides, but condemned by malicious Judges, when not conscious of the conspiracy. And if we think him unworthy of favour for being a Friend to Brutus, we must have a care lest we make all Men our Enemies. The peace was made too with Pompey not with design to quarrel with you, but that if you made War upon Anthony, he might have him for an Associate, and if you did not, to reconcile you together, as being a Man you can impeach with no crime. In this too, you are in the fault; for had there been no motion of War in Italy, they durst not have sent Deputies to Anthony. Thereupon Caesar pursuing his complaints, said, 'Twas Marius, Fulvia and Lucius made War upon me and Italy, and never durst Pompey before with his Forces attempt the Coasts till he was encouraged to it by Anthony. Not only encouraged, said Cocceius, but commanded, for I will hide nothing from you: he will with his Fleet invade the rest of Italy, now destitute as it is of Shipping, unless you make peace. Whereunto Caesar, who had not without reflections listened to this discourse of Cocceius: said, However, Pompey has but little to brag of, being repulsed from Thuria. Hereupon Cocceius having now a full insight of their controversies, made mention of Fulvia's death, how not enduring her Husband's displeasure, she fell sick, and her Distemper increasing by a continual melancholy, that Anthony was so unkind as not to visit her in her sickness, it had hastened her end. And now she is dead, said he, there needs nothing more than that you explain your mutual suspicions to one another. Caesar mollified by this discourse of Cocceius, made him his Guest for that day, who entreated him as the younger to write to Anthony his elder: he denied writing to his Enemy, from whence he had received no Letters, but complained that his Mother whom he had always so perfectly honoured, as his Kinswoman, had fled out of Italy, as if she could not have commanded him as if he had been her own Son; so under this pretence Caesar wrote to Fulvia. As Cocceius was going out of the Camp many Centurions discovered to him the mind of the Army, who with all the rest told this likewise to Anthony, that he might understand what a War he was about to engage himself in if he made not peace with Caesar. Wherefore he advised him to remand Pompey, who wasted Italy, into Sicily, and to send Ænobarbus into some other part, till new Leagues were made. To this Fulvia his Mother joyning her prayers and intreaties; there was nothing stood in the way but the shame Anthony feared he should be exposed to, if the Peace not succeeding he should again be forced to have recourse to Pompey's assistance; but his Mother putting him in hopes, confirmed by Cocceius partaker of Caesar's privacies;

Anthony consented, caused *Pompey* to return to *Sicily*, promising to take care of all matters agreed on between them, and sending *Ænobarbus* Governour into *Bithynia*; which as soon as *Cæsar's* Army knew, they chose Deputies to go to both Generals, whom they besought to refrain from accusing each other; for they were not made choice of to judge, but to reconcile them; so that making *Cocceius* Friend to both for Arbitrator, and nominating *Pellio* for *Anthony*, and *Mæcenas* for *Cæsar*, they decreed a mutual oblivion for all past offences, and perfect friendship for the future. And because *Marcellus*, Husband to *Octavia* *Cæsar's* Sister, was lately dead, the authors of the peace desired *Cæsar* to give his Sister in marriage to *Anthony*: she was soon promised, with happy auguries, for these accommodations were attended with universal acclamation of both Armies, with vows for their prosperity, and continued rejoycings, which held all that day and the next night.

XVI.

Then *Cæsar* and *Anthony* made a new division of the Roman Empire, settling for the bounds of eithers Dominion *Scodran* a Town in *Illyria*, which seemed seated in the Center of the Adriatick Gulf; from whence Eastward as far as the *Euphrates* all the Provinces and Islands were to be under the command of *Anthony*; and *Cæsar* was to have all Westward as far as the Ocean, except *Africa* which was left to *Lepidus* under the same conditions he had received it from *Cæsar*. They agreed likewise that *Cæsar* should make War with *Pompey*, if some change happened not, and *Anthony* against the Parthians to revenge *Crassus's* death; that *Ænobarbus* should be received into league by *Cæsar*, on the same conditions *Anthony* had before granted him. And that both Generals might have equal power to raise Soldiers in *Italy*. In these Heads consisted the last league between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*: soon after which they sent away their Friends to dispatch urgent Affairs, *Anthony* sent *Ventidius* into *Asia* to oppose the attempts of the Parthians and the young *Labiennus*, who being joyned with them, infested *Syria* as far as *India*, taking the advantage of the Civil Wars. But how *Labiennus* and the Parthians were punished, we have writ in the Book of the Parthians War. About the same time, *Menodorus* *Pompey's* Admiral again drew out of *Sardinia* *Helius* one of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants, which was the main reason of *Cæsar's* being so incensed, that he would not admit of *Anthony's* intermission to reconcile him with *Pompey*. Afterwards being returned to the City, the Nuptials were solemnised, and *Anthony* put *Marcius* to death for exasperating *Fulvia* against *Cleopatra*, and making her the author of so many mischiefs. He likewise discovered to *Cæsar* how *Salvidienus*, who commanded the Army in *Gallia Narbonensis*, would have revolted to him, and to that purpose had sent an express to him at the Siege of *Brundisium*: all Men did not much applaud him for it, but he revealed this secret to shew his frankness and the reality of his reconciliation: *Cæsar* forthwith sent command to *Salvidienus* to make haste to him, as if he had something of importance to communicate, after which he would send him back to the Army; but at his arrival reproaching him with his treachery, he put him to death, and gave his Army, being jealous of it, to *Anthony*. Mean while, the People were much oppressed with Famine; for the Merchants could bring nothing from the East, for fear of *Pompey* and *Sicily*, nor from the West, because *Sardinia* and *Corfica* were in the possession of *Pompey* too. Nor out of *Africa*, because of the Enemies Ships cruising in the open Sea; wherefore the People attributing the cause of their want of Bread to the division of those who commanded, continually reviled them,

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urged them to make peace with *Pompey*. But when thus neither they could not incline *Cæsar* to it, *Anthony* counselled him to hasten the War to remedy the present distress: but because there was no Money to make the preparation, they made an Edict by which Masters were taxed in twenty five Sesterces for every Slave they had (the like whereof had been before in the War with *Cassius*) and withal a certain part to be payed out of new Inheritances. The People enraged, tore down this Edict wherever it was fixed up, growing furious, that after the treasury was exhausted, the Provinces drained dry, and *Italy* ruined by continual Imposts and Confiscations, the Citizens should be taxed for what they had yet left, and that not to employ in foreign Wars, where the Honour of the Empire might lie at stake, but to revenge particular Mens quarrels, and increase their power, to which they were mounted by Proscriptions and Murders, and for which the People were fain to suffer Famine and Misery. They gathered together by Troops, railing in the Streets, throwing Stones at those who would not joyn with them, and threatening to plunder and set fire on their Houses, till at length the whole multitude was got into a Body. *Cæsar* going with his Guards and some Friends to appease them, and give them reasons for what he had done, as soon as they saw him they let fly their Stones, and though he stirred not, but stood their Blows, yet they had no reverence nor respect to him; of which *Anthony* having notice, ran speedily to his relief, as he came up the *Via Sacra* none threw Stones at him, because he was disposed to make Peace with *Pompey*, they only warned him to be gone; but when that prevailed not, the Stones flew likewise about his Ears. Whereupon he sent for the Soldiers who were without the City, and when the People forbore not their violences, the Soldiers having encompassed them on both sides came up the cross Streets upon them in the place, and in the great Street, charging the first he met with, who not able to flee because of the Crowd, and not being in a posture of defence, the Streets were soon filled with dead and wounded Men, and the Windows with cries and lamentations. Thus *Anthony* hardly escaping himself, withdrew *Cæsar* from manifest danger, and brought him to his House. The multitude being put to flight, they commanded the Soldiers to cast the Corps into *Tiber*, not to expose the sad spectacle to the Citizens view, but this caused a far greater affliction, when they beheld them carried away with the stream, or stripped by the Soldiers, among whom were mingled several Brokers, who carried away those were best clad, as if they had belonged to their Family. However, this mischief at length had an end, but not the multitudes hate and malice to these Men, nor yet the Famine which the miserable People underwent with groans and tears.

Anthony hereupon gave advice to *Libo's* Friends to invite him out of *Sicily*, to rejoyce with his Relations, and possibly do a work of greater importance, promising to be security for his person. They presently wrote to him, nor did *Pompey* at all detain him. In his Voyage he landed in an Island formerly called *Pithicusa*, and at present *Ænaric*, which as soon as the People heard of, they again assembled, beseeching *Cæsar* with tears in their eyes to send a Pass-port to *Libo* who came with Proposals of Peace, which though with seeming unwillingness he granted. That done the multitude ran to *Mutia*, *Pompey's* Mother, threatening to burn her if she did not go to her Son, and dispose him to a Peace. *Libo* perceiving their Enemies not so hot against them as formerly, desired a conference between the Generals, to the end they might compose all matters between themselves, which

XVII.

which after the Peoples earnest prayers had obtained, *Cesar* and *Anthony* went to *Bsia*. *Pompey's* Friends all with one voice advised him to Peace, except only *Menodorus*, who wrote to him from *Sardinia*, that he ought rather now to make War, or at least temporize, whilst Famine fought for them, that when they judged it fit to conclude a Peace, they might do it on more advantageous conditions, he likewise warned him to have a care of *Marcus*, who counselled him to make Peace only for the advancement of his particular fortune; wherefore *Pompey*, who was before jealous of *Marcus's* experience and authority broke now utterly with him, and no longer took his counsel in any thing: so *Marcus* in discontent retired to *Syracusa*, where perceiving some of *Pompey's* Guards that followed him by his orders, he in their presence railed at and reviled him, this hastened his end; for *Pompey* having corrupted one of his Tribunes, and one of his Centurions, sent People to slay him, giving out that he was murdered by his Slaves, whom they hanged, to give the more credit to the cheat. However, after what had happened to *Bithynicus*, Men easily believed this second attempt committed on the person of a Man famous for his experience in War, a constant Friend to *Pompey's* Faction from the very beginning, who had done him signal service in *Spain*, and of his own accord came to him in *Sicily*. After his death all *Pompey's* Friends exhorted him to Peace, accusing *Menodorus* of being in love with Command, considering more his own than his Masters interest, finding it profitable to govern a Province with an Army; so *Pompey* embarked for *Ænaria* with many choice Ships, and himself on a most beautiful Galley of six Banks; and thus in great state came sailing towards the Evening by *Puteoli*, in view of the Enemy. As soon as day next Morning appeared, they drove Piles into the Sea, at some distance one from the other, and thereon laid two Bridges, upon one of which to the Land-side mounted *Cesar* and *Anthony*, and *Pompey* and *Libo* on the other, which was separate on the first by a small interval of water; so that without speaking aloud they could hardly hear each other, *Pompey* pretended to be Associate in the Empire, in the room of *Lepidus*; and the others would only grant him the liberty to return to *Rome*, so they parted without doing any thing: yet their Friends kept on foot the Negotiation, making divers Propositions on the one part and the other; *Pompey* in behalf of the Proscrits had fled to him for refuge, demanded that such as were culpable, or Abettors of *Cesar's* Murder might be in security in their Exile, and that the others might with Honour be recalled into the City, and put into possession of their Estates: upon this demand Famine, and the People urging for Peace, *Anthony* and *Cesar* agreed that they might redeem from the new Possessors a fourth part of their Estates only, and they wrote to them about it, as supposing they would be therewith contented, and indeed so they were, for they began now to stand in fear of *Pompey*, instructed by *Marcus* his misfortune, going therefore to him, and perswading him to Peace, he rent his Robe, saying, he was betrayed by those for whom he had exposed himself, and calling by name *Menodorus* as the sole Man worthy of Command, and the only Friend he had. At length by the instigation of *Mucia* his Mother, and *Fulia* his Wife, they met again only they three on a little Eminence, encompassed on all sides by the Sea, about which they had placed Guards with Ships for their common security. Here they agreed to these Conditions; That all War should cease between them, both by Sea and Land, that there should be a free trade and commerce in all places, that *Pompey* should withdraw all his Garrisons out of *Italy*, that he should harbour no more Fugitives. that his Ships should

should cruise no more on the Italian Coasts ; that he should have the command of *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, with the other adjacent Isles for so long as *Anthony* and *Cesar* held the Sovereign Power, but with condition of sending to *Rome* what Corn those Islands ought to the Citizens, and that besides all this he should have the *Peloponnesus* ; that being absent he might exercise the charge of Consul by one of his Friends, and should be received into the Colledge of the High Priests ; that all persons of Quality might return to the City except the Conspirators who had been condemned by publick sentence ; that the Goods of all those fled to *Pompey* without being proscribed should be restored, except the Moveables ; and for the Proscripts that they should have a fourth part ; that all who had served under *Pompey* should be rewarded, if Slaves with Freedom, and if Freemen, when they had served the time appointed by Law, with the same recompences as the Veterans of *Cesar* and *Anthony* received. These were the Articles, which after being ingrossed and signed, were sent to *Rome* to be deposited in the hands of the Vestals. This done, they by lot feasted each other : *Pompey* began, who laying his Galley side to the Rock therein received his Guests ; the days following *Anthony* and *Cesar* treated him, pitching Tents on the same Rock, with pretence that the Feast might be distributed better to the Shore, but perhaps that their mirth might be more secure ; for there was nothing remitted of the usual care, both the Ships were in their stations, and the Guards at their Posts, and the Guests themselves had Daggers under their Robes. 'Tis reported, that *Menodorus*, when they feasted in the Galley, sent to advise *Pompey*, that taking this advantage of his Enemies, he should revenge the wrongs his Father and Brother had suffered, and recover the authority they had taken from his Father, and he would be answerable that not one should escape out of the Ships. But *Pompey* made him an answer worthy his Birth and the present Affair : *Would to God*, said he, *Menodorus could have done this without me ; for perjury may become him, but never Pompey*. At this Supper *Pompey's* Daughter, Neice to *Libo*, was contracted to *Marcellus*, Nephew to *Anthony*, *Cesar's* Sister's Son. The day following Consuls were designed for four years : first of all *Anthony* and *Libo*, but to *Anthony* with leave to make a Substitute, then *Cesar* and *Pompey*, then *Ænobarbus* and *Sosius*, and lastly *Cesar* and *Anthony* again, who being now to be Consuls together the third time, it was hoped they would restore the ancient Administration of the Common-wealth.

Things thus concluded on, they departed, *Pompey* by Sea to *Sicily*, and *Cesar* and *Anthony* by land to *Rome*. Upon the news of the Peace an universal joy was spread through the City and all *Italy*, Men were transported to see themselves delivered from an intestine War, from being often picked out, and forced to go, from the insolency of the Garrisons, from the flight of Slaves, from the wasting of their Lands, and lying fallow of their Fields, but above all from Famine, which began to grow insupportable : wherefore wherever the Generals passed, Sacrifices were made to them as to the Saviours of their Country. And the City had prepared a magnificent entry, had they not rather chose to go in by night, that they might not put the Citizens to charge. All shared in this general joy, save only those who were possessed of any Lands of the banished, which by the Treaty were to be restored, for they believed they should have but ill Neighbours of them, and that upon all occasions they would seek their destruction. And indeed all the Fugitives who had hitherto followed *Pompey*,
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except only a very few, after having taken their leave of him at *Puteoli*, embarked and came for *Rome*, at whose arrival the People conceived a new joy, which they made appear by those Acclamations wherewith they entertained so many illustrious persons, beyond all hopes returned to their Country. After this *Cæsar* marched into *Gaul*, where there were happened some Commotions; and *Anthony* disposed his Affairs to go against the Parthians. In the first place he caused the Senate to approve not only what he had done, but whatever he should do for the future, sent away his Lieutenants into all parts, and disposed what else he thought fit at pleasure. Then he gave Kingdoms to several, upon condition of paying Tribute. To *Darius* Son of *Pharnaces* and Grandson to *Mithridates* the Kingdom of *Pontus*: to *Herod* *Idumea* and *Samarita*: to *Amintas* *Pisidia*: to *Polemon* part of *Cilicia*: and in short, to many others other Nations which he erected into Kingdoms. As for the Army that was to winter with him, that he might accustom them both to the profits and exercises of War, he sent one part of them into the Country of the Parthians a Nation of *Illyria*, neighbouring upon *Epidamnus*, formerly very affectionate to *Brutus*: and another Party into the Country of the Dardanians, who are another People of *Illyria* used to make Inroads into *Macedon*, and gave orders to the rest to tarry for him in *Epire*, that he might have them all about him, being resolved himself to winter at *Athens*. He likewise sent *Furnius* into *Africa* to cause *Sextius*'s four Legions to march against the Parthians; for as yet he understood not that *Lepidus* had taken them from *Sextius*. Things thus ordered, he spent this Winter at *Athens* with *Octavia*, in the same manner as he had done the former with *Cleopatra* at *Alexandria*, all his business being only to look upon the Letters brought him from the Army, he laid aside his Imperial Robe, cloathing himself again in the Attick Cloak and Hose, having no Guards at his Gate, and walking through the City like a private person, without any Ensigns of his Dignity, and accompanied only with two Friends and two servants, with whom he went to the Schools to hear Disputes and Orations; he likewise supped the Winter after the Greek manner, having always Greeks in his company, and assisting at their Ceremonies, to the great content of *Octavia*, of whom he was very fond; for he was naturally inclined to the love of Women. But Winter being past, he seemed no more the same Man, he resumed the Imperial Habit, and took the Ensigns of his authority, his Gates seemed now as it were besieged with Lictors, Officers and Guards, to beget an awe of his power, he gave audience to Embassadors, whom before he would not admit, administered justice to private persons, and sent for Ships from all parts, and made a mighty noise with his preparations.

XIX.

Whilst he was busied in these things, there happened some disturbances of the Peace between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, for what certain causes not known, but those that publicly appeared were these, *Anthony* had quitted the *Peloponnesus* to *Pompey* on condition he should pay what the Peloponnesians ought, or promise to pay it, or else give some time for the recovery of it; but *Pompey* would not receive it in on these terms, thinking the Province quitted to him with all its debts; wherewith, through discontent, (as *Cæsar* said) or through infidelity, or out of envy to others who had great Armies, or because he trusted *Menodorus*, who said they had not made a Peace but a Truce, he prepared again and fitted out a Fleet, and in a speech to his Army told them, there was more need than ever of new preparations. He likewise encouraged Pyrates underhand to infest the Seas, so that little

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or no remedy was brought to the Famine in the City, and the comfortless People cried out, that by this Peace they had not redressed any of their miseries, but only added a fourth person to the Tyranny. Hereupon some Pyrates being taken, *Cæsar* caused them to be brought to the wrack, where they confessed they were set on by *Pompey*, which *Cæsar* made known to the People; he wrote about it likewise to *Pompey*, who stoutly denying it, made his complaints about the *Peloponnesus*. But some Noble Men that were about *Pompey* perceiving that he always followed the counsel of his Freed Men, corrupted some of them, either of their own free motion, or for *Cæsar's* sake, to incense *Pompey* against *Menodorus* as a Man commanding his Master. They were easily drawn to do this, out of the envy they bore this powerful Favourite, so they soon begot in *Pompey* an aversion to *Menodorus*. It happened that at the same time *Philadelphus* *Cæsar's* Freed Man came to *Menodorus* to buy Corn, and *Mycilins*, *Menodorus* confident went to *Rome* to treat with *Cæsar* about his revolt, to whom he offered *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, three Legions and many of his Friends: whether *Philadelphus* had procured *Cæsar* this good fortune, or else it proceeded from *Pompey's* disgusts of *Menodorus*, he made difficulty of accepting it, yet did it, judging the Peace already broken. He dispatched forthwith to *Anthony* at *Athens* to desire him to come by an appointed day to *Brundisium*, to confer with him about this War, he caused long Ships to be brought from *Ravenna*, and sent in all haste for his Army out of *Gaul* with all its stores of warlike Furniture, one part of which he sent to *Brundisium*, and the other to *Puteoli*, resolved to invade *Sicily* on both sides, if *Anthony* approved it: *Anthony* came at the same time prefixed with a slender Train, but not finding *Cæsar* there, would not stay, whether he approved not this War undertaken against solemn Leagues, whether he were not pleased to see the great preparations of *Cæsar*, (for being Competitors for Empire, they were always jealous of each other) or whether he was frightened by a prodigy, for one of those who were upon the Guard about his Quarters, was found eaten up by Beasts, all but the Face, as if that had been left to know him by, without ever so much as crying out, or the least knowledge of those that slept by him. All that could be discovered, was, that they of *Brundisium* said, that in the Morning they saw a Wolf come out from among the Tents. However, *Anthony* wrote to *Cæsar* he ought not to break the peace, and threatened to clap *Menodorus* in Irons as his Fugitive Slave, for he had been Slave to *Pompey* the Great, whose Goods *Anthony* bought under the Spear by right of War. Yet *Cæsar* sent Men into the Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica* to take possession of them from *Menodorus*, and caused Forts to be built upon all the Coasts of *Italy* to hinder *Pompey* from making any spoil, giving orders for building other Ships at *Ravenna*, and sending for a powerful Army that was in *Illyria*, and when *Menodorus* came to him, from one enfranchised made him absolutely free, by giving him the Command of the Fleet he brought with him, yet but in quality of Lieutenant to *Calvisius* his Admiral. Though things were thus well disposed, yet he would make greater preparations before he began the War, complaining of *Anthony*, that he had not staid for him: however, he gave order to *Cornificius* to bring what Ships he had in readiness from *Ravenna* to *Tarentum*; in his passage there arose a furious Tempest, in which there yet perished only the Admiral, built on purpose for *Cæsar* himself, which was made an Omen of what was to happen, for most men thought this War renewed by the violation of the Treaty; to remove which suspicion, *Cæsar* wrote to the Roman People, and spoke in person to the Army, telling

them *Pompey* had broke the League, by infesting the Sea with Pyrates, which was evident, both by confession of the Pyrates themselves, and of *Menodorus*, of which *Antonius* was not yet ignorant, and therefore delivered not up to him the *Peloponnesus*.

XX.

When all his preparations were in a readiness, he embarked at *Tarentum* to go and invade *Sicily* on one side, whilst *Calvisius*, *Sabinus* and *Menodorus*, who set sail from *Etruria*, invested it on the other ; and the Land Army marched towards *Rhegium* with wonderful diligence. *Pompey* perceived not that *Menodorus* had revolted from him to *Cesar*, till he came before *Sicily*. However, seeing himself assailed on both sides, he resolved to expect *Cesar* at *Messina*, and opposed against *Calvisius* and *Menodorus* a great Fleet under the Command of *Menecrates* his Freed Man, who out of mutual emulation was a mortal Enemy to *Menodorus*. *Menecrates* comes out to Sea, presenting himself about Evening to the Enemy, who retired into a Gulf above *Cuma*, where they anchored that night, and he steered his course towards the Island of *Ænaria*. As soon as it was day, the Enemy coasting about the Bay, drawn up in form of a Crescent, for fear of being broken, *Menecrates* appeared in sight, and made towards them ; but seeing they would not be drawn off from the Shore-side, and that he could not do what he designed, with a fierce charge he drove them a ground ; so with their Sterns ashore, and their Prows to Seaward, they lay upon their defence in such manner, that it was easie for the Enemy to come and give them a shock, and then tacking about to stand off to Sea, and so return again upon them with fresh and fresh Ships, they had likewise the Rocks to struggle with, on which many stuck so fast, that neither moving Head nor Stern, it seemed like a kind of Sea-fight against a Land Force, one of which could neither flie, nor the other pursue. Mean while *Menodorus* and *Menecrates* having discovered each other, leaving the rest of the Fight with mutual shouts and fury begin an assault, and in all appearance which of these two got the better would carry the Victory for his Party. In the charge they met so fiercely, that both Ships were disabled, *Menodorus* lost his * Beak-head, and *Menecrates* Oars were broken. At length, having cast their Graplings on Board, they lashed their Ships fast together, and began a Fight, as if on dry ground, and nothing was wanting, either of alacrity or dexterity to gain the Victory, they made use of all sorts of Arms, Arrows, Stones, Darts, and cast Planks from Ship to Ship to board each other ; but because *Menodorus*'s Ship was the tallest, it was much easier for his Men to board the other, and the Darts they threw fell with more violence and execution. At last many being slain, and almost all the rest wounded, *Menodorus* had his Arm pierced through with a Dart, which was soon drawn out ; but *Menecrates* being struck into the Thigh with a Barbed Iron Javelin, made after the Spanish Fashion, which could not easily be drawn out, he became unable to do more, yet still with his voice he encouraged his Men, till his Ship being taken, he threw himself over-board ; *Menodorus* fastening his Prize to his Poop towed it into the Road, and was all he could do that day. This was done on the Left Wing. On the Right Wing which fought against the Enemies Left, *Calvisius* cut off some of *Menecrates*'s Ships from the rest of the Squadron, and pursued them out to Sea : but *Democrates* another of *Pompey*'s Freed Men charging the rest of *Calvisius*'s Ships, put some of them to flight, and drove the rest upon the Rocks where they were beat to pieces, and the Men forced to cast themselves into the Sea, and those which remained whole he had burnt, had not

* *Rostrium*.*Calvisius*

Calvisius returning from the Chase of the Enemy, and bringing along with him some of his ships that had fled, saved one of them. Night coming on, each party retreated to the same places where they rode the Night before, and so ended this Sea-Fight wherein *Pompey* had much the better. Yet *Demochares* was so much concern'd for *Menecrates's* death, which he esteem'd a mighty loss (for *Menodorus* and *Menecrates* were two of *Pompey's* principal Officers at Sea) that he left all, and steer'd his course directly towards *Sicily*, as if he had not only lost *Menecrates* and one Vessel, but the whole Fleet. As for *Calvisius*, as long as he thought *Demochares* would return to him he kept his station, being in no condition to fight, for his best Ships were sunk, and the rest disabled; but when he heard his Enemy was gone for *Sicily*, he refitted his Ships, and held on his course, keeping the Shore close aboard, and not so much as crossing over any Bay.

On the other side, *Cæsar* being come from *Tarentum* to *Rhegium* with a great Fleet and a mighty Army met *Pompey* near *Messina*, who had but forty Ships; wherefore his Friends advis'd him not to let slip this opportunity, but to assault these few with his whole Navy, now in such good order, before more Ships came to *Pompey*, but he would not hearken to their counsel, expecting *Calvisius*, and not thinking it prudence to expose himself to danger, whilst he expected greater Forces. Mean while, *Demochares* coming to *Messina*, *Pompey* gave him and *Apollophanes*, another of his Freed Men, the Command of the Fleet instead of *Menecrates* and *Menodorus*; and *Cæsar* understanding the loss he had suffered near *Cuma*, set forward through the Strait to go meet *Calvisius*, having got through the better part, as he was passing by the place called *Stylida* to turn about the Rock of *Sylla*, *Pompey* coming out of *Messina* first fell upon his Rear, and after came up with the rest of the Fleet to provoke *Cæsar* to give him Battel; and though *Cæsar's* Ships were sorely infested, yet they stirr'd not from about the Admiral, he having forbid it, whether he durst not fight in the Strait, or whether he was firm to the resolution of not fighting without *Calvisius*, he only gave them orders to get close under Shore, and there coming to an Anchor defend themselves from the Forecastles, if any came to assault them. But *Demochares* coming with two Ships to charge each Ship of *Cæsar's*, put them all into trouble and disorder, so that some were split against the Rocks others falling foul of each other, sunk; and in short, many perished most cowardly, for in the same manner as at the Battel at *Cuma* they stuck fast, whilst the Enemies charging, and then falling off, oppress'd them in a strange manner, nor was fortune wanting to assist the Enemy: *Cæsar* himself in this confusion leaped out upon the Rocks, where he received those that saved themselves by swimming, and led them himself to the next Mountains. But *Cornificius* and the rest of the Captains encouraging one another, without their General's order, cut their Cables, and went out to Sea to charge the Enemy, judging it better to die fighting, than thus to be expos'd to Blows without any defence. *Cornificius* first of all with a dangerous boldness clapp'd on board the Admiral Ship of *Demochares*, and took her, forcing him to leap into another. Whilst in this Fight a world of Men perished, *Calvisius* and *Menodorus* appeared, coming with full Sails, not towards *Cæsar's* People, who were either cast on shore, or engag'd at Sea, but towards *Pompey's*, who being far off from Land, as soon as they saw them, retreated, for tired, they durst not engage fresh Men, and besides, 'twas almost night; yet the chance was happy for those yet in

XXI.

danger. Night coming on, many deserted their Ships, and fled to the Mountains, where they kindled many Fires for Signals to those yet at Sea, so they spent the night without meat, without sleep, and in want of all things, yet they comforted themselves with the presence of *Cæsar*, who no better supplied than they, went from place to place, exhorting them to have patience till Morning. They knew not yet *Calvifius* was so nigh, and had no hopes in their own Ships, forsaken because of the Wrack; but by good fortune the thirteenth Legion, which had taken their March over the Mountains, and was not far off, having heard of the disaster, by craggy ways making towards the Fires, found their General and those with him hungry and weary. The Soldiers took what care they could of their companions, and the Officers forthwith brought their General (left without any of his Household Servants dispersed in the tumult of the Night) to a Tent there pitched, whence sending all about to give notice he was safe, news was brought him that *Calvifius* was arrived, and so unexpectedly refreshed with this second good tidings, he took some repose. As soon as it was day, casting his eyes upon the Sea, he saw Ships flaming, others burnt, and others half burnt, others floating upon the Sea in the midst of pieces of Wracks, Masts, Sails and Yards, and many that remained, sorely shattered near the Shore; wherefore ordering *Calvifius*'s Fleet to come near, he took care for necessities to patch up such Ships as yet might be made serviceable, while the Enemy gave them leisure, who were retreated, either out of fear of *Calvifius*, or because they had rather fight him in open Sea.

XXII.

While things were in this condition, about Noon rose a Wind from the South, which soon began to make the Waves roar in a Sea naturally moved with little wind. *Pompey* was now safe in the Harbour of *Messina*; but *Cæsar*'s Ships on a Lee shore, craggy Rocks, and without any Port, were either dashed against the Rocks, or against one another, besides wanting many necessary Tacklings, they were not easie to govern. *Memodorus* therefore fearing lest the wind should yet every hour grow fresher, got out at first into the open Sea, and came to an Anchor, because in deep water the Waves broke less, and not so violently, and with the force of Oars he eased his Cables, lest his Anchors should give way: some others imitated him, but the greater part imagining the Storm would soon be over, as is usual in the Spring, moor'd their Ships with an Anchor to Sea, and another to the Shore, and with Booms kept them off from falling foul of each other: but the wind raging more and more, all fell into confusion and disorder, for their Cables breaking, they either fell foul or run ashore one after another; several cries and lamentations and howlings were mixed with Commands and Exhortations, which were only uttered to deaf people, there was now no difference between the Pilot and the Sailer, neither for industry, skill, nor obedience. They perished all alike, whether they stayed in their Ships, or leaped over-board, they were killed by the pieces of Timber which the Waves beat against the Ships; for all the Sea was floating with the Wrack of the Ships, and with Bodies some dead, and some living, of which, if any swum to Shore, they were miserably beat in pieces among the Rocks, but when the Sea began to swell with a contrary wind, as it ordinarily happens in this Strait, new terrors seized these people who were not accustomed to it, and their Ships tossed now this way, and then the other, fell foul, do all they could; besides towards the Evening, the wind doubled its violence, to double their grief by making them perish in the dark; so that all Night long

long the air was filled with dreadful Shouts and Crys. Those upon the Shore ran up and down calling their Friends they thought engaged in the Shipwrack by name, and when they answered them not, believed them lost, and wept: others lifting their Heads above the Waves, called to their Friends on Shore to help them, but there was no manner of way to assist them; for as it was dangerous for those staid in the Ship, or leaped into the Sea, so it was no less upon the Shore side, because of the Waves driven up by the Winds, which all that came near were fearful to be carried away with. Thus by an extraordinary effect of the Tempest those who were near Land, feared the Land, and yet durst not go farther off to Sea, than to secure themselves from beating in peices against the Rocks; for the place narrow by nature, the difficulty of the passage, the tumbling of the Waves, the Whirlwinds caused by the circumjacent Hills, and the swallowing Whirlpool by the fierceness of the Current suffered them not to stay in one place, nor yet to retire back, besides the horror of an extreme dark night added still to their affliction. Thus they perished without seeing one another, some crying out, others silently expecting death, and others through despair hastening it, for the expectation is but an addition of pain; and now they were all out of hopes of any safety, when on a sudden towards break of day the wind began to duller, and about Sun-rising there was little or none, yet the Sea still continued in a rage. The Inhabitants of the Country remembred not to have ever seen so furious a Tempest. Thus the greatest part of *Cæsar's* Ships and Men perished, and he besides the loss sustained in the first Sea-Fight, having received these two afflictions one in the neck of the other, retreated the same night with all haste to **Vibone*, by the Mountain Way, not enduring longer to look on that misfortune to which he could apply no remedy.

*Now *Monza*
teleon.

From thence he wrote to all his Friends, and all his Commanders to repair speedily to him, for fear lest, as it ordinarily befalls the unfortunate, some new design should be laid against him, he likewise sent all the Land Forces he had with him along the Coasts of *Italy*, for fear lest *Pompey* puffed up with this success should make some attempt; but he thought nothing of it, no, nor so much, as when the Sea was still, of falling upon the remainder of the Shipwrack, neither while they lay there, nor when they were upon departure. On the contrary, he suffered them to gather together whatever they could save of Ships or Rigging, and make a safe retreat before the wind to *Vibone*, whether he thought he had beat them sufficiently, or that he knew not how to make use of his advantage; or else, as we have said elsewhere, was cow-hearted upon an Assault, and content only to defend himself, *Cæsar* had not above half his Ships left, and those but in ill condition; yet leaving Forces to guard them, he went much troubled in mind into *Campania*, for he had no more Ships, nor time to build any, though he stood in great need of them, the Famine growing sharp, and the people crying out incessantly for peace, and detesting this War, as undertaken contrary to a solemn League; besides, he wanted Money, which was scarce at *Rome*. The Citizens would pay nothing, nor permit any to be raised on them. At length, being very politick in the conduct of his own Affairs, he dispatched *Mænas* to *Anthony*, well instructed to clear all new differences might have happened between them, and to draw him to be his Associate in the War, which, if it succeeded not, he resolved to transport his Legions into *Sicily* upon Ships of Burthen, and there fight *Pompey* by Land, without any more hazarding a Sea-fight.

Whilst

XXIII.

Whilst he was perplexing himself with these cares, news was brought him that *Anthony* had passed his word to serve him ; that *Agrippa*, his Lieutenant in *Gaul* had gained a great Victory against the Aquitains, and that his Friends and some Cities promised him ships, which were already building ; whereupon taking heart, he began to make greater preparations than before. About the beginning of the Spring *Anthony* set Sail from *Abruz*, and arrived at *Tarentum* with three hundred Sail, to assist *Cæsar* according to his promise ; but *Cæsar* having now changed his mind, would now stay till the Ships, building for him were in a readiness. And when he was urged to employ *Anthony's* Fleet, which was sufficient to put an end to this War, he excused himself that he was engaged in other Affairs : which made it apparent, he either had some new cause of quarrel with *Anthony*, or else scorn'd his assistance, contenting himself with his own Forces. Though *Anthony* was offended at this proceeding, yet he staid still in the same place, and sent to him once more ; for whereas his Fleet lay at a great charge, and he stood in more need of Italian Soldiers for the Parthian War, he had thoughts of changing his Fleet for Legions. Though by the League each had power of raising Men in *Italy* ; but because it was fallen to the others division, he imagined it would be more difficult for him. Wherefore *Octavia* her self came to *Cæsar* to be as it were Arbitress between them. He told her, that being deserted by *Anthony*, he had been in danger of losing his life in the Sicilian Strait. She answered, that had been already discoursed and declared to *Mæcenæ*s. He then objected that *Anthony* had sent *Callias* his Freed Man to *Lepidus* to make a League together against him. To which she answered, that to her knowledge, *Callias* was sent to *Lepidus* to treat a Match ; for *Anthony* being about to go to the Parthian War, would before his departure have his Daughter married to *Lepidus's* Son, according to his promise. *Octavia* affirming this, and *Anthony* sending *Callias* to *Cæsar* to torment him, if he pleased, and know the truth from his own mouth : he would not receive him, but sent word he would meet *Anthony* between * *Metapontum* and *Tarentum*, and discourse with him himself. Through the place appointed runs a River, called likewise *Metapontum* : and they both by chance arriving at the same time, *Anthony* lighting out of his Chariot, leaps alone into a little Skiff he found there, to go meet *Cæsar*, confiding in him as his Friend ; *Cæsar* emulating that Generosity, did the same ; so meeting in the middle of the River, they disputed a long time who should go to the other side ; at length *Cæsar* prevailed, having resolved to go to *Tarentum* to see *Octavia* ; he therefore mouns with *Anthony* in his Chariot, lights at his Lodgings, and without any Guards, lies there all night. *Anthony* on the morrow repays him with the same confidence, so sudden were their changes, ambition of Empire raising reciprocal Jealousies, and the necessity of their Affairs obliging them to confide in each other. *Cæsar* then put off the War against *Pompey* to the next year ; but *Anthony* not thinking fit longer to delay the War against the Parthians, they made an exchange, *Anthony* gave *Cæsar* sixscore Ships, which he forthwith delivered him, and *Cæsar* promised to send him twenty thousand Legionary Soldiers : *Octavia* likewise gratified her Brother with ten Gallies (a sort of Vessel between a Galley and a Ship of Burthen) which she begged of *Anthony*, and he in return gave a thousand chosen Men for Guards, which *Anthony* himself picked out. And because the time of the Triumvirate was near expired, they prolonged it for five other years, without staying for the suffrage of the People, so they parted, *Anthony* making with all diligence towards *Sy-*

* *Tor de Mare.*

ria, leaving *Ottavia*, and a little Daughter they had, with her Brother.

In the mean time, whether that *Menodorus* were naturally perfidious, XXIV.
or that he was fearful of *Anthony*, who had threatened him with Shakes
as his Fugitive Slave, or were not rewarded to his expectation, or else
moved with reproaches of his infidelity, which *Pompey's* other Freed Men
(after the death of *Menecrates*) continually loaded him with, exhorting
him to return to his duty, he demanded safe conduct, which being grant-
ed him, he returned into *Pompey's* service with seven Vessels, whilst *Calvi-*
sius, *Cesar's* Admiral perceived nothing of it; wherefore *Cesar* took away
his Command, and gave it to *Agrippa*. After that *Cesar's* Fleet was finish-
ed, he purged it in this manner, Altars were erected in the Sea a little off
the Shore, the Ships with all their Crews aloft in a profound silence, rank-
ed in order before them, the Priests sacrificed standing in the water, then
placed the Victims in a Pinnace, with which they rowed thrice round the
Fleet, accompanied in other Boats by all the principal Commanders, all to-
gether praying, that if the Fleet were threatned with any misfortune, it
might fall upon the Victims, which after dividing in two, they cast one
part into the Sea, and burnt the other on the Altars, whilst all the multi-
tude made their Prayers. And this is the form the Romans use in the pur-
gation of their Fleets. It had been resolved, that *Cesar* parting from *Pu-*
teoli, *Lepidus* from *Africa*, and *Taurus* from *Tarentum*, should invade *Si-*
cily with three several Fleets, to encompass the Enemy on three sides of
the Island, East, West and South; and that to this end, *Cesar* should
give notice to the others what day he would embarque, which was appoint-
ed on the tenth of the Summer Solstice, which the Romans call the Ca-
lends of the Month formerly called *Quintilis*, and since named *July* in the
Honour of the first *Cesar*, which day he pitched upon, judging it would
prove fortunate, because his Father had thereon been always victorious.
As for *Pompey*, he opposed to *Lepidus Plinius* with one Legion, and store
of other Infantry at the point of *Lilybaum*, fortified the Sea Coasts of the
Island to the East and West, and more particularly the Islands of *Lipari*
and * *Cossyra*, lest they should prove Ports of Retreat, *Cossyra* to *Lepidus*,
and *Lipari* to *Cesar*, from whence they might at all times assault *Sicily*. All
his best Forces he rendezvouzed at *Messina*, that they might be in a readi-
ness to march where-ever there should be occasion. The two Chieftains
being in this manner provided, and the first day of *July* come, *Cesar's*
Party all embarked about break of day. *Lepidus* set sail out of *Africa*
with a thousand Vessels of Burthen, and seventy Galleys, twelve Legions,
five thousand Numidian Horse, and all things necessary for their subsistence.
Taurus from *Tarentum* with one hundred and two Ships, of the hundred
and thirty *Anthony* had left *Cesar*, the Rowers of the rest being dead of
the Plague the last Winter. And *Cesar* from *Puteoli*, having first sacri-
ficed in the Admiral, and thrown the Entrails into the Sea, that the winds
might be fair, *Neptune* propitious, the Sea calm, and all favourable to
him against his Father's Murderers. Some Ships went before to sound the
depth of Water, and *Appius* with good Forces brought up the Rear.
The third day after their embarquing it blew very hard at South, and se-
veral of *Lepidus's* Vessels of Burthen foundered, yet he reached *Sicily*,
where he besieged *Plinius* in *Lilybaum*, and took several places, some by
force, and some by surrender. *Taurus* as soon as it began to blow returned
back to *Tarentum*. *Appius* as he doubled the Cape of *Minerva* lost one
part

part of his Squadron, another part were driven upon the Flats, and the rest disperſed here and there with great loſs. *Cæſar* at the beginning of the Storm got to Anchor with all his Ships in the Gulf of *Elea* in ſafety, all but only one Galley of ſix Oars to a Bank, which was caſt away near the adjoining Promontory, but the Wind on a ſudden clapping about to the Weſt, to which this Gulf lies open, they were ſorely battered with the Tempeſt, for the Wind blowing right in, they could neither get out, nor ride there. In vain they plyed their Oars, and in vain let drop their Anchors, they were driven upon the Rocks, or fell foul of one another, beſides night coming on, made the danger much more dreadful. At length the ſtorm being blown over, *Cæſar* cauſed the dead to be buried, the wounded dreſſed, and cloathed thoſe who had caſt themſelves into the Sea to ſave their lives, giving them other Arms, and immediately iſſued orders to reſit his Fleet, as well as he could for the preſent, he had loſt ſix great Ships, two and twenty leſſer, and a great number of * Liburnicks. Thirty days it required beſides to repair the damage this ſtorm had done, and Summer was far advanced; wherefore he found it convenient to put off the War till the next year. Mean while, becauſe the People were put to hard ſhifts for want of Proviſions, he preſently cauſed his Ships to be drawn aſhore to reſit, ſent thoſe Seamen had eſcaped the ſtorm to *Taurus*, who wanted them, and fearful leſt this diſaſter ſhould work ſome change in the minds of thoſe who had not yet loſt the memory of the great *Pompey*, he ſent *Mæcenas* to *Rome*, whiſt himſelf went through all *Italy* from Colony to Colony, aſſuring the Veterans there was no fear of any thing, and then paſſed to *Tarentum*, to ſee in what condition *Taurus*'s Fleet was, and thence to *Libone*, where he encouraged his Legions, and haſtened with ſuch diligence his Naval Preparations, that in a ſhort time he was ready to make a ſecond attempt upon *Sicily*.

* Brigantines.

XXV.

Pompey not yet thinking fit to make any advantage of ſo many Shipwracks, was contented only to ſacrifice to *Neptune* and *Salacia*, whoſe Son he ſuffered himſelf to be called, as perſwaded the Enemy had not been thus twice battered by Tempeſt in Summer time, without divine aſſiſtance. 'Tis likewiſe reported, that puffed up with this ſucceſs, he changed his Coat of Arms, which was of Purple, and took Blew, as the adopted Son of *Neptune*. He hoped after ſo many loſſes *Cæſar* would lie quiet; but when he heard he had refitted his Fleet, and was ready to come into *Sicily* that very Summer, his heart failed him, thinking he had to deal with a Man whoſe courage was invincible, and whoſe treaſure inexhauſtible, yet he ſent *Menodorus* with the ſeven Ships that he had brought him to diſcover in what readineſs *Cæſar*'s Fleet were, and do what elſe he could. But he angry that he was not reſtored to the Command of the Fleet, and perceiving they truſted him with no more than his own ſeven Ships, becauſe they had a jealouſie of him, reſolved once more to change ſides. To this purpoſe imagining, that whatever happened, it would be for his advantage to do ſome brave and valiant action, he diſtributed all the Money he had among his companions, and having in three days come ſeventy five Furlongs, he falls like a Thunderbolt among the Guard-Ships of *Cæſar*'s Fleet, where they were at work, then going off, and upon a ſudden falling on again, he carried away ſometimes two, and ſometimes three, he engaged likewiſe either in their Ports, or upon the Sea, with ſeveral Ships loaden with Corn, ſome of which he ſunk, others burnt, and took others, and in ſhort, filled all the Coaſt with terrour and tumult, both *Cæſar* and *Agrippa* being abſent,

the

the last gone into the Forest to provide Timber. So bold he grew, that he came to an Anchor in a Shoal Bay, where he lay as if he had been fast in the Ouz, till the Enemies running down from the Mountains as to an assured Prey; tacking about, he rowed off, laughing at, and deriding them, to the grief and astonishment of the whole Army. After he had thus made known of what importance it was to *Cæsar* to have him for a Friend or Enemy, he gave liberty to a Senator, called *Rebilus*, who he had before taken, that he might go before and prepare matters, raising a report among his People, that they should ere long have a Fugitive of consequence, which was *Vinidius Marcellus*, an intimate Friend of *Cæsar*'s, whose affection he himself had gained, when he before quitted *Pompey*'s service, and after that drawing near to the Enemy, and desiring to have some conference with *Vinidius*, in a certain Island, touching an Affair of Importance to both Parties. Having obtained it, when they were alone he told him, that when he left *Cæsar*'s Party to go to *Pompey*, he had been forced to it by the injuries he daily received from *Calvisius* then Admiral; but that now *Agrippa* had the Command of the Navy, he was ready to return to *Cæsar*'s service, of which he could not complain, provided *Vinidius* would bring him a safe conduct from *Messala*, who in *Agrippa*'s absence commanded the Fleet, promising by some signal Action to repair his fault. However, till he had his safe Conduct, he must, to avoid suspicion, make War upon *Cæsar*'s Party as before. *Messala* at first scrupled the doing it, as dishonourable, yet at length he granted it, whether yielding to the necessities of the War, or before well informed of *Cæsar*'s mind, or that he foresaw he could not be displeased at it. So *Menodorus* once more changed Parties, and going to *Cæsar* cast himself at his Feet, begging pardon for his fault, without telling what obliged him to commit it. *Cæsar* pardoned him because of *Messala*'s word passed to him, but gave orders narrowly to watch him, and permitted the Officers of his Gallies to go whither they pleased.

Cæsar's Fleet being now ready he came to *Vibona*, where he gave order to *Messala* to pass over into *Sicily* with two Legions to joyn *Lepidus*'s Army, and that he should land in the Gulf against *Tauromenia*: he sent three likewise to *Stylida*, which is the very extremity of the Strait, to wait a fair opportunity, and commanded *Taurus* to sail about with his Fleet from *Tarentum* to the Promontory of *Scyllace*, which is directly opposite to *Tauromenia*. He came prepared to fight both on Sea and Land; for his Land Army followed him, before whom marched his Horse, with orders to make discoveries from the Land, as the Liburnick Brigantines did at Sea. As he was advancing in this manner, *Cæsar* came; and after having seen him near *Scyllace*, and approved the order he kept, returned to *Vibona*: *Pompey*, as we have said, had placed good Garrisons in all places of the Island where any Forces might land, and kept his Fleet at *Messina*, ready to go and relieve who stood in need. Whilst these Preparations were made on both sides, *Lepidus* having sent for out of *Africa* for the remainder of his Forces, which consisted in four Legions, *Papia*, one of *Pompey*'s Lieutenants met them in open Sea; and whilst they staid for him as a Friend, gave them chace, they took them for the Ships *Lepidus* was to send to meet them; and indeed he did send, but coming out too late, when the Ships of Burthen saw them, they took them for Enemies, and would not approach them, whereas now staying for *Papia*, some were taken, some burnt, some sunk, and others recovered *Africa*, of the four Legions two perished

XXVI.

in the Sea, and if any Soldiers saved themselves by swimming, *Tiscenus*, another of *Pompey's* Lieutenants, caused them to be massacred as fast as they came on shore. The rest of the Army came either now or afterwards to *Lepidas*, and *Papia* returned to *Pompey*. *Cesar* with all his Fleet passed from *Vibone* to *Strongyle*, one of the five *Æolian* Isles, and seeing on the Coast of *Sicily* great store of Forces at *Pelora*, *Miles*, and *Tyndari*, he believed *Pompey* was there in person, wherefore leaving *Agrippa* his Admiral in the Post, he returned to *Vibone*, and soon after joyned with *Messala*, with design to lay hold of the opportunity of *Pompey's* absence to surprise *Tanromenia*, and so fall upon him two several ways. *Agrippa* therefore goes from *Strongyle* to *Hiera*, and driving out the Garrison takes the place, resolving next day to attempt * *Miles*, and *Demochares* the Admiral who lay there with forty Ships; wherefore *Pompey* fearing *Agrippa's* success, sent other forty Ships from *Messina* to *Demochares*, under the Command of *Apollonphanes* another of his Freed Men, who was followed by *Papia* with seventy others. *Agrippa* before day weighed with half his Ships, as if he were only to fight with *Papia*, whom he had some intelligence he might meet; but when he saw *Apollonphanes's* Fleet followed by another of seventy Sail, he sent presently to give notice to *Cesar* that *Pompey* was at *Miles* with the greatest part of his Naval Force, and placing himself in the middle of his great Ships, sent to the rest at *Hiera* with all speed to follow him. These two Ships thus magnificently equipped, and having Towers in Poop and Prow, being come up with each other, after the Signals given, and their Men encouraged to do well, charged with great violence, some stem and stem, and others standing off to gain their Enemies Broad-side, and fall on with greater terrour, great was the noise made by the Ships shocking against each other, and greater the Shouts of the Men. *Pompey's* Ships were middle sized, light, and easie to go about, and so much more active against the Enemy, and by their swiftness fit to take all advantages in boarding; but *Cesar's* being greater and heavy, were of consequence much less nimble, but on the contrary, stronger, both to give the Shock, and abler to receive it. *Cesar* had the best Soldiers, and *Pompey* the most skilful Mariners; wherefore these charged not right forwards upon *Cesar's* great Ships, but shearing by them, sometimes broke a whole Gang of Oars, and sometimes carried away their Rudders, and sometimes likewise suddenly bringing about, they charged them with their Beak Heads, giving no less a Shock than they received: but when *Cesar's* Ships could reach any of these light timbered Vessels, they pressed upon them so furiously with their Beak Heads, that they either staved them, or bored them through and through; and if they came at any time to fight Board and Board, the great Ships miserably knocked them down with missile Arms thrown from aloft, and casting in their Grapnels, easily stopped them, so that the service being too hard to be born, the Adversary had no way to save themselves, but by leaping into the Sea, where Skiffs appointed for that purpose took them up. Mean while, *Agrippa*, whose main design was upon *Papia's* Ship, gave him so cruel a Shock in the Bow, that he sunk him, for he opened all his Keel, and those in his Fore-Castle presently fell, and the Water entering, all the lower Bank of Rowers were drowned, the rest upon Planks saved themselves by swimming: *Papia*, received into the next Ship, again renews the Fight. When *Pompey*, who from the top of a Mountain saw that his People could very hardly defend themselves, and that they never came near any of *Cesar's* Ships, but they lost Men, and that the rest of *Agrippa's* Fleet

* *Miles* 20.

Fleet whom he left at *Hiera* were coming to his assistance, made a Signal for them to retreat, which by little and little they did, still fighting, but being close pressed upon, they fled, not into the Ports, but the Rivers Mouths, where the Mud and Sand brought down by the constant stream makes Shoal Water, wherefore *Agrippa's* Pilots advising him not to hazard his great Ships upon those Flats, he came to an Anchor in sight of them in the open Sea, as if he designed to attack them in the Night; but his Friends admonishing him not to be ruled more by anger than reason, nor to over-harass the Soldiers by too great Labour and Watchings, nor yet to be too confident of the calmness of the Sea, he retreated towards the Evening, and *Pompey's* Ships got into Harbour. They lost in this Battel thirty of their Ships, and sunk five of *Cæsar's*, besides many other losses which they as well as the Enemy sustained. *Pompey* commended them for having so well defended themselves, having to fight not against Ships but Walls, nor were his rewards less than if they had been victorious: he gave them hopes, that fighting in the Strait as their Light Ships would easier stem the Current, so they would certainly be victorious, promising withal to add somewhat to the height of their Ships. Such was the success of the Battel between *Agrippa* and *Papia* near *Melazzo*.

After which, *Pompey* judging what indeed was, that *Cæsar* was gone to *Taurus's* Camp, because he had a design upon *Tauromenia*, as soon as he had supped he set Sail for *Messina*, leaving at *Melazzo* a part of his Ships, to make *Agrippa* believe he was still there. *Agrippa* on the other side having given a little repose to his Men, sailed towards *Tyndari*, which had promised to surrender; where he was received by the Inhabitants, but the Garrison defended it so generously, that they drove him thence, yet some other Towns revolting to him, received his Garrisons, and towards Evening he returned to the Fleet. Mean while, *Cæsar* being well assured that *Pompey* was gone from *Messina* to *Melazzo* because of *Agrippa*, came from *Scyllace* to *Leucopetra*, from whence he resolved to pass by Night to *Tauromenia*; but after he heard the success of the Sea-fight, he changed his mind, believing he need not conceal his embarquing, but boldly go on in broad day, for he imagined *Pompey* would not come far from *Agrippa*. Day then beginning to appear, he took a view from the Mountains as far as his sight could reach into the Sea, and spying none of the Enemies Ships he went on Board, loading his Ship with all the Soldiers he could stow; and leaving the rest with *Messala* till the Ships returned to fetch them: being come near *Tauromenia*, he summoned the place, but the Garrison refusing to surrender, he passed beyond the River *Onobola*, and the Temple of *Venus*, and landed near *Archigetes*, where having made his prayers to the Gods, he encamped to besiege *Tauromenia*; now *Archigetes* is a small Statue of *Apollo*, which the Naxians, when first sent a Colony into *Sicily*, dedicated. There as *Cæsar* set foot on ground he fell, but soon got up again; he was beginning to work upon the Circumvallation of the Camp when they saw *Pompey* coming with a great Fleet, to the astonishment of all the Army, who thought him quite ruined by *Agrippa*: along the Shore likewise came Horsemen, riding, striving in swiftness to out-pass the Fleet; and in several parts were seen great Bodies of Foot. *Cæsar's* People seeing themselves thus surrounded by three Armies, were utterly dismayed, *Cæsar* himself was afraid, because he could not now have the assistance of *Messala*. The Horse first fell among *Cæsar's* Men still employed in their Trenches. And if the Fleet and the Foot had come on at

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the same time, perhaps *Pompey* had gained an important Victory, but being unskilful in military Affairs, and ignorant of the fear their Enemies were in, loth to come to a Battel in the Evening, they retreated, the Fleet to the Promontory of *Coccyna*, and the Foot, who durst not lodge near *Caesar's* Camp, to the Town of *Phanissa*, whilst the night following they lay quiet, the *Caesarians* fortified their Camp, but with extreme labour and watching had made themselves utterly unfit to fight; they were three Legions, five hundred Horsemen without Horses, about a thousand light armed Foot, and two thousand Veteran Volunteers, besides the Sea-Forces. *Caesar* left with *Cornificius* all the Land Forces, with order to defend himself as well as he could, and before day himself embarked, lest he should likewise be shut in by Sea. He placed *Titinius* on the Right, and *Carcinus* on the Left, and himself in a Brigantine went from one part of the Fleet to the other, exhorting all Men to do their best; and after that (as being in extremity of danger) struck his Flag. *Pompey* presently coming to assault him, they charged through twice, and the Fight lasted till Night. But *Caesar's* Ships were many burnt and sunk, and many of them setting their small Sails, fled towards the Coast of *Italy* contrary to, and in contempt of Orders, some of *Pompey's* Ships pursued them, and soon putting them in disorder, took or burnt them as well as the rest, those that swum ashore were either slain or taken by *Pompey's* Horsemen, some few escaping to *Cornificius's* Camp, who sent only his light armed Foot to receive them; for he did not think it convenient to go out with his Legions, in that ill posture wherein they were, whilst a Land Army of the Enemies lay so nigh, whom the success at Sea had puffed up, as is ordinary after Victory. *Caesar* rowed a great way in the night in a small Galley, deliberating with himself, whether he should endeavour to pass through the midst of his Enemies, and get again to *Cornificius*, or go to *Messala*. At length by good fortune he reached the Port of *Abala*, where he landed with one Esquire, destitute of Friends, Servants or Guards, whom some that were come up to the Mountains to see how things stood, found afflicted both in Body and Mind, whom changing from Boat to Boat that they might the better deceive the Enemy, they at length brought to *Messala's* Camp, which was not far distant. As soon as he got thither, before he would take any food, he dispatched a Brigantine to *Cornificius*, and sent to all parts of the Mountains to let those they found there know he was in safety, advertizing them to prepare to relieve *Cornificius*; and he wrote to *Cornificius* that he would suddenly be with him, and bring him relief. After he had eat a little, and taken some small repose, he went by night to *Stylida*, convoyed by *Messala* to find out *Carinas*, who being ready to sail with three Legions, he gave him order to pass over to *Lipari*, and there stay for him; and writ likewise to *Agrippa*, that considering the danger *Cornificius* was in, he should with all speed send to him *Laronius* with the best of his Forces. He likewise sent *Mecenas* the second time to the City, upon intelligence they were contriving some Novelty, the Authors of which were publickly punished: and *Messala* he sent to *Puteoli*, where the first Legion lay to bring them to *Pisbone*. This was that *Messala* who was proscribed at *Rome* by the Triumvirs, with promise of rewards both of Money and Liberty to those should slay him; and who escaping to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, after their death delivered up on Composition their Fleet to *Anthony*: which I the rather mention in this place as a great example of Roman Virtue, since *Messala* having now in his power him who proscribed him, without attendance, and in a deplorable condition, received him as his General, and saved his life.

As

As for *Cornificius*, though he could have defended himself in his Trenches, yet being straitned for want of Provision, he drew out to provoke the Enemy to fight : but *Pompey* would not hazard the fortune of a Battel against People had nothing but their Arms to trust to, and whom he hoped to reduce byFamine ; yet *Cornificius* having placed those escaped from the Sea-Fight, and who were without Arms in the midst of the Legions, marches on, sorely infested in the Plain by the Horsemens missile Arms, and by the African Foot in places inaccessible for the Horse, who being lightly armed, though he sent off several Parties to engage them, he could do no good against them. The fourth day of his March he came upon a dry ground, which the Inhabitants thereabout call *The Torrent of Fire*, reaching quite to the Sea, all waters falling on it being evaporated with the very heat of the ground ; so that the People thereabouts never travel over it but by night to avoid the heat and dust. *Cornificius's* Men not knowing the Country durst not, especially in a dark Moon, adventure to pass by night, for fear of an ambush ; and by day they could not defend themselves from their Enemies, heat and dust suffocated them, and the scorching ground (being now in the heat of Summer) tormented the soles of their Feet, especially those were naked ; thirst no less afflicted them, not suffering them to retard their March to go charge those light armed Foot who continually infested them ; so that they were exposed to wounds, without making any defence. At last, when they drew near to a Strait at the end of this burning ground, they met with other Enemies ; wherefore leaving behind their sick, and such as could not fight, they advanced furiously to the Charge, and gained the Pass ; but when they saw before them other Straits which the Enemy was likewise possessed of, they lost all heart, and made a stop, being quite spent with thirst, heat and labour ; yet when *Cornificius* perswaded them to take courage, by telling them there was a Fountain close by, they renewed the Fight, and with considerable loss of theirs drove the Enemy from the Post, but other Enemies were still Masters of the Fountain, so that now they gave themselves over to grief and despair. In this extremity *Laronius* appeared afar off with three Legions which *Agrippa* had sent to their relief, they were not fully assured he was their Friend ; however, the sight put them in some hopes, especially when they saw the Enemy desert the Fountain, for fear of being enclosed on both sides, then they began to set up Shouts of Joy, which *Laronius* having answered, they ran all to the Fountain, where notwithstanding all the good counsel of their Officers to make them more temperate, they drank so excessively, that some of them died upon the place.

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Thus *Cornificius* when he was quite past hopes saved himself and the rest of the Army, and went and joyned with *Agrippa*, who in the mean time had taken *Tyndari*, furnished with good store of Provisions, and so commodious for this War, that *Cesar* landed there all his Horse and Foot, which were no small number, for he brought into *Sicily* one and twenty Legions, twenty thousand Horse, and more than five thousand light armed Foot. *Pompey* still held *Melazzo*, *Maurochus*, *Pelora*, and all that Sea-Coast with good Garrisons, who out of the fear they were in of *Agrippa*, kept continually Fires, as if they would burn the Ships that approached them. He was likewise seized of the Passages from *Tauromenia* to *Melazzo*, and had fortified all the Avenues of the Mountains ; so that he kept *Cesar* at a Bay ;

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Bay (who had a design to enlarge his Quarters beyond *Tyndari*) and yet adventured not a Battel. But having advice that *Agrippa* was about to land at *Pelora*, he hastened thither, deserting the Passes of *Melazzo*, of which *Cæsar* seized, and of *Melazzo* it self, together with *Artemisia*, a little City, famous for the Oxen of the Sun, taken away by *Ulysses's* companions whilst he slept. But when the news of *Agrippa's* coming proved false, and *Pompey* heard of the Passes being lost, he sent for *Tissemus* with his Army, whom *Cæsar* going to meet, strayed out of his way about *Mycono*, where he staid all night without any Tents, in a violent rain, as is usual in Autumn, with no other covering save a Gallick Shield which the Soldiers held over his Head. Here they heard the horrible noise and dreadful roarings of Mount *Ætna*, and beheld the mighty Flames, which sorely affrighted the whole Army, especially the Germans, who starting from the places where they were laid down, were no longer scrupulous of believing the wonders told of Mount *Ætna*, especially of the Torrents of Fire. After this *Cæsar* went and spoiled the Country of the Palestins, where meeting with *Lepidus*, and being supplied with Corn, they went both, and set down near about *Messina*. But when there happened only light Skirmishes through all *Sicily*, and no memorable Fight, *Cæsar* weary of it, sent *Tamrus* to cut off *Pompey* from Provisions, by seizing upon those Cities that supplied them, which made him resolve to give Battel; but because he was afraid of *Cæsar's* Land Forces, and thought himself secure in his Ships, he sent a Herald to offer him a Sea-Fight. Though *Cæsar* of all things abhorred to have do with Salt Water, where he had ever been unfortunate; yet thinking it dishonourable to refuse any thing, he accepted the Challenge, and a day was appointed, when they were to meet with three hundred Ships each, armed with all sorts of missile Arms, Towers and Machines that could be imagined. 'Twas now *Agrippa* invented the Harpagon, which is a piece of Timber of five Cubits long, bound about with Iron, at each end having two Rings, at one of which is the Harpago, or Hook of Iron, and at the other many Cords fastened in Pulleys to draw it back, with a Catapulta or Sling to dart it forcibly into the Enemies Ships.

XXX. But the day of Battel being come, the whole Gang of Rovers began to shew their skill, not without great Shouts and Acclamations, then followed the flying of missile Arms, some thrown out of Engines, some out of Hand, as Stones, Javelins, Arrows, Fire-brands, and flaming Darts, the Ships run Board and Board, some in the Waste, some on the Bows, and some ran with their Prows so fiercely at others, that they over-set those stood on their Fore-Castles, and made their own Ships unserviceable. Other lighter Vessels contented themselves only to skirmish, lancing as they passed by unto each other Darts, Javelins, and other missile Arms, other smaller were appointed to take up such as fell into the Sea. The Soldiers, Rowers, and Seamen did wonders, assisted by the skill of the Pilots, heartened by the encouragements of the Commanders, and the continual playing of the Engines: but the Harpagon was most of all approved, being light enough to fly at a distance into the Enemies Ships, it stuck fast, especially when they drew it back with the Cords: they could not cut it, being bound about with Iron Hoops; and the Cords they could not reach to, because of its length, besides, this Machine being yet unknown, they were not provided of any long Bills to cut the Ropes. There was but one way in this unprepared condition they could think of, and that was by force

force of Oars to strive to get loose from it, but then the Enemy pulled up too, both striving one way, the Harpagon still did its office; wherefore coming to a close Fight, they leaped into one anothers Ships, and were often so mixed together, that it was hard to know which party any were of, for they wore all one kind of Habit, and most spoke the Latine Tongue; and the Word for that day was known by both Parties. And in this confusion when no person trusting to anothers giving him the Word, if he did not know him, there was a horrible Slaughter, and the Sea was presently covered with Bodies, Arms, and Wracks of Vessels; for they left nothing unattempted besides Fire, which after the first shock, and that they came to fight Board and Board, they made no more use of. Both Armies from the Shore beheld this dreadful Fight not without fear and passion, as thinking them engaged for every one of their particular safeties; but how intentive soever they were they could discern nothing; for it was impossible in a long Train of six hundred Ships, from whom they heard shouts and acclamations, sometimes from one side, and sometimes from the other, to discover any thing distinctly. At length *Agrippa* judging by the Colours upon their Towers, which was the only mark of difference between them, that there were more of *Pompey's* Ships perished than theirs, encouraged those about him, as if already victorious, to renew the Charge, and not give over pressing upon the Enemy, which they did, till those opposite to him were first forced to give way; and beating down their Towers, shewed him their Poops, and fled towards the Strait, to the number only of seventeen Ships, most of the rest cut off by *Agrippa*, who got between them and the Flyers from going the same way, run violently on Shore, where sticking fast, they were either got off by the Enemy, or there burnt, which those that were yet fighting in open Sea seeing, yielded. The Cæsarian Sea Forces soon proclaimed their Victory by their Shouts and Acclamations, which were answered by the Land Army on Shore: whilst *Pompey's* Men groaned out of grief and despair. As for *Pompey* himself, he departed in haste from *Naulochus* to go to *Messina*, so astonished, that he had no thoughts at all of his Land Army, which made them led by *Tiscenus* surrender to *Cæsar* upon good conditions, which example was likewise followed by the Horse perswaded by their Officers. There were in this Battel three of *Cæsar's* Ships sunk, and twenty eight of *Pompey's*, and all the rest burnt, taken, or split upon the Rocks, save only those seventeen that fled.

Pompey, as upon the way he heard of the defection of his Army, laid down his Imperial Robe, and took a private habit, sending some before to *Messina*, to load what they could upon his Ships, for he was prepared for this a long time before, and sending to *Plenius* who was at *Lilybæum* with eight Legions to come presently to him, *Plenius* forthwith set forward, but all his Friends, and all his Garrisons having yielded to the Conquerour, and his Enemies being already in the Strait to come to *Messina*, he did not think it convenient to stay for *Plenius* in the City, though it were a very strong place, but embarking upon those seventeen Ships he had, made Sail towards *Anthony*, whose Mother he had favourably received in a like misfortune, and *Plenius* arriving at *Messina* after *Pompey's* departure, he there shut himself up, resolving to stand upon his defence. Now after the Victory *Cæsar* staying in his Camp near *Naulochus*, had given order to *Agrippa* to go and besiege *Messina*, which together with *Lepidus* he did. *Plenius* having sent out to them Deputies to capitulate, *Agrippa* was

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was of the mind to defer the business till next day that *Cæsar* came thither ; but *Lepidus* himself received them upon composition, and to get the Army of *Plentius* into his own possession, gave them share in the plunder of the City equal with his own ; so that besides pardon which they only asked for, they had found a Booty they did not expect, they that very night plundered the City with *Lepidus's* Men, and delivered themselves up to be his. So that *Lepidus* by this recruit beholding himself Master of two and twenty Legions, and a brave Body of Horse, raised his hopes, and laid a design upon seizing upon *Sicily*. This project he founded upon his first having landed in the Island, and having taken more Cities than *Cæsar* ; wherefore he gave Command to his Garrisons not to receive any Forces but his own, and seized upon all the Passages. On the morrow *Cæsar* being arrived at *Messina*, sends some of his Friends to *Lepidus*, to make his complaint of these proceedings, and to represent to him that he was come into *Sicily* only to serve *Cæsar*, and not to conquer for himself. To which he answered by a reciprocal complaint : That they had taken from him his part of the Empire, which *Cæsar* had usurped all to himself, and if he would restore that, he would willingly part with *Africa* and *Sicily*. *Cæsar*, angry at this answer, goes to him himself, reproaches him with ingratitude, and after some mutual threats they part, and from that instant begin to keep Guard apart, and the Ships went and anchored at some distance from the Port, because, as was reported, *Lepidus* had a design to burn them ; and the Soldiers detesting these Dissentions, believed they were again falling into another Civil War. Not that they made any comparison of *Lepidus* with *Cæsar* ; *Lepidus's* own Soldiers did not do that, they admired *Cæsar's* Virtue, and blamed *Lepidus's* baseness, thinking it a high injustice done them, to equal the Vanquisher and the Vanquished in the plunder of *Messina*. *Cæsar* having notice of their thoughts sent underhand to solicit them by his Agents, who gained many, especially of those who had served under *Pompey*, for they thought the pardon granted them ineffectual, unless *Cæsar* confirmed it. *Lepidus* knew nothing of this Negotiation, so that before he perceived any thing, *Cæsar* comes unlooked for to his Camp, with a strong party of Horse, which he left before the Trenches, and entered with a slender Train, and advancing towards the middle, calls all the world to witness that he was forced to make War against his Will. The nearest to him having saluted him, calling him Emperor, all *Pompey's* Men who were made to the purpose ran to him, and begged his pardon. To which he answered, that he wondered they should ask pardon before they had done what they ought : they understood what he meant, and presently some took their Colours, and carried them to *Cæsar's* Camp, whilst the others made up the Tents. *Lepidus* hearing the Tumult, comes out of his Tent armed, and falls on, so that one of *Cæsar's* Esquires being slain, and *Cæsar* himself shot with an Arrow in the Corslet, though it went not to the quick, he got by running to the place where he had left his Horse. As he ran, some of those who were upon the Guard in one of the Forts at *Lepidus's* Camp made a mock of him ; whereon he immediately fell upon that Fort, and took it with his Horse. Those who commanded in the rest yielded, some at the same time, others the night following, some without being summoned, and others after a slight assault made by the Cavalry to serve for a pretence of their Surrender : but some there were who bravely stood to it before they would submit : for *Lepidus* continually sent relief to all parts ; but at last these reliefs deserted him likewise ; nay, even those who had an inclination

tion for him at first changed their minds. First, all those of *Pompey's* Party, who had till then stood firm for him, left him by whole Bands, and when *Lepidus* caused others to take Arms to stop them, those thus commanded took their Colours, and carried them to *Cesar's* Camp with the others. *Lepidus* threatened, intreated, stopped the Ensigns, and said he would not suffer them to depart, till one of the Ensigns telling him plainly, that he should suffer it either alive or dead, he was so terrified that he let them go. The Horse left him last : but before they parted, they sent to ask *Cesar* whether he would have them kill *Lepidus*, whom they acknowledged no longer for General ; but he would by no means permit it. Thus *Lepidus* seeing himself unexpectedly, and in so short a time deserted by so great an Army, and fallen from so mighty a Fortune, changed Habit, and went to *Cesar*, whither all the world run as to a Spectacle. *Cesar* rose up to receive him, and would not suffer him to fall on his Knees before him, but he sent him to *Rome* in the same Habit, reduced to that of a private Man, without any power or quality, save that of High Priest. So that this Man who had so often been General of Armies, had reigned in the Triumvirate, made so many Magistrates, proscribed so many of his Equals in Dignity, returned into the degree of a simple Citizen, and spent the rest of his life submitted to authority, and to the power of many of those he had proscribed.

As for *Pompey*, *Cesar* would not pursue him, nor permit it to be done, whether he thought it not convenient to follow him into *Anthony's* Dominion, or whether he had a mind to see what *Anthony* would do ; for if he did not as he ought, he had just occasion to break with him (for both pretending to Sovereign Power, either had a long time thought that when all other were overcome they should fall upon one another) or else, as *Cesar* said afterwards, because *Pompey* was none of his Father's Murderers. All the Forces being now joyned together, there were five and forty Legions, five and twenty thousand Horse, thirty seven thousand five hundred light armed Foot, six hundred Ships of War, and a prodigious number of Merchants Ships, all which he sent to their owners. He gave likewise to the Soldiers the reward due to them for Victory, with promise of greater Liberalities for the future, distributed Crowns, and other honourable Recompenses to those he thought worthy, and pardoned the Officers had served under *Pompey*. This great Prosperity was worthy of Envy, and Fortune was not wanting to be jealous of it, and to intermix it with trouble : for the Army, and particularly his own mutinied, the Soldiers demanded their Discharge, and to have the same Recompenses they had received after the Victory at *Philippi* ; whereupon, though the service they had done against *Pompey* seemed not in his opinion comparable to the other, yet he promised them to reward them honourably, and equal with those now served under *Anthony* at his return, and yet according to Military Discipline he represented to them with some threats the fault they committed against the Laws of War, and against the Oath they had sworn to. At length, seeing that instead of submitting they grew more insolent, he forbore threatening, lest those who were newly come to his Party should raise some Tumult : only he told them he would discharge them with *Anthony* as soon as he could, assuring them in the mean time he would no more employ them in Civil Wars, since they by God's Grace were quite extinct ;

XXXII.

but that he would lead them against the Illyrians, and other Barbarous Nations who had broke the Peace with them, from whom they would all return rich. To which they told him plainly, that they would serve no longer, unless he presently gave them those Rewards and Honours their past labours deserved. He answered them, that as to the Honours there should be no delay in them; for besides the Crowns he had already distributed, he had others to bestow among every Legion, and to the Centurions and Tribunes Robes of Purple, with the Quality of Senator, every Man in his Country. Whilst he was offering these things and many others, fit a Tribune named *Ofilius* began to cry out that Crowns and Robes were to quiet Children, but that must have Soldiers Money and Lands. The multitude by their Acclamations signifying they approved this discourse, *Cæsar* in a rage went down from the Tribunal; but for the Tribune those about him praised him, and reviled the others for not joyning with him, he told them that he alone was sufficient to defend so just a cause, yet these words cost him dear, for the next day he disappeared, and was never more seen. After which accident no particular person durst utter a word, but the whole Army went together to demand their Discharge, and *Cæsar* for his part did all he could to appease them by caressing their Officers. At length he dismissed those had served him at *Modena* and *Philippi*, who amounted to twenty thousand, for indeed they had served longer than the time appointed by the Laws of War; but for fear lest those should corrupt others, he sent them presently out of the Island, after having told apart to those had served him at *Modena*, that though he had discharged them, he would not fail to satisfy what he had promised. As soon as they were shipped, he drew the rest together to speak to them, where he took them for witnesses of the perjury of the others, whom he called Runaways, because they had forced a Discharge from him, praised those present for their fidelity, made them hope that ere long they should be discharged, and that so rich, no one person should repent his having continued in the service, and with all this he gave them five hundred Drams a Man.

XXVIII.

After this Broil was over, he laid a Tribute of Sixteen hundred Talents upon *Sicily*, and settled there Pretors as well as in *Africa*, left an Army divided betwixt those two Provinces, sent *Anthony's* Ships to *Tarentum*, and sending part of the rest of his Forces before him into *Italy*, followed himself with the other. When his return was known in the City, the Senate gave him by Decree all the Honours imaginable, referring to his discretion the accepting all, or as many of them as he pleased. All the Senators, and likewise the People, crowned with Flowers, went a great way to meet him, brought him first to the Temple, and then to his House. The next day he recited in full Senate, and before the People, two Orations which he had composed, and which he afterwards made publick, wherein he orderly declared what things he had done, and his Conduct in the Government of the Commonwealth, from his first undertaking the Charge till now, caused the Peace to be published, the Civil Wars being now quite extinct, remitted what was remaining due upon Impositions, discharged the Receivers of what they ought, and released the Farmers of what they had not yet payed in of their publick Farms. Of all the Honours the Senate offered him he accepted the noblest, that on all those days whereon he had been victorious,

victorious, there should be Anniversary Festivals. That there should be placed before the Tribunal for Orations his Statue in Gold, representing the life, with this Inscription,

For Peace after tedious War, restored both by Sea and Land.

Besides all this, the People would have taken away *Lepidus's* High Priesthood, and obliged him to accept it; but he refused it, because the Laws forbid the depriving a man of that Dignity, as long he lived; whereupon the People would have *Lepidus* put to death, as his Enemy, but he would not permit it. Afterwards he sent to all his Armies sealed Letters, with Directions they should be all broken up in one day, and the Orders they found in them observed, which were concerning the Slaves, who, during the Tumult and Disorders, had run away from their Masters, and lifted themselves in the Army. The Senate had granted them all Freedom by the Peace made with *Pompey*; but they being now taken all in one day, and sent to the Cities, *Cæsar* return'd them into the hands of their Masters, or their Masters Heirs, and if none came to claim them, they were put to death in the same Cities from whence they had fled: the like he did in *Sicily*. All Men now thought the Civil Wars quite at an end, and that they owed the obligation of it to *Cæsar*, then twenty eight years of age; wherefore the Cities consecrated him, and placed him in the number of their Gods. Mean time, not only *Rome*, but likewise *Sicily* was infested with numbers of Vagabond Rascals who robbed with so much insolence, that *Cæsar* was forced to give a Commission to *Sabinus* to suppress them, many he took and hanged; but it required a whole years time to purge all the Countrys clear of them. At this time, as it is said, were established those Cohorts of Watch and Ward which continue to this day. This timely and speedy remedy got *Cæsar* much reputation, who now began likewise to appoint many annual Magistrates in things that concerned the Administration of the Common-wealth, according to the custom of their Ancestors, he likewise caused to be burnt all Letters writ in the time of the War, lest they might kindle new Troubles, and promised to restore the Government to the People, as soon as *Anthony* returned, because he knew well that he had designed to lay down his Authority as soon as the Civil Wars were ended. Upon these promises, the Citizens perswaded of *Cæsar's* good intentions, made him perpetual Tribune of the People, as if by this new Dignity they would invite him to lay down the former: about which he privately wrote to *Anthony*, giving his Letters in charge to *Bibulus*, who was upon his return to him, to deliver; he sent likewise Governours into the Provinces, and made Preparations for the Illyrian War, whither he designed to go in person.

As for *Pompey*, having left *Sicily* to seek a refuge from *Anthony*, XXXIV.
 he

he landed on the Promontory of *Lacinia*, where he took out of *Fundo's* Temple all the Offerings of an inestimable value. Thence getting to *Mitylene*, he sojourned some time in that City, where his Father in the War with *Cæsar* had left him then a Child with his Mother, and whither after his Defeat he retreated. *Anthony* being at this time in *Media* fighting against the Medes and Parthians, *Pompey* resolved to throw himself into his Arms at his return, but hearing he was defeated, and that news passing for a truth in the opinion of all the world, he began to fancy new hopes, that either he might succeed *Anthony*, if he were dead, or share power with him if he return'd, besides he was encouraged by *Labienu's* example, who but a little before had made strange Incursions and Spoils throughout all *Asia*. Whilst these things run in his Head, news was brought him that *Anthony* was returned to *Alexandria*; wherefore pursuing the resolution he had taken, he sent Deputies to offer him his Friendship and Alliance; but this was but a Trick, for indeed they went only to pry into his Affairs. In the mean time he privately dispatched others towards the Princes of *Thrace* and *Pontus*, resolved to retire towards the Kingdom of *Pontus* into *Armenia*, if he obtained not what he pretended to from *Anthony*, for he had likewise sent to the *Parthians*, out of hopes that in the War which was not yet terminated, they would be glad to accept him for his General against *Anthony*, being a *Roman*, and more, the Son of the great *Pompey*. Besides he fitted up great store of Shipping, and kept in Exercise his Sea-Forces, under pretence of being afraid of *Cæsar*, or of making these preparations for *Anthony's* service; But *Anthony*, who soon perceived his designs, and sent *Titus* with all the Fleet and Army of *Syria*, to oppose him with open Force, if he would make War, or to conduct him Honourably, if he had any intention to come to him as a Friend. Now *Pompey's* Deputies spoke to *Anthony* in this manner.

The Oration of Pompey's Deputies to Anthony.

THough if Pompey had designed to continue the War, he might have gone into Spain, a Province where he is beloved for his Fathers sake, of which he had good Testimony in his Youth, and who still offered him their Assistance. Yet because he had rather live in Peace with you; or if there be necessity to make War, fight under your Colours, he has sent us hither to offer you his Friendship and Alliance. 'Tis not a desire of a days standing, you know that when he was Master of Sicily, and made Inroads into Italy, when he sent your Mother to you, he made you the same offers; And certainly had you accepted them, neither had Pompey been driven out of Sicily. For you had not assisted *Cæsar* with your Fleet, nor you had not come off with such disadvantage against the Parthians, because *Cæsar* sent you not those Forces he promised you; Nay, you might have reduced Italy to your Obedience. However, though you refused them in a time when they might have been useful to you, he begs you yet to have a care lest *Cæsar* who has so often deceived you, do not do it at last beyond repair. Remember but how contrary to a solemn League, he made War upon

upon Pompey, who was likewise his Ally, though he had not the same pretence. How he has deprived Lepidus of his part of the Empire, without in the least making you partaker of his Victories. You are now the only obstacle stands in his way to that Monarchy to which he has so long aspired; and already, if Pompey had not stood between, you had been engaged one against the other. 'Tis more your concern than any mans to look into these things, yet Pompey out of his love to you would not refrain his advice. Besides knowing you good and generous he has more esteem for your friendship than for all could be promised him by a man he knows for a cheat and a deceiver. He thinks it not strange you lent your Ships to Cæsar, because he knows you were urged to it by the want you stood in need of Forces for the Parthian War, but he would willingly have you remember how much the not sending that Army did you prejudice. In a word, Pompey yields himself up to you with that Fleet he has left, and a faithful Army never deserted him in distress. If you have peace, it will be no small Glory for you to have protected the Son of the great Pompey; and if you engage in that War which in all likelihood you dispose your self to, the Forces he delivers up to you will not be useless.

The Deputies having done speaking, *Anthony* let them understand the Orders he had given to *Titius*, and for a full answer told them, that if *Pompey* made these Offers sincerely, he would come along with *Titius*. In the mean time, *Pompey's* Envoys to the Parthians were taken by *Anthony's* Captains, and brought to *Alexandria*, where having confessed all, *Anthony* sent for the Deputies had spoke to him on *Pompey's* behalf, and shewed them whom he had arrested. They were extremely surpris'd; yet they besought him to pardon a young Man reduced to the last extremities, and who out of a fear of being refused, had been forced to seek a Retreat among Nations always Enemies to the Roman Name; for had he been well assured of *Anthony's* mind, there had been no need to have had recourse to others, or to use other arts and solicitations, *Anthony* believed them, being by nature free from Malice, and of a clear and magnanimous temper.

In the mean time, *Furnius*, *Anthony's* Lieutenant in *Asia*, made at first no opposition against *Pompey*, who was come over thither in a peaceable manner, whether he were not strong enough to hinder him, or that he knew not *Anthony's* mind; but when he saw he exercised his Soldiers, he levyed what Force he could himself in that Province, and sent to *Ænobarbus*, who was not far off with an Army, and to *Antyntas* to come to his assistance. They being presently drawn together, *Pompey* began to complain they treated him like an Enemy, whilst he was waiting what answer *Anthony* gave his Deputies, yet all this while he was plotting to make *Ænobarbus* his Prisoner, whom one of his Familiars called *Curius*, was to deliver up to him, hoping he might stand him in good stead, if an Exchange of Prisoners should happen; but the Treason being discovered, and *Curius* convicted, he was executed by sentence of the Council of War, and *Pompey* put to death *Theodorus*, one of his Freed Men, who alone he made privy to this Plot, suspecting he had

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discovered

discovered it. This design not succeeding, he lost all hopes of deceiving *Furnius*, but he took by treason *Lampsacus*, where *C. Caesar* had planted a Colony of Italians, whom by force of Money he got to engage in his Party; so that seeing himself two hundred Horse, and three Legions strong, he went and assaulted *Cyzica* by Sea and Land, but was both ways repulled by some of *Anthony's* Forces, who had the Guard of the Gladiators, kept there for the Peoples Divertisement. He therefore returned to the Port of the *Acheans*, to make Provision of Corn, whither *Furnius* following, without offering to fight him, encamped always as near him as he could with store of Horse, and thus hindred him from foraging the Country, or besieging Towns. *Pompey*, who had not Horse enough to take the Fields, went and assaulted his Camp in Front with one part of his Forces, against whom *Furnius* coming to the Charge, the others who had taken a great compass not to be discovered, fell in behind, forced the Camp, and put them all to the Rout. All *Furnius's* Men fled through the Plains of *Scamandria*, and not being able to run very fast, because the ground was moistned with the Rain, there was made a great Slaughter. Those who saved themselves escaped into places of security, being too weak to stand *Pompey*, till such time as new Recruits were come from *Mysia*, *Propontis*, and other places. Mean while, the Country People ruined with Taxes, took Arms, and joyned with *Pompey*, now grown famous by the Victory, gained at the Port of the *Acheans*. But still wanting Horse, he often came by the worst in going to gather in Corn and Forrage. Wherefore upon intelligence that a Body of Italian Horse were coming to *Anthony*, which *Octavia*, who wintered at *Athens*, sent him, he dispatched away some of his Agents with Money to corrupt them; but the Governour of *Macedon* taking these Suborners, distributed their Money to the Horsemen: yet *Pompey* took *Nicea* and *Nicomedia*, where he got store of Wine, besides many other happy successes he had beyond his own hopes: but *Furnius* always encamping at some distance from him. About the beginning of Spring there came to him from *Sicily* seventy Ships, the Remainder of the Fleet *Anthony* had lent to *Caesar* against *Pompey*; for the Sicilian War being ended, *Caesar* returned them. At the same time *Titius* arrived out of *Syria* with sixscore other Ships, and a great Army, and all together landed at *Proconesus*. Thereupon *Pompey* somewhat daunted, burnt his Ships, and armed his Rowers and Seamen, whom he thought would do him better service on shore. But *Cassius* of *Parma*, *Nasidius*, *Saturninus*, *Therinus*, *Antistius*, and all the most considerable of *Pompey's* Friends, and even *Fannius* himself, for whom he had the greatest value, and *Libo* his Father-in-law, seeing that after the coming of *Titius*, to whom *Anthony* had given Commission either to make War or Peace, he was still obstinate to continue the War against one more powerful than himself, left him, and making their own composition submitted to *Anthony*: being deserted by his Friends, he advanced through the mid-land of *Bithynia*, with design, as 'tis said, to get into *Armenia*: *Furnius*, *Titius*, and *Amynthus* having notice that to this intent he had quitted his Camp by night, followed him, and made such haste, that before day was shut in, they overtook him near a certain Eminence, above which they encamped separately without entrenching, because it grew late, and their Men were over tired. *Pompey* seeing them in this posture, drew off three thousand Men, who went and charged them in the dark night so briskly, that they

flew

flew a great number, some in Bed, and others rising, and the rest for the most part naked, shamefully took their flight: so that if *Pompey* had fallen on with all his Forces, or had but given them chase, he might have completed his Victory, but his adverse fortune put it out of his thoughts, and he reaped no more fruit of this Victory, save the continuing his March into the Uplands.

The Enemies being rallied, followed him close at the Heels, and very sorely tormented him, that being reduced to want of Provisions, he desired a Conference with *Furnius*, Friend to the great *Pompey*, and besides that, the most considerable of all the other Commanders, and the honestest Man. Being in order thereunto come to the Bank of a River that run between them, *Pompey* told them, that having sent Deputies to *Anthony*, and having in the mean time no Provisions, nor no person that would furnish him with any, he had been forced to do what he had done.

XXXVI.

The ORATION of POMPEY to FURNIUS.

BUt for your part, added he, if it be by *Anthony's* Orders you make War upon me, he is ill advised, not foreseeing a considerable War hanging over his Head; but if it be of your own motion, I beseech you to expect the return of my Deputies, or to carry me to *Anthony*, after having past your word for my security: for *Furnius*, 'tis you only I confide in, and put my self into your hands, provided you promise me upon your Honour to deliver me in safety to *Anthony*.

This he said as confident of *Anthony's* good nature, and fearing only some misfortune might happen to him in the Journey, *Furnius* made answer:

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The ANSWER of
FURNIUS to POMPEY.

“ **I**F you had any intention to yield your self to *Anthony*, you ought
 “ in person to have gone to him at first, or have staid his An-
 “ swer at *Mitylene* ; but you designed War, and have done all you
 “ could; for why should you deny things we certainly know? Yet if
 “ you now repent, we are three that command here for *Anthony*, do
 “ not create any jealousy among us, but deliver your self up to *Titius*,
 “ who only has Commission concerning you: you may require of him
 “ the same security you do of me; for his Orders are, if you obstinately
 “ hold out, to kill you; but if you submit, to send you honourably to
 “ *Anthony*.

Pompey was angry at *Titius*, as an ungrateful Man, to undertake this War against him whom he had so kindly treated when he was his Prisoner; besides, he thought it dishonourable for *Pompey* to yield himself into the hands of *Titius*, a man of mean extract, and whom he was jealous of, either distrusting his Principles, or conscious of some injury he had done him before the last kindness; wherefore he offered himself once more to *Furnius*, and begged him to receive him; and when that could not be obtained, he desired that at least he might yield himself into *Amintas*'s Hands. But *Furnius* telling him that *Amintas* would not do that which would prove injurious to him who had *Anthony*'s Commission for this purpose, the Conference ended. *Anthony*'s Lieutenants believed that *Pompey* would next morning for very want be forced to yield himself to *Titius*; but as soon as it was night he caused Fires to be kindled, and gave orders to the Trumpets to sound at every Watch of the Night, according to custom, and he without any noise went out of his Camp with the Flower of his Forces, not telling any one of them his design, which was to return to the Sea, and set fire on *Titius*'s Fleet, and possibly he might have done it, if *Scaurus*, who deserted him, and run to the Enemy had not given him notice of his departure, and the way he had taken, without being able to say more. *Amintas* presently followed him with fifteen hundred Horse, for whom, *Pompey*'s being all Foot, it was no hard matter to overtake. As soon as he appeared, all *Pompey*'s Men forsook him, some privily, others openly; so that almost desperate, and fearing his own Domesticks, he yielded himself to *Amintas* without conditions, who had refused the Composition offered by *Titius*. Thus was the last Son of the great *Pompey* taken. He had lost his Father when he was a Child, and when he grew somewhat elder, his Brother, after whose death he lay concealed a long time, living

living like a Bandito in *Spain*, till such time as a multitude of loose People understanding he was *Pompey's* Son, flocked to him, and then he began to over-run and plunder the Country. After the death of *C. Caesar* having got a good Army, Ships and Money, he made a War, and became Master of some Islands, after which he was created Admiral of the Western Sea, and then sorely annoyed *Italy*, almost famishing his Enemies, and forcing them to Peace on his own Conditions: but what is most considerable, in that dreadful time of Proscriptions at *Rome*, he was the only Refuge of the Miserable, and saved many persons of Quality, who were obliged to him for their return to their Country: but as if Fortune had deprived him of Judgment, he never would give the onset upon any Enemy. but lost many fair opportunities, content only to defend himself. Such was the *Pompey* now taken. *Titius* received an Oath from his Army in *Anthony's* name, and sent him to *Miletum*, where at Forty years of age he put him to death, either because the old injury had more power over him than Gratitude for a later kindness, or because he had *Anthony's* Orders for it. Though some say *Anthony* gave no such Order, but it was done by *Plancus* Governour of *Syria*, who in Affairs of great Importance was wont to set *Anthony's* Hand and Seal. Others believe that *Plancus* indeed might write it, but by private Orders from *Anthony*, who would not do it himself, because of the name of *Pompey*; or for fear to displease *Cleopatra*, who esteemed *Pompey* for his Father's sake: others say again *Plancus* did it of his own accord, fearing *Pompey* might raise some new difference between *Caesar* and *Anthony*, or that *Cleopatra* might fall in love with him. Let it be how it will, after his death *Anthony* took another Expedition into *Armenia*; and *Caesar* went to make War against the Illyrians, who wasted the Coasts of *Italy*, some of whom were never subject to the Roman Empire, others cast off their Yoak in the time of the Civil Wars. But because the Illyrian Affairs are not so well known to me as to compose thereof a perfect Volume; and that likewise I cannot speak of them more properly, than when writing of the time that Province was absolutely reduced under the Roman Power; I have designed to refer it till I write what passed under *Augustus*, and now only make a Summary to be annexed to the History of *Macedon*, those Provinces being contiguous.

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F I N I S.